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OF

His Own Time.

VOL. I.

From the Reſtoration of King CHARLES II.

TO THE

Settlement of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY at the *REVOLUTION:*

To which is prefix'd

A Summary Recapitulation of Affairs in Church and State from King JAMES I. to the Reſtoration in the Year 1660.

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K.

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The Right Hon. Earl Poulett.
The Right Hon. Henry *Viſcount* Palmerſton.
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* *The Right Hon. the Lord* Polwarth.
The Right Hon. the Lord Harry Pawlett.
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S

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The Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftsbury.
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* *The Hon. Colonel* Tyrrell.
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V.

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Simon Urlin *Eſq; Judge of the Sheriffs Court* London.

W.

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The Lady Counteſs Dowager *of* Warwick.
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* Robert Wylde *Eſq;*
Mr. Joſiah Wordſworth.
Edward Webb *of* Grays Inn *Eſq;*
James Wills *Eſq;*
Mr. William Wall.
Mr. Joſhua White.
Taylor White *of* Lincolns Inn *Eſq;*
Thomas Wyndham *of* Lincolns Inn *Eſq;*
Mr. William Welch.
Mr. Samuel Windor *Jnn.*
Edward Whitaker *Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Serjants at Law.*
Richard Wilkin *of* London *Bookſeller.*
Hugh Wrotteſley *of* Lincolns Inn *Eſq;*
Mr. William Weſcomb.
John Williams *Eſq;*
John Williamſon *of* Dublin *Eſq;*
Mr. Daniel Weſcomb *Secretary to the South Sea Company.*
Thomas Woodford *Eſq;*
John Walton *of* Shildon *Gent.*

Y.

JOhn Yates *of the* Inner Temple *Gent.*
William Young *Eſq;*
Mr. Blake Yarborough.
Sir Philip York *Knt. his Majeſty's Solicitor General.*
Mr. Yates.

The

The following Names were ſent in too late to be inſerted in the foregoing Catalogue, but came to Hand before the Sheets were printed off.

Benjamin Avery *LL. D.*
Charles Allanſon *Eſq;*
* Francis Anneſley *of the* Inner Temple *Eſq;*

Mr. Thomas Bayley.
Mr. Francis Burton.
The Rev. Mr. Robert Breton.
John Bance *Eſq;*
Francis Burton *Eſq;*

Henry Carr *of the* Inner Temple *Eſq;*
Mr. Carleton.
Mr. Cremer.

* *The Right Hon.* James *Earl of* Derby.
Mr. Thomas Dyer.

Mr. Thomas Elder.

William Forteſcue *of the* Inner Temple *Eſq;*

Joſhua Geekie *of the* Middle Temple *Gent.*

John Hanbury *Eſq;*
Charles Harell *Eſq;*
Mr. Thomas Hawe 2 *Books.*
* Inner-Temple *Library.*

Thomas Kilpin *Eſq;*

Mr. Benjamin Muchall.
Thomas Maſter *Eſq;*
Henry Montague *Eſq;* 2 *Books.*
Mr. Gabriel Neve.
Mr. Osbaldeſton.

Sir Thomas Roberts *Bar.*
Mr. John Ramedge *Merchant in* Pebles.
Mr. Stillingfleet *Fellow of* Merton *College.*
Mr. Thomas Steele.
Edward Sanley *of the* Inner Temple *Eſq;*

James Windus *of* Ware *Gent.*
James Woodman *of* London *Bookſeller* 7 *Books.*
William Welbye *Eſq;*

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

The PREFACE.

I AM now beginning to review and write over again the hiſtory of my own time, which I firſt undertook twenty years ago*, and have been continuing it from year to year ever ſince: And I ſee ſome reaſon to review it all. I had while I was very young a greater knowledge of affairs than is uſual at that age; for my father, who had been engaged in great friendſhips with men of both ſides, living then

* This hiſtory he writ ſome time before the year 1705. but how long, he has not any where told; only it appears it was then finiſh'd, becauſe in the beginning of the reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary* he dates the continuation of his hiſtory on the firſt day of *May*, 1705.

retired from all buſineſs, as he took my education wholly into his own hands, ſo he took a ſort of pleaſure to relate to me the ſeries of all publick affairs. And as he was a man ſo eminent for probity and true piety that I had all reaſon to believe him, ſo I ſaw ſuch an impartial ſenſe of things in him, that I had as little reaſon to doubt his judgment as his ſincerity. For tho' he adhered ſo firmly to the King and his ſide, that he was the ſingular inſtance in *Scotland* of a man of ſome note who from the beginning to the end of the war never once owned or ſubmitted to the new form of Government ſet up all that while; yet he did very freely complain of the errours of the King's Government, and of the Biſhops of *Scotland*. So that upon this foundation I ſet out at firſt to look into the ſecret conduct of affairs among us.

I fell into great acquaintance and friendſhips with ſeveral perſons who either were or had been Miniſters of ſtate, from whom when the ſecret of affairs was over I ſtudied to know as many particulats as I could draw from them. I ſaw a great deal more among the Papers of the Dukes of *Hamilton* than was properly a part of their memoirs, or fit to be told at that time: For when a licence was to be obtained, and a work was to be publiſhed fit for that family to own, things foreign to their Miniſtry, or huttful to any other families, were not to be intermixed with the account I then gave of the late wars. And now for above thirty years I have lived in ſuch intimacy with all who have had the chief conduct of affairs, and have been ſo much truſted, and on ſo many important occaſions employed by them, that I have been able to penetrate far into the true ſecrets of counſels and deſigns.

This made me twenty years ago write down a relation of all that I had known to that time: Where I was in the dark, I paſt over all, and only opened thoſe tranſactions that I had particular occaſions to know. My chief deſign in writing was to give a true view of men and of counſels, leaving publick tranſactions to Gazetts and the publick hiſtorians of the times. I writ with a deſign to make both my ſelf and my readers wiſer and better, and to lay open the good and bad of all ſides and parties, as clearly and impartially as I my ſelf underſtood it, concealing nothing that I thought fit to be known, and repreſenting things in their natural colours withont att or diſguiſe, without any regard to kindred or friends, to parties or intereſts: For I do ſolemnly ſay this to the world, and make my humble

appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth on all occaſions, as fully and freely as upon my beſt inquiry I have been able to find it out. Where things appear doubtful I deliver them with the ſame incertainty to the world.

Some may perhaps think that inſtead of favouring my own profeſſion, I have been more ſevere upon them than was needful. But my zeal for the true intereſt of Religion and of the Clergy made me more careful to undeceive good and well meaning men of my own order and profeſſion for the future, and to deliver them from common prejudices and miſtaken nötions, than to hide or excuſe the faults of thoſe who will be perhaps gone off the ſtage before this work appear on it. I have given the characters of men very impartially and copiouſly; for nothing guides ones judgment more truly in a relation of matters of fact, than the knowing the tempers and principles of the chief actors.

If I have dwelt too long on the affairs of *Scotland*, ſome allowance is to be made to the affection all men bear to their native countrey. I alter nothing of what I wrote in the firſt draught of this work, only I have left out a great deal that was perſonal to my ſelf, and to thoſe I am deſcended from: So that this is upon the matter the ſame work with very little change made in it.

I look on the perfecting of this work, and the carrying it on thro' the remaining part of my life, as the greateſt ſervice I can do to God and to the world; and therefore I ſet about it with great care and caution. For I reckon a lie in hiſtory to be as much a greater ſin than a lie in common diſcourſe, as the one is like to be more laſting and more generally known than the other. I find that the long experience I have had of the baſeneſs, the malice, and the falſhood of mankind, has inclined me to be apt to think generally the worſt both of men and of parties: and indeed the peeviſhneſs, the ill nature, and the ambition of many clergymen has ſharpned my ſpirits perhaps too much againſt them: So I warn my reader to take all that I ſay on theſe heads with ſome grains of allowance, tho' I have watched over my ſelf and my pen ſo carefully that I hope there is no great occaſion for this apology.

I have ſhewed this hiſtory to ſeveral of my friends, who were either very partial to me, or they eſteemed that this work (chief-

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ly when it ſhould be over and over again retouched and poliſhed by me, which very probably I ſhall be doing as long as I live) might prove of ſome uſe to the world. I have on deſign avoided all laboured periods or artificial ſtrains, and have writ in as clear and plain a ſtyle as was poſſible, chuſing rather a copious enlargement, than a dark conciſeneſs.

And now, O my God, the God of my life, and of all my mercies, I offer this work to thee, to whoſe honour it is chiefly intended; that thereby I may awaken the world to juſt reflections on their own errours and follies, and call on them to acknowledge thy Providence, to adore it, and ever to depend on it.

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK I.

A ſummary Recapitulation of the ſtate of Affairs in Scotland, *both in Church and State; from the beginning of the Troubles, to the Reſtoration of King* Charles *the Second,* 1660.

THE miſchiefs of civil wars are ſo great and laſting, and the effects of them branching out by many accidents, that were not thought on at firſt much leſs intended, into ſuch miſchievous conſequences, that I have thought it an enquiry that might be of great uſe both to Prince and People, to look carefully into the firſt beginnings and occaſions of them, to obſerve their progreſs, and the errors of

both hands, the provocations that were given, and the jealouſies that were raiſed by theſe, together with the exceſſes into which both ſides have run by turns. And tho' the wars be over long ago, yet ſince they have left among us ſo many ſeeds of laſting feuds and animoſities, which upon every turn are apt to ferment and to break out of new, it will be an uſeful as well as a pleaſant enquiry to look back to the firſt original of them, and to obſerve by what degrees and accidents they gathered ſtrength, and at laſt broke forth into a flame.

The diſtractions during King *James*'s minority.

The Reformation of *Scotland* was popular and parliamentary: The Crown was, during that time, either on the head of a Queen that was abſent, or of a King that was an infant. During his minority matters were carried on by the ſeveral Regents, ſo as was moſt agreeable to the prevailing humour of the Nation. But when King *James* grew to be of age, he found two parties in the Kingdom. The one was of thoſe who wiſhed well to the intereſt of the Queen his Mother, then a priſoner in *England:* Theſe were either profeſſed Papiſts, or men believed to be indifferent as to all religions. The reſt were her inveterate enemies, zealous for the Reformation, and fixed in a dependence on the Crown of *England*, and in a jealouſy of *France*. When that King ſaw that thoſe who were moſt in his intereſts were likewiſe jealous of his authority, and apt to encroach upon it, he hearkned firſt to the inſinuations of his Mother's party, who were always infuſing in him a jealouſy of theſe his friends; ſaying, that by ruining his Mother, and ſetting him in her room while a year old, they had ruined monarchy, and made the Crown ſubject and precarious; and had put him in a very unnatural poſture, of being ſeized of his Mother's Crown while ſhe was in exile and a priſoner; adding, that he was but a King in name, the power being in the hands of thoſe who were under the management of the Queen of *England*.

The practices of the Houſe of *Guiſe*.

Their inſinuations would have been of leſs force, if the Houſe of *Guiſe*, who were his Coſin Germans, had not been engaged in great deſigns, of transferring the Crown of *France* from the Houſe of *Bourbon* to themſelves; in order to which it was neceſſary to embroil *England*, and to draw the King of *Scotland* into their intereſts. So under the pretence of keeping up the old alliances between *France* and *Scotland*, they ſent creatures of their own to be Ambaſſadours there; and they alſo ſent a graceful young man, who, as he was the King's neareſt kinſman by his father, was of ſo agreeable a temper that he became his favourite, and was made by him Duke of *Lenox*. He

was

was known to be a Papiſt, tho' he pretended he changed his religion, and became in profeſſion a Proteſtant.

The Court of *England* diſcovered all theſe artifices of the *Guiſians*, who were then the moſt implacable enemies of the Reformation, and were managing all that train of plots againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, that in concluſion proved fatal to the Queen of *Scots*. And when the *Engliſh* Miniſters ſaw the inclinations of the young King lay ſo ſtrongly that way, that all their applications to gain him were ineffectual, they infuſed ſuch a jealouſy of him into all their party in *Scotland*, that both Nobility and Clergy were much allarmed at it.

But King *James* learnt early that piece of King-craft, of diſguiſing, or at leaſt denying every thing that was obſerved in his behaviour that gave offence.

The main inſtance in which the *French* management appeared, was that he could not be prevailed on to enter into any treaty of marriage. It was not ſafe to talk of marrying a Papiſt; and as long as the Duke of *Guiſe* lived, the King, tho' then three and twenty and the only perſon of his family, would hearken to no propoſition for marrying a Proteſtant.

But when the Duke of *Guiſe* was killed at *Blois*, and that *Henry* the third was murdered ſoon after, ſo that *Henry* the fourth came in his room, King *James* was no more in a *French* management: So preſently after he married a Daughter of *Denmark*, and ever after that he was wholly managed by Queen *Elizabeth* and her Miniſters. I have ſeen many letters among *Walſingham's* papers that diſcover the commerce between the Houſe of *Guiſe* and him: But the moſt valuable of theſe is a long paper of inſtructions to one Sir *Richard Wigmore*, a great man for hunting, and for all ſuch ſports, to which King *James* was out of meaſure addicted. The Queen affronted him publickly: Upon which he pretended he could live no longer in *England*, and therefore withdrew to *Scotland*. But all this was a contrivance of *Walſingham's*, who thought him a fit perſon to get into that King's favour: So that affront was deſigned to give him the more credit. He was very particularly inſtructed in all the proper methods to gain upon the King's confidence, and to obſerve and give an account of all he ſaw in him; which he did very faithfully. By theſe inſtructions it appears that *Walſingham* thought that King was either inclined to turn Papiſt, or to be of no religion. And when the Court of *England* ſaw that they could not depend on him, they raiſed all poſſible oppoſition to him in *Scotland*, infuſing ſtrong jealouſies into thoſe who were enough inclined to receive them.

King *James* in the intereſt of *England*.

This

A cenſure of *Spotſwood*'s hiſtory.

This is the great defect that runs thro' Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*'s hiſtory, where much of the rude oppoſition that King met with, particularly from the Aſſemblies of the *Kirk*, is ſet forth; but the true ground of all the jealouſies they were poſſeſſed with is ſuppreſſed by him. After his marriage they ſtudied to remove theſe ſuſpicions all that was poſſible; and he granted the *Kirk* all the laws they deſired, and got his temporal authority to be better eſtabliſhed than it was before: Yet as the jealouſies of his ficklenes in religion were never quite removed, ſo they gave him many new diſguſts: They wrought in him a moſt inveterate hatred of presbytery, and of the power of the *Kirk*; and he fearing an oppoſition in his ſucceeding to the Crown of *England*, from the Papiſt party, which, tho' it had little ſtrength in the Houſe of Commons, yet was very great in the Houſe of Lords, and was very conſiderable in all the northern parts, and among the body of the people, employed ſeveral perſons who were known to be Papiſts tho' they complied outwardly. The chief of theſe were *Elphinſton*, Secretary of State, whom he made Lord *Balmerinoch*; and *Seaton*, afterwards Chancellour and Earl of *Dunfermling*. By their means he ſtudied to aſſure the Papiſts that he would connive at them. A letter was alſo writ to the Pope by him giving aſſurance of this, which when it came to be publiſhed by *Bellarmin*, upon the proſecution of the recuſants after the diſcovery of the Gunpowder Plot, *Balmerinoch* did affirm, that he out of zeal to the King's ſervice got his hand to it, having put it in the bundle of papers that were ſigned in courſe without the King's knowing any thing of it. Yet when that diſcovery drew no other ſeverity but the turning him out of office, and the paſſing a ſentence condemning him to die for it (which was preſently pardoned, and he was after a ſhort confinement reſtored to his liberty,) all men believed that the King knew of the letter, and that the pretended confeſſion of the Secretary was only colluſion to lay the jealouſies of the King's favouring Popery, which ſtill hung upon him notwithſtanding his writing on the *Revelation*, and his affecting to enter on all occaſions into controverſy, aſſerting in particular that the Pope was Antichriſt.

King *James* ſtudied to gain the Papiſts.

As he took theſe methods to manage the Popiſh party, he was much more careful to ſecure to himſelf the body of the *Engliſh* nation. *Cecill*, afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*, Secretary to Queen *Elizabeth*, entred into a particular confidence with him: And this was managed by his Ambaſſador *Bruce*, a younger brother of a noble family in *Scotland*, who carried the matter with ſuch addreſs and ſecrecy, that all the great Men of *England*, with

And to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the Crown of *England*.

without knowing of one another's doing it, and without the Queen's ſuſpecting any thing concerning it, ſigned in writing an engagement to aſſert and ſtand by the King of *Scots* right of ſucceſſion. This great ſervice was rewarded by making him Maſter of the Rolls, and a Peer of *Scotland:* And as the King did raiſe *Cecil* and his friends to the greateſt poſts and dignities, ſo he raiſed *Bruce*'s family here in *England.*

When that King came to the Crown of *England* he diſcovered his hatred to the *Scotiſh* Kirk on many occaſions, in which he gratified his reſentment without conſulting his intereſts. He ought to have put his utmoſt ſtrength to the finiſhing what he but faintly begun for the union of both Kingdoms, which was loſt by his unreaſonable partiality in pretending that *Scotland* ought to be conſidered in this union as the third part of the Iſle of *Great Britain*, if not more. So high a demand ruined the deſign. But when that failed, he ſhould then have ſtudied to keep the affections of that Nation firm to him: And certainly he, being ſecure of that Kingdom, might have ſo managed matters, as to have prevented that disjointing which happened afterwards both in his own reign, and more tragically in his ſon's. He thought to effect this by his profuſe bounty to many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, and to his domeſtick ſervants: But as moſt of theſe ſettling in *England* were of no further uſe to him in that deſign, ſo his ſetting up Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, and his conſtant averſion to the Kirk, how right ſoever it might be in it ſelf, was a great errour in policy; for the poorer that Kingdom was, it was both the more eaſy to gain them, and the more dangerous to offend them. So the terrour which the affections of the *Scotch* Nation might have juſtly given the *Engliſh* was ſoon loſt, by his engaging the whole Government to ſupport that which was then very contrary to the bent and genius of the Nation. That King's errours in Government.

But tho' he ſet up Biſhops, he had no revenues to give them, but what he was to purchaſe for them. During his minority all the tithes and the church lands were veſted in the Crown: But this was only in order to the granting them away to the men that bore the chief ſway. It is true, when he came of age he according to the law of *Scotland* paſt a general revocation of all that had been done in his infancy: And by this he could have reſumed all thoſe grants. He, and after him his ſon, ſucceeded in one part of his deſign: For by act of Parliament a Court was erected that was to examine and ſequeſter a third part of the tithes in every pariſh, and ſo make a competent proviſion out of them to thoſe who ſerved the cure; which had He ſet up Epiſcopacy in *Scotland.*

been reſerved in the great alienation for the ſervice of the church. This was carried at firſt to a proportion of about thirty pounds a year, and was afterwards in his ſon's time raiſed to about fifty pounds a year; which conſidering the plenty and way of living in that country is a very liberal proviſion, and is equal in value to thrice that ſum in the ſouthern parts of *England*. In this he had both the clergy and the body of the people on his ſide. But he could not ſo eaſily provide for the Biſhops: They were at firſt forced to hold their former cures with ſome ſmall addition.

With a deſign to carry matters farther.

But as they aſſumed at their firſt ſetting up little more authority than that of a conſtant preſident of the presbyters, ſo they met with much rough oppoſition. The King intended to carry on a conformity in matters of religion with *England*, and he begun to buy in from the Grantees many of the eſtates that belonged to the Biſhopricks. It was alſo enacted, that a form of prayer ſhould be drawn for *Scotland:* And the King was authorized to appoint the habits in which the divine offices were to be performed. Some of the chief holy-days were ordered to be obſerv'd. The Sacrament was to be received kneeling, and to be given to the ſick. Confirmation was enacted; as alſo the uſe of the Croſs in Baptiſm. Theſe things were firſt paſt in general aſſemblies, which were compoſed of Biſhops and the deputies choſen by the Clergy, who ſat all in one houſe: And in it they reckoned the Biſhops only as ſingle votes. Great oppoſition was made to all theſe ſteps: And the whole force of the Government was ſtrained to carry elections to thoſe meetings, or to take off thoſe who were choſen; in which it was thought that no ſort of practice was omitted. It was pretended, that ſome were frighted, and others were corrupted.

Errours of the Biſhops.

The Biſhops themſelves did their part very ill. They generally grew haughty: They neglected their functions, and were often at Court, and loſt all eſteem with the people. Some few that were ſtricter and more learned did lean ſo groſly to Popery, that the heat and violence of the Reformation became the main ſubject of their ſermons and diſcourſes. King *James* grew weary of this oppoſition, or was ſo apprehenſive of the ill effects that it might have, that, what through ſloth or fear, and what by reaſon of the great diſorder into which his ill conduct brought his affairs in *England* in his latter years, he went no further in his deſigns on *Scotland*.

Prince *Henry* was believed to be poiſoned.

He had three children. His eldeſt, Prince *Henry*, was a Prince of great hopes; but ſo very little like his father, that he was rather feared than loved by him. He was ſo zealous a Proteſtant,

teſtant that, when his father was entertaining propoſitions of marrying him to popiſh Princeſſes, once to the Archducheſs, and at another time to a daughter of *Savoy*, he in a letter that he wrote to the King on the twelfth of that *October* in which he died (the original of which Sir *William Cook* ſhewed me) deſired, that if his father married him that way it might be with the youngeſt perſon of the two, of whoſe converſion he might have hope, and that any liberty ſhe might be allowed for her religion might be in the privateſt manner poſſible. Whether this averſion to Popery haſten'd his death or not I cannot tell. Colonel *Titus* aſſured me that he had from King *Charles* the firſt's own mouth, that he was well aſſured he was poiſoned by the Earl of *Somerſet*'s means. It is certain, that from the time of the Gunpowder Plot, King *James* was ſo ſtruck with the terror of that danger he was then ſo near, that ever after he had no mind to provoke the Jeſuits; for he ſaw what they were capable of.

The Gunpowder-Plot.

And ſince I name that conſpiracy which the Papiſts in our days have had the impudence to deny, and to pretend it was an artifice of *Cecill*'s to engage ſome deſperate men into a Plot, which he managed ſo that he could diſcover it when he pleaſed, I will mention what I my ſelf ſaw, and had for ſome time in my poſſeſſion. Sir *Everard Digby* died for being of the Conſpiracy: He was the Father of the famous Sir *Kenelm Digby*. The family being ruined upon the death of Sir *Kenelm*'s Son, when the executors were looking out for writings to make out the titles of the eſtates they were to ſell, they were directed by an old ſervant to a cupboard that was very artificially hid, in which ſome papers lay that ſhe had obſerved Sir *Kenelm* was oft reading. They looking into it found a velvet bag, within which there were two other ſilk bags: (So carefully were thoſe relicks kept:) And there was within theſe a collection of all the letters that Sir *Everard* writ during his impriſonment. In theſe he expreſſes great trouble, becauſe he heard ſome of their friends blamed their undertaking: He highly magnifies it; and ſays, if he had many lives he would willingly have ſacrificed them all in carrying it on. In one paper he ſays, they had taken that care that there were not above two or three worth ſaving, to whom they had not given notice to keep out of the way. And in none of thoſe papers does he expreſs any ſort of remorſe for that which he had been engaged in, and for which he ſuffered.

King *James* was afraid of the Jeſuits.

Upon the diſcovery of that Plot there was a general proſecution of all Papiſts ſet on foot: But King *James* was very uneaſy at it; which was much encreaſed by what Sir *Dudly Carlton* told him upon his return from *Spain*, where he had been Ambaſſadour;

baſſadour; (which I had from the Lord *Hollis*, who ſaid to me that Sir *Dudly Carlton* told it to himſelf, and was much troubled when he ſaw it had an effect contrary to what he had intended.) When he came home, he found the King at *Theobald's* hunting in a very careleſs and unguarded manner: And upon that, in order to the putting him on a more careful looking to himſelf, he told the King he muſt either give over that way of hunting, or ſtop another hunting that he was engaged in, which was Prieſt hunting: For he had intelligence in *Spain* that the Prieſts were comforting themſelves with this, that if he went on againſt them they would ſoon get rid of him: Queen *Elizabeth* was a woman of form, and was always ſo well attended, that all their plots againſt her failed, and were never brought to any effect: But a Prince who was always in woods or foreſts would be eaſily overtaken. The King ſent for him in private to enquire more particularly into this: And he ſaw it had made a great impreſſion on him: But wrought otherwiſe than as he intended. For the King, reſolved to gratifie his humour in hunting and in a careleſs and irregular way of life, did immediately order all that proſecution to be let fall. I have the minutes of the Council Books of the year 1606, which are full of orders to diſcharge and tranſport Prieſts, ſometimes ten in a day. From thence to his dying day he continued always writing and talking againſt Popery, but acting for it. He married his only daughter to a Proteſtant Prince, one of the moſt zealous and ſincere of them all, the Elector *Palatine*; upon which a great Revolution happen'd in the affairs of *Germany*. The eldeſt branch of the Houſe of *Auſtria* retained ſome of the impreſſions that their Father *Maximilian* II. ſtudied to infuſe into them, who as he was certainly one of the beſt and wiſeſt Princes of theſe latter ages, ſo he was unalterably fixed in his opinion againſt perſecution for matters of conſcience: His own ſentiments were ſo very favourable to the Proteſtant Doctrine, that he was thought inwardly theirs. His brother *Charles* of *Grats* was on the other hand wholly managed by the Jeſuits, and was a zealous patron of theirs, and as zealouſly ſupported by them. *Rodolph* and *Matthias* reigned one after another, but without iſſue. Their brother *Albert* was then dying in *Flanders:* So *Spain* with the popiſh intereſt joined to advance *Ferdinand*, the ſon of *Charles* of *Grats:* And he forced *Matthias* to reſign the Crown of *Bohemia* to him, and got himſelf to be elected King. But his government became quickly ſevere: He reſolved to extirpate the Proteſtants, and began to break thro' the privileges that were ſecured to them by the laws of that Kingdom.

The Elector *Palatine's* Marriage.

This

This occaſioned a general inſurrection, which was followed by an aſſembly of the States, who together with thoſe of *Sileſia Moravia* and *Luſatia* joined in depoſing *Ferdinand:* And they offered their Crown firſt to the Duke of *Saxony* who refuſed it, and then to the Elector *Palatine* who accepted of it, being encouraged to it by his two uncles *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Bullion.* But he did not aſk the advice of King *James*: He only gave him notice of it when he had accepted the offer. Here was the probableſt occaſion that has been offered ſince the Reformation for its full eſtabliſhment. The Affairs of *Bohemia.*

The *Engliſh* Nation was much inclined to ſupport it: And it was expected that ſo near a conjunction might have prevailed on the King: But he had an invincible averſion to war; and was ſo poſſeſſed of the opinion of a divine right in all Kings, that he could not bear that even an elective and limited King ſhould be called in queſtion by his ſubjects: So he would never acknowledge his ſon-in-law King, nor give him any aſſiſtance for the ſupport of his new dignity. And tho' it was alſo reckoned on that *France* would enter into any deſign that ſhould bring down the houſe of *Auſtria*, and *Spain* by conſequence, yet even that was diverted by the means of *De Luynes*; a worthleſs but abſolute favourite, whom the Archduchess *Iſabella*, Princeſs of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, gained to oblige the King into a neutrality by giving him the richeſt heireſs then in *Flanders*, the daughter of *Peguiney*, left to her diſpoſal, whom he married to his brother.

Thus poor *Frederick* was left without any aſſiſtance. The jealouſy that the *Lutherans* had of the aſcendant that the *Calviniſts* might gain by this acceſſion had an unhappy ſhare in the coldneſs which all the Princes of that confeſſion ſhewed towards him; tho' *Saxony* only declared for *Ferdinand*, who likewiſe engaged the Duke of *Bavaria* at the head of a catholick league to maintain his intereſts. *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* had embroiled *Holland* by the eſpouſing the controverſy about the decrees of God in oppoſition to the *Arminian* party, and by erecting a new and illegal court by the authority of the States General to judge of the affairs of the Province of *Holland*; which was plainly contrary to their conſtitution, by which every Province is a Sovereignty within itſelf, not at all ſubordinate to the States General, who act only as Plenipotentiaries of the ſeveral Provinces to maintain their union and their common concerns. By that aſſembly *Barnevelt* was condemned and executed: *Grotius* and others were condemned to perpetual impriſonment: And an aſſembly of the miniſters of the ſeveral Provinces met at The diſorders in *Holland.*

Dort by the ſame authority, and condemned and deprived the *Arminians*. *Maurice*'s enemies gave it out that he managed all this on deſign to make himſelf maſter of the Provinces, and to put thoſe who were like to oppoſe him out of the way. But tho' this ſeem a wild and groundleſs imagination, and not poſſible to be compaſſed; yet it is certain that he looked on *Barnevelt* and his party as men who were ſo jealous of him and of a military power, that as they had forced the truce with *Spain* ſo they would be very unwilling to begin a new war; tho' the diſputes about *Juliers* and *Cleves* had almoſt engaged them, and the truce was now near expiring; at the end of which he hoped, if delivered from the oppoſition that he might look for from that party, to begin the war anew. By theſe means there was a great fermentation over all the Provinces, ſo that *Maurice* was not then in condition to give the elected King any conſiderable aſſiſtance; tho' indeed he needed it much, for his conduct was very weak. He affected the grandeur of a regal court, and the magnificence of a crowned head too early: And his Queen ſet up ſome of the gay diverſions that ſhe had been accuſtomed to in her father's court, ſuch as balls and maſks, which very much diſguſted the good *Bohemians*, who thought that a revolution made on the account of religion ought to have put on a greater appearance of ſeriouſneſs and ſimplicity. Theſe particulars I had from the children of ſome who belonged to that court. The elected King was quickly overthrown, and driven not only out of thoſe his new dominions, but likewiſe out of his hereditary countries: He fled to *Holland* where he ended his days. I will go no farther in a matter ſo well known as King *James*'s ill conduct in the whole ſeries of that war, and that unheard-of practice of ſending his only Son thro' *France* into *Spain*, of which the relations we have are ſo full that I can add nothing to them.

Some paſſages of the Religion of ſome Princes.

I will only here tell ſome particulars with relation to *Germany*, that *Fabricius*, the wiſeſt divine I knew among them, told me he had from *Charles Lewis* the Elector *Palatine*'s own mouth. He ſaid, *Frederick* II. who firſt reformed the *Palatinate*, whoſe life is ſo curiouſly writ by *Thomas Hubert* of *Liege*, reſolved to ſhake off Popery, and to ſet up *Lutheraniſm* in his countrey: But a counſellour of his ſaid to him, that the *Lutherans* would always depend chiefly on the Houſe of *Saxony*: So it would not become him who was the firſt Elector to be only the ſecond in the party: It was more for his dignity to become a Calviniſt: He would be the head of that party: It would give him a great intereſt in *Switzerland*, and make the *Huguenots* of

of *France* and in the *Netherlands* depend on him. He was by that determined to declare for the *Helvetian* confeſſion. But upon the ruin of his family the Duke of *Newburgh* had an enterview with the Elector of *Brandenburgh* about their concerns in *Juliers* and *Cleves:* And he perſuaded that Elector to turn *Calviniſt*; for ſince their family was fallen, nothing would more contribute to raiſe the other than the eſpouſing that ſide, which would naturally come under his protection: But he added, that for himſelf he had turned Papiſt, ſince his little Principality lay ſo near both *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*. This that Elector told with a ſort of pleaſure, when he made it appear that other Princes had no more ſenſe of religion than he himſelf had.

Other circumſtances concurred to make King *James*'s reign inglorious. The States having borrowed great ſums of money of Queen *Elizabeth*, they gave her the *Brill* and *Fluſhing*, with ſome other places of leſs note, in pawn till the money ſhould be repaid. Soon after his coming to the Crown of *England* he entered into ſecret treaties with *Spain*, in order to the forcing the States to a peace: One article was, that if they were obſtinate he would deliver theſe places to the *Spaniards*. When the truce was made, *Barnevelt*, tho' he had promoted it, yet knowing the ſecret article, he ſaw they were very unſafe while the keys of *Holland* and *Zealand* were in the hands of a Prince who might perhaps ſell them, or make an ill uſe of them: So he perſuaded the States to redeem the mortgage by repaying the money that *England* had lent, for which theſe places were put into their hands: And he came over himſelf to treat about it. King *James*, who was profuſe upon his favourites and ſervants, was delighted with the proſpect of ſo much money; and immediately, without calling a Parliament to adviſe with them about it, he did yield to the propoſition. So the money was paid, and the places were evacuated. But his profuſeneſs drew two other things upon him, which broke the whole authority of the Crown, and the dependence of the Nation upon it. The Crown had a great eſtate over all *England*, which was all let out upon leaſes for years, and a ſmall rent was reſerved. So moſt of the great families of the Nation were the tenants of the Crown, and a great many burroughs were depending on the eſtates ſo held. The renewal of theſe leaſes brought in fines to the Crown, and to the great officers: Beſides that the fear of being denied a renewal kept all in a dependence on the Crown. King *James* obtained of his Parliament a power of granting, that is ſelling, thoſe eſtates for ever, with the reſerve of the old quit-rent: And all the money raiſed by this was profuſely ſquandred away.

King *James* parted with the cautionary Towns.

King *James* broke the greatneſs of the Crown.

way. Another main part of the regal authority was the Wards, which anciently the Crown took into their own management. Our Kings were, according to the firſt inſtitution, the Guardians of the Wards. They bred them up in their courts, and diſpoſed of them in marriage as they thought fit. Afterwards they compounded, or forgave them, or gave them to ſome branches of the family, or to provide the younger children. But they proceeded in this very gently: And the chief care after the Reformation was to breed the Wards Proteſtants. Still all were under a great dependence by this means. Much money was not raiſed this way: But families were often at mercy, and were uſed according to their behaviour. King *James* granted theſe generally to his ſervants and favourites: And they made the moſt of them. So that what was before a dependence on the Crown, and was moderately compounded for, became then a moſt exacting oppreſſion, by which ſeveral families were ruined. This went on in King *Charles*'s time in the ſame method. Our Kings thought they gave little when they diſpoſed of a Ward, becauſe they made little of them. All this raiſed ſuch an outcry, that Mr. *Pierpoint* at the Reſtoration gathered ſo many inſtances of theſe, and repreſented them ſo effectually to that Houſe of Commons that called home King *Charles* the ſecond, that he perſuaded them to redeem themſelves by an offer of exciſe, which indeed produces a much greater revenue, but took away the dependence in which all families were held by the dread of leaving their heirs expoſed to ſo great a danger. *Pierpoint* valued himſelf to me upon this ſervice he did his country, at a time when things were ſo little conſidered on either hand, that the court did not ſeem to apprehend the value of what they parted with, nor the country of what they purchaſed.

Other errours in his reign.

Beſides theſe publick actings King *James* ſuffered much in the opinion of all people by his ſtrange way of uſing one of the greateſt men of that age, Sir *Walter Raleigh*; againſt whom the proceedings at firſt were much cenſured, but the laſt part of them was thought both barbarous and illegal. The whole buſineſs of the Earl of *Somerſet*'s riſe and fall, of the Counteſs of *Eſſex* and *Overbury*, the putting the inferiour perſons to death for that infamous poyſoning, and the ſparing the principals, both the Earl of *Somerſet* and his Lady, were ſo odious and inhuman, that it quite ſunk the reputation of a reign, that on many other accounts was already much expoſed to contempt and cenſure; which was the more ſenſible, becauſe it ſucceeded ſuch a glorious and happy one. King *James* in the end of his reign

was become weary of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who treated him with ſuch an air of inſolent contempt that he ſeemed at laſt reſolved to throw him off, but could not think of taking the load of government on himſelf, and ſo reſolved to bring the Earl of *Somerſet* again into favour, as that Lord reported it to ſome from whom I had it. He met with him in the night in the gardens at *Theobalds:* Two bed-chamber men were only in the ſecret: The King embraced him tenderly and with many tears: The Earl of *Somerſet* believed the ſecret was not well kept; for ſoon after the King was taken ill with ſome fits of an ague and died of it. My father was then in *London*, and did very much ſuſpect an ill practice in the matter: But perhaps Doctor *Craig*, my mother's uncle, who was one of the King's phyſicians, poſſeſſed him with theſe apprehenſions; for he was diſgraced for ſaying he believed the King was poyſoned. It is certain no King could die leſs lamented or leſs eſteemed than he was. This ſunk the credit of the Biſhops of *Scotland*, who as they were his creatures, ſo they were obliged to a great dependence on him, and were thought guilty of groſs and abject flattery towards him. His reign in *England* was a continued courſe of mean practices. The firſt condemnation of Sir *Walter Raleigh* was very black: But the executing him after ſo many years, and after an employment that had been given him, was counted a barbarous ſacrificing him to the *Spaniards*. The riſe and fall of the Earl of *Somerſet*, and the ſwift progreſs of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s greatneſs, were things that expoſed him to the cenſure of all the world. I have ſeen the originals of about twenty letters that he wrote to the Prince and that Duke while they were in *Spain*, which ſhew a meanneſs as well as a fondneſs that render him very contemptible. The great Figure the Crown of *England* had made in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, who had rendred her ſelf the arbiter of chriſtendom, and was the wonder of the age, was ſo much eclipſed if not quite darkened during this reign, that King *James* was become the ſcorn of the age; and while hungry writers flattered him out of meaſure at home, he was deſpiſed by all abroad as a pedant without true judgment, courage, or ſteadineſs, ſubject to his favourites and delivered up to the counſels or rather the corruption of *Spain*.

His Death.

The Puritans gained credit, as the King and the Biſhops loſt it. They put on external appearances of great ſtrictneſs and gravity: They took more pains in their pariſhes than thoſe who adhered to the Biſhops, and were often preaching againſt the vices of the Court; for which they were ſometimes puniſhed, tho' very gently, which raiſed their reputation, and drew pre-

The *Puritans* gained ground.

ſents to them that made up their ſufferings abundantly. They begun ſome particular methods of getting their people to meet privately with them: And in theſe meetings they gave great vent to extemporary prayer, which was looked on as a ſort of inſpiration: And by theſe means they grew very popular. They were very factious and inſolent; and both in their ſermons and prayers were always mixing ſevere reflections on their enemies. Some of them boldly gave out very many predictions; particularly two of them who were held prophets, *Daviſon* and *Bruce*. Some of the things that they foretold came to paſs: But my father, who knew them both, told me of many of their predictions that he himſelf heard them throw out, which had no effect: But all theſe were forgot, and if ſome more probable gueſſings which they delivered as prophecies were accompliſhed, theſe were much magnified. They were very ſpiteful againſt all thoſe who differed from them; and were wanting in no methods that could procure them either good uſage, or good preſents. Of this my father had great occaſion to ſee many inſtances: For my great grand-mother, who was a very rich woman and much engaged to them, was moſt obſequiouſly courted by them. *Bruce* lived concealed in her houſe for ſome years: And they all found ſuch advantages in their ſubmiſſions to her, that ſhe was counted for many years the chief ſupport of the party: Her name was *Rachel Arnot*. She was daughter to Sir *John Arnot*, a man in great favour, and Lord Treaſurer deputy. Her huſband *Johnſtoun* was the greateſt merchant at that time; and left her an eſtate of 2000 pound a year, to be diſpoſed among his children as ſhe pleaſed: And my father marrying her eldeſt grand child ſaw a great way into all the methods of the Puritans.

Gowry's conſpiracy.

Gowry's conſpiracy was by them charged on the King, as a contrivance of his to get rid of that Earl, who was then held in great eſteem: But my father, who had taken great pains to enquire into all the particulars of that matter, did always believe it was a real conſpiracy. One thing, which none of the Hiſtorians have taken any notice of, and might have induced the Earl of *Gowry* to have wiſhed to put King *James* out of the way, but in ſuch a diſguiſed manner that he ſhould ſeem rather to have eſcaped out of a ſnare himſelf than to have laid one for the King, was this: Upon the King's death he ſtood next to the ſucceſſion to that Crown of *England*; for King *Henry* the ſeventh's daughter that was married to King *James* the fourth did after his death marry *Dowglas* Earl of *Angus*: But they could not agree: So a precontract was proved againſt him: Upon which, by a ſentence

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from *Rome*, the marriage was voided, with a clauſe in favour of the iſſue, ſince born under a marriage *de facto* and *bona fide*. Lady *Margaret Dowglas* was the child ſo provided for. I did peruſe the original Bull confirming the divorce. After that, the Queen Dowager married one *Francis Steward*, and had by him a ſon made Lord *Methuen* by King *James* the fifth. In the patent he is called *frater noſter uterinus*. He had only a daughter, who was mother or grandmother to the Earl of *Gowry*. So that by this he might be glad to put the King out of the way, that ſo he might ſtand next to the ſucceſſion of the Crown of *England*. He had a brother then a child, who when he grew up and found he could not carry the name of *Ruthen*, which by an act of Parliament made after this conſpiracy none might carry, he went and lived beyond ſea; and it was given out that he had the philoſopher's ſtone. He had two ſons who died without iſſue, and one daughter married to Sir *Anthony Vandike*, the famous picture drawer, whoſe children according to his pedigree ſtood very near to the ſucceſſion of the Crown. It was not eaſy to perſuade the nation of the truth of that conſpiracy: For eight years before that time King *James*, on a ſecret jealouſy of the Earl of *Murray*, then eſteemed the handſomeſt man of *Scotland*, ſet on the Marquis of *Huntly*, who was his mortal enemy, to murder him; and by a writing all in his own hand he promiſed to ſave him harmleſs for it. He ſet the houſe in which he was on fire: And the Earl flying away was followed and murdered, and *Huntly* ſent *Gordon* of *Buckey* with the news to the King: Soon after, all who were concerned in that vile fact were pardoned, which laid the King open to much cenſure. And this made the matter of *Gowry* to be the leſs believed.

When King *Charles* ſucceeded to the Crown he was at firſt thought favourable to the Puritans; for his tutor, and all his Court were of that way: And Dr. *Preſton*, then the head of the party, came up in the coach from *Theobalds* to *London* with the King and the Duke of *Buckingham*; which being againſt the rules of the Court gave great offence: But it was ſaid, the King was ſo over charged with grief, that he wanted the comfort of ſo wiſe and ſo great a man. It was alſo given out, that the Duke of *Buckingham* offered Dr. *Preſton* the Great Seal: But he was wiſer than to accept of it. I will go no further into the beginning of that reign with relation to *Engliſh* affairs, which are fully opened by others. Only I will tell one particular which I had from the Earl of *Lothian*, who was bred up in the Court, and whoſe father, the Earl of *Ancram*, was gentleman of the Bedchamber, tho' himſelf was ever much hated by the King. He told

King *Charles* at firſt a friend to the Puritans.

told me, that King *Charles* was much offended with King *James*'s light and familiar way, which was the effect of hunting and drinking, on which occaſions he was very apt to forget his dignity, and to break out into great indecencies: On the other hand the ſolemn gravity of the Court of *Spain* was more ſuited to his own temper, which was ſullen even to a moroſeneſs. This led him to a grave reſerved deportment, in which he forgot the civilities and the affability that the nation naturally loved, to which they had been long accuſtomed: Nor did he in his outward deportment take any pains to oblige any perſons whatſoever: So far from that, he had ſuch an ungracious way of ſhewing favour, that the manner of beſtowing it was almoſt as mortifying as the favour was obliging. I turn now to the affairs of *Scotland*, which are but little known.

He deſigned to recover the tithes and church lands in *Scotland* to the Crown.

The King reſolved to carry on two deſigns that his father had ſet on foot, but had let the proſecution of them fall in the laſt years of his reign. The firſt of theſe was about the recovery of the tithes and church lands: He reſolved to proſecute his father's revocation, and to void all the grants made in his minority, and to create titular Abbots as Lords of Parliament, but Lords, as Biſhops, only for life. And that the two great families of *Hamilton* and *Lenox* might be good examples to the reſt of the nation, he by a ſecret purchaſe, and with *Engliſh* money, bought the Abby of *Aberbroth* of the former, and the Lordſhip of *Glaſgow* of the latter, and gave theſe to the two Archbiſhopricks. Theſe Lords made a ſhew of zeal after a good bargain, and ſurrendered them to the King. He alſo purchaſed ſeveral eſtates of leſs value to the ſeveral Sees; and all men, who pretended to favour at Court, offered their church lands to ſale at a low rate.

In the third year of his reign the Earl of *Nithiſdale*, then believed a Papiſt, which he afterwards profeſſed, having married a niece of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s, was ſent down with a power to take the ſurrender of all church lands, and to aſſure all who did readily ſurrender, that the King would take it kindly, and uſe them all very well, but that he would proceed with all rigour againſt thoſe who would not ſubmit their rights to his diſpoſal. Upon his coming down, thoſe who were moſt concerned in thoſe grants met at *Edinburgh*, and agreed, that when they were called together, if no other argument did prevail to make the Earl of *Nithiſdale* deſiſt, they would fall upon him and all his party in the old *Scotiſh* manner, and knock them on the head. *Primroſe* told me one of theſe Lords, *Belhaven* of the name of *Dowglaſs* who was blind, bid them ſet him by one of

the party; and he would make ſure of one. So he was ſet next the Earl of *Dunfrize:* He was all the while holding him faſt: And when the other aſked him what he meant by that, he ſaid, ever ſince the blindneſs was come on him he was in ſuch fear of falling, that he could not help the holding faſt to thoſe who were next to him: He had all the while a ponyard in his other hand, with which he had certainly ſtabbed *Dunfrize*, if any diſorder had happen'd. The appearance at that time was ſo great, and ſo much heat was raiſed upon it, that the Earl of *Nithiſdale* would not open all his inſtructions, but came back to Court, looking on the ſervice as deſperate: So a ſtop was put to it for ſome time.

In the year 1633 the King came down in perſon to be crowned. In ſome conventions of the States that had been held before that all the money that the King had aſked was given; and ſome petitions were offered ſetting forth grievances, which thoſe whom the King employed had aſſured them ſhould be redreſſed: But nothing was done, and all was put off till the King ſhould come down in perſon. His entry and coronation were managed with ſuch magnificence, that the countrey ſuffered much by it: All was entertainment and ſhew. When the Parliament ſate, the Lords of the articles prepared an act declaring the royal prerogative, as it had been aſſerted by law in the year 1606; to which an addition was made of another act paſs'd in the year 1609, by which King *James* was impower'd to preſcribe apparel to churchmen with their own conſent. This was a perſonal thing to King *James*, in conſideration of his great learning and experience, of which he had made no uſe during the reſt of his reign. And in the year 1617, when he held a Parliament there in perſon, an act was prepared by the Lords of the articles, authorizing all things that ſhould thereafter be determined in eccleſiaſtical affairs by his Majeſty, with conſent of a competent number of the clergy, to have the ſtrength and power of a law. But the King either apprehended that great oppoſition would be made to the paſſing the act, or that great trouble would follow on the execution of it: So when the rubrick of the act was read, he ordered it to be ſuppreſs'd, tho' paſs'd in the articles. In this act of 1633 theſe acts of 1606 and 1609 were drawn into one. To this great oppoſition was made by the Earl of *Rothes*, who deſired the acts might be divided: But the King ſaid, it was now one act, and he muſt either vote for it, or againſt it. He ſaid, he was for the prerogative as much as any man, but that addition was contrary to the liberties of the Church, and he thought no determination ought to be made in ſuch mat-

He was crowned in *Scotland.*

ters without the conſent of the clergy, at leaſt without their being heard. The King bid him argue no more, but give his vote: So he voted, not content. Some few Lords offered to argue: But the King ſtopt them, and commanded them to vote. Almoſt the whole Commons voted in the negative: So that the act was indeed rejected by the majority: Which the King knew; for he had called for a liſt of the numbers, and with his own pen had mark'd every man's vote: Yet the Clerk of Regiſter, who gathers and declares the votes, ſaid it was carried in the affirmative. The Earl of *Rothes* affirmed it went for the negative: So the King ſaid, the Clerk of Regiſter's declaration muſt be held good, unleſs the Earl of *Rothes* would go to the Barr and accuſe him of falſifying the record of Parliament, which was capital: And in that caſe, if he ſhould fail in the proof he was liable to the ſame puniſhment: So he would not venture on that. Thus the act was publiſhed, tho' in truth it was rejected. The King expreſſed a high diſpleaſure at all who had concurred in that oppoſition. Upon that the Lords had many meetings: They reckoned that now all their liberties were gone, and a Parliament was but a piece of pageantry, if the Clerk of Regiſter might declare as he pleaſed how the vote went, and that no ſcrutiny were allowed. Upon that *Hague* the King's ſolicitor, a zealous man of that party, drew a petition to be ſigned by the Lords, and to be offered by them to the King, ſetting forth all their grievances and praying redreſs: He ſhewed this to ſome of them, and among others to the Lord *Balmerinoch*, who liked the main of it, but was for altering it in ſome particulars: He ſpoke of it to the Earl of *Rothes* in the preſence of the Earl of *Caſſilis* and ſome others: None of them approved of it. The Earl of *Rothes* carryed it to the King; and told him, that there was a deſign to offer a petition in order to the explaining and juſtifying their proceedings, and that he had a copy to ſhew him: But the King would not look upon it, and ordered him to put a ſtop to it, for he would receive no ſuch petition. The Earl of *Rothes* told this to *Balmerinoch:* So the thing was laid aſide: Only he kept a copy of it, and interlined it in ſome places with his own hand. While the King was in *Scotland* he erected a new Biſhoprick at *Edinburgh*, and made one *Forbes* Biſhop, who was a very learned and pious man: He had a ſtrange faculty of preaching five or ſix hours at a time: His way of life and devotion was thought monaſtick, and his learning lay in antiquity: He ſtudied to be a reconciler between Papiſts and Proteſtants, leaning rather to the firſt, as appears by his *Conſideraciones modeſtæ:* He was a very ſimple man, and knew little of the world:

Balmerinoch's trial.

So

So he fell into ſeveral errors in conduct, but died ſoon after ſuſpected of Popery, which ſuſpicion was encreaſed by his ſon's turning Papiſt. The King left *Scotland* much diſcontented, but reſolved to proſecute the deſign of recovering the church lands: And Sir *Thomas Hope*, a ſtubtil lawyer, who was believed to underſtand that matter beyond all the men of his profeſſion, tho' in all reſpects he was a zealous Puritan, was made the King's advocate, upon his undertaking to bring all the church lands back to the Crown: Yet he proceeded in that matter ſo ſlowly, that it was believed he acted in concert with the party that oppoſed it. Enough was already done to allarm all that were poſſeſſed of the church lands: And they to engage the whole countrey in their quarrel took care to infuſe it into all people, but chiefly into the preachers, that all was done to make way for Popery. The winter after the King was in *Scotland*, *Balmerinoch* was thinking how to make the petition more acceptable: And in order to that he ſhewed it to one *Dunmoor* a lawyer in whom he truſted, and deſired his opinion of it, and ſuffered him to carry it home with him, but charged him to ſhew it to no perſon, and to take no copy of it. He ſhewed it under a promiſe of ſecreſy to one *Hay* of *Naughton*, and told him from whom he had it. *Hay* looking on the paper, and ſeeing it a matter of ſome conſequence, carried it to *Spotſwood* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*; who apprehending it was going about for hands was allarmed at it, and went immediately to *London*, beginning his journey as he often did on a ſunday, which was a very odious thing in that country. There are laws in *Scotland* looſely worded that make it capital to ſpread lies of the King or his Government, or to alienate his ſubjects from him. It was alſo made capital to know of any that do it, and not diſcover them: But this laſt was never once put in execution. The petition was thought within this act: So an order was ſent down for committing Lord *Balmerinoch*. The reaſon of it being for ſome time kept ſecret, it was thought done becauſe of his vote in parliament. But after ſome conſultation a ſpecial commiſſion was ſent down for the trial. In *Scotland* there is a Court for the trial of Peers, diſtinct from the jury who are to be fifteen, and the majority determine the verdict: The fact being only referred to the jury or aſſize as they call it, the law is judged by the Court: And if the majority of the jury are Peers, the reſt may be gentlemen. At this time a private gentleman of the name of *Steward* was become ſo conſiderable that he was raiſed by ſeveral degrees to be made Earl of *Traquair* and Lord Treaſurer, and was in great favour; but ſuffered afterwards ſuch a reverſe

reverſe of fortune, that I ſaw him ſo low that he wanted bread, and was forced to beg; and it was believed died of hunger. He was a man of great parts, but of two much craft: He was thought the capableſt man for buſineſs, and the beſt ſpeaker in that Kingdom. So he was charged with the care of the Lord *Balmerinoch*'s trial: But when the ground of the proſecution was known, *Hague* who drew the petition writ a letter to the Lord *Balmerinoch*, in which he owned that he drew the petition without any direction or aſſiſtance from him: And upon that he went over to *Holland*. The Court was created by a ſpecial commiſſion: In the naming of Judges there appeared too viſibly a deſign to have that Lord's life, for they were either very weak or very poor. Much pains was taken to have a jury; in which ſo great partiality appeared, that when the Lord *Balmerinoch* was upon his challanges, and excepted to the Earl of *Dunfriſe* for his having ſaid that if he were of his jury tho' he were as innocent as St. *Paul* he would find him guilty, ſome of the Judges ſaid, that was only a raſh word: Yet the King's advocate allowed the challenge if proved, which was done. The next called on was the Earl of *Lauderdale*, father to the Duke of that title: With him the Lord *Balmerinoch* had been long in enmity: Yet inſtead of challenging him, he ſaid he was *omni exceptione major*. It was long conſidered upon what the priſoner ſhould be tried: For his hand interlining the paper, which did plainly ſoften it, was not thought evidence that he drew it, or that he was acceſſary to it: And they had no other proof againſt him: Nor could they from that infer that he was the divulger, ſince it did appear it was only ſhewed by him to a lawyer for counſel. So it was ſettled on to inſiſt on this, that the paper tended to alienate the ſubjects from their duty to the King, and that he, knowing who was the author of it, did not diſcover him, which by law was capital. The Court judged the paper to be ſeditious, and to be a lie of the King and his government: The other point was clear, that he knowing the author did not diſcover him. He pleaded for himſelf, that the ſtatute for diſcovery had never been put in execution; that it could never be meant but of matters that were notoriouſly ſeditious; that till the Court judged ſo he did not take this paper to be of that nature, but conſidered it as a paper full of duty, deſigned to ſet himſelf and ſome others right in the King's opinion; that upon the firſt ſight of it, tho' he approved of the main, yet he diſliked ſome expreſſions in it; that he communicated the matter to the Earl of *Rothes*, who told the King of the deſign; and that, upon the King's ſaying he would receive no ſuch petition

tion, it was quite laid aſide: This was atteſted by the Earl of *Rothes*. A long debate had been much inſiſted on, whether the Earl of *Traquair* or the King's miniſters might be of the jury or not: But the Court gave it in their favour. When the jury was ſhut up, *Gordon* of *Bucky*, who was one of them, being then very antient, who forty three years before had aſſiſted in the murder of the Earl of *Murray*, and was thought upon this occaſion a ſure man, ſpoke firſt of all, excuſing his preſumption in being the firſt that broke the ſilence. He deſired, they would all conſider what they were about: It was a matter of blood, and they would feel the weight of that as long as they lived: He had in his youth been drawn in to ſhed blood, for which he had the King's pardon, but it coſt him more to obtain God's pardon: It had given him many ſorrowful hours both day and night: And as he ſpoke this, the tears ran over his face. This ſtruck a damp on them all. But the Earl of *Traquair* took up the argument; and ſaid, they had it not before them whether the law was a hard law or not, nor had they the nature of the paper before them, which was judged by the Court to be leaſing-making; they were only to conſider, whether the priſoner had diſcovered the contriver of the paper or not. Upon this the Earl of *Lauderdale* took up the argument againſt him, and urged, that ſevere laws never executed were looked on as made only to terrify people, that tho' after the Court's having judged the paper to be ſeditious it would be capital to conceal the author, yet before ſuch judgment the thing could not be thought ſo evident that he was bound to reveal it. Upon theſe heads thoſe Lords argued the matter many hours: But when it went to the vote, ſeven acquitted, but eight caſt him: So ſentence was given. Upon this many meetings were held: And it was reſolved either to force the priſon to ſet him at liberty, or if that failed to revenge his death both on the Court and on the eight jurors; ſome undertaking to kill them, and others to burn their houſes. When the Earl of *Traquair* underſtood this, he went to Court, and told the King that the Lord *Balmerinoch*'s life was in his hands, but the execution was in no ſort adviſeable: So he procured his pardon, for which the party was often reproached with his ingratitude: But he thought he had been much wronged in the proſecution, and ſo little regarded in the pardon, that he never looked on himſelf as under any obligation on that account. My father knew the whole ſteps of this matter, having been the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s moſt particular friend: He often told me, that the ruin of the King's affairs in *Scotland* was in a great meaſure owing to that proſecution; and he carefully preſerved the petition it

He was condemned.

But pardoned.

ſelf, and the papers relating to the trial; of which I never ſaw any copy beſides thoſe which I have. And that raiſed in me a deſire of ſeeing the whole record, which was copied for me, and is now in my hands. It is a little volume, and contains, according to the *Scotch* method, the whole abſtract of all the pleadings, and all the evidence that was given; and is indeed a very noble piece, full of curious matter.

A liturgy prepared.

When the deſign of recovering the tithes went on, tho' but ſlowly, another deſign made a greater progreſs. The Biſhops of *Scotland* fell on the framing of a liturgy and a body of canons for the worſhip and government of that church. Theſe were never examined in any publick aſſembly of the clergy: All was managed by three or four aſpiring Biſhops, *Maxwell*, *Sidſerfe*, *Whitford*, and *Banautine*, the Biſhops of *Roſs*, *Galloway*, *Dunblane*, and *Aberdeen*. *Maxwel* did alſo accuſe the Earl of *Traquair*, as cold in the King's ſervice, and as managing the treaſury deceitfully; and he was aſpiring to that office. *Spotſwood*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* then Lord Chancellour, was a prudent and mild man, but of no great decency in his courſe of life. The Earl of *Traquair*, ſeeing himſelf ſo puſhed at, was more earneſt than the Biſhops themſelves in promoting the new model of worſhip and diſcipline; and by that he recovered the ground he had loſt with the King, and with Archbiſhop *Laud*: He alſo aſſiſted the Biſhops in obtaining commiſſions, ſubaltern to the High-commiſſion Court, in their ſeveral dioceſes, which were thought little different from the Courts of Inquiſition. *Sidſerfe* ſet this up in *Galloway*: And a complaint being made in Council of his proceedings, he gave the Earl of *Argile* the lie in full Council. He was after all a very learned and good man, but ſtrangely heated in thoſe matters. And they all were ſo lifted up with the King's zeal, and ſo encouraged by Archbiſhop *Laud*, that they loſt all temper; of which I knew *Sidſerfe* made great acknowledgments in his old age.

The feebleneſs of the government.

But the unaccountable part of the King's proceedings was, that all this while, when he was endeavouring to recover ſo great a part of the property of *Scotland* as the church lands and tithes were from men that were not like to part with them willingly, and was going to change the whole conſtitution of that Church and Kingdom, he raiſed no force to mantain what he was about to do, but truſted the whole management to the civil execution. By this all people ſaw the weakneſs of the government, at the ſame time that they complained of its rigour. All that came down from Court complained of the King's inexorable ſtiffneſs, and of the progreſs Popery was making, of the Queen's power with

with the King, of the favour ſhewed the Popes *Nuntios*, and of the many proſelytes who were daily falling off to the church of *Rome*. The Earl of *Traquair* infuſed this more effectually, tho' more covertly, than any other man could do: And when the country formed the firſt oppoſition they made to the King's proclamations, and proteſted againſt them, he drew the firſt proteſtation, as *Primroſe* aſſured me; tho' he deſigned no more than to put a ſtop to the credit the Biſhops had, and to the fury of their proceedings: But the matter went much farther than he ſeemed to intend: For he himſelf was fatally caught in the ſnare laid for others. A troop of horſe and a regiment of foot had prevented all that followed, or rather had by all appearance eſtabliſhed an arbitrary government in that Kingdom: But to ſpeak in the language of a great man, thoſe who conducted matters at that time had as little of the prudence of the ſerpent as of the innocence of the dove: And, as my father often told me, he and many others who adhered in the ſequel firmly to the King's intereſt were then much troubled at the whole conduct of affairs, as being neither wiſe, legal, nor juſt. I will go no farther in opening the beginnings of the troubles of *Scotland*: Of theſe a full account will be found in the memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. The violence with which that Kingdom did almoſt unanimouſly engage againſt the adminiſtration may eaſily convince one, that the provocation muſt have been very great to draw on ſuch an entire and vehement concurrence againſt it.

Saville's forgery prevailed on the *Scots*.

After the firſt pacification, upon the new diſputes that aroſe, when the Earl of *Lowdun* and *Dunfermling* were ſent up with the petition from the covenanters, the Lord *Saville* came to them, and informed them of many particulars, by which they ſaw the King was highly irritated againſt them: He took great pains to perſuade them to come with their army into *England*. They very unwillingly hearken'd to that propoſition, and looked on it as a deſign from the Court to enſnare them, making the *Scots* invade *England*, by which this Nation might have been provoked to aſſiſt the King to conquer *Scotland*. It is true, he hated the Earl of *Strafford* ſo much, that they ſaw no cauſe to ſuſpect him: So they entred into a treaty with him about it. The Lord *Saville* aſſured them, he ſpake to them in the name of the moſt conſiderable men in *England*; and he ſhewed them an engagement under their hands to join with them, if they would come into *England*, and refuſe any treaty but what ſhould be confirmed by a Parliament of *England*. They deſired leave to ſend this paper into *Scotland*, to which after much ſeeming difficulty

ficulty he consented: So a cane was hollowed, and this was put within it; and one *Frost*, afterwards secretary to the Committee of both Kingdoms, was sent down with it as a poor traveller. It was to be communicated only to three persons, the Earls of *Rothes* and *Argile*, and to *Warristoun*, the three chief confidents of the covenanters. The Earl of *Rothes* was a man of pleasure, but of a most obliging temper: His affairs were low: *Spotswood* had once made the bargain between the King and him before the troubles, but the Earl of *Traquair* broke it, seeing he was to be raised above himself. The Earl of *Rothes* had all the arts of making himself popular; only there was too much levity in his temper, and too much liberty in his course of life. The Earl of *Argile* was a more solemn sort of a man, grave and sober, free of all scandalous vices, of an invincible calmness of temper, and a pretender to high degrees of piety: He was much set on raising his own family to be a sort of King in the Highlands.

The characters of the chief of the covenanters.

Warristoun was my own uncle: He was a man of great application, could seldom sleep above three hours in the twenty four: He had studied the law carefully, and had a great quickness of thought with an extraordinary memory. He went into very high notions of lengthen'd devotions, in which he continued many hours a day: He would often pray in his family two hours at a time, and had an unexhausted copiousness that way. What thought soever struck his fancy during those effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer, and was wholly determined by it. He looked on the Covenant as the setting Christ on his throne, and so was out of measure zealous in it. He had no regard to the raising himself or his family, tho' he had thirteen children: But Presbytery was to him more than all the world. He had a readiness and vehemence of speaking that made him very considerable in publick assemblies: And he had a fruitful invention; so that he was at all times furnished with expedients. To these three only this paper was to be shewed upon an oath of secrecy: And it was to be deposited in *Warristoun*'s hands. They were only allowed to publish to the Nation, that they were sure of a very great and unexpected assistance, which tho' it was to be kept secret would appear in due time. This they published: And it was looked on as an artifice to draw in the Nation: But it was afterwards found to be a cheat indeed, but a cheat of Lord *Saville*'s who had forged all these subscriptions.

The *Scots* came into *England*.

The *Scots* marched with a very sorry equipage: Every souldier carried a week's provision of oatmeal; and they had a drove of cattel with them for their food. They had also an

invention of guns of white iron tinned and done about with leather, and chorded ſo that they could ſerve for two or three diſcharges. Theſe were light, and were carried on horſes: And when they came to *Newburn*, the *Engliſh* army that defended the *Ford* was ſurprized with a diſcharge of artillery: Some thought it magick; and all were put in ſuch diſorder that the whole army did run with ſo great precipitation, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had a command in it, did not ſtick to own that till he paſs'd the *Tees* his legs trembled under him. This ſtruck many of the enthuſiaſts of the King's ſide, as much as it exalted the *Scots*; who were next day poſſeſſed of *Newcaſtle*, and ſo were maſters not only of *Northumberland* and the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme*, but of the coalries; by which, if they had not been in a good underſtanding with the City of *London*, they could have diſtreſſed them extremely: But all the uſe the City made of this was, to raiſe a great outcry, and to complain of the war, ſince it was now in the power of the *Scots* to ſtarve them. Upon that petitions were ſent from the City and from ſome Counties to the King, praying a treaty with the *Scots*. The Lord *Wharton* and the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* undertook to deliver ſome of theſe; which they did, and were clapt up upon it. A council of war was held; and it was reſolved on, as the Lord *Wharton* told me, to ſhoot them at the head of the army, as movers of ſedition. This was chiefly preſs'd by the Earl of *Strafford*. Duke *Hamilton* ſpoke nothing till the Council roſe; and then he aſked *Strafford*, if he was ſure of the army, who ſeemed ſurpriſed at the queſtion: But he upon enquiry underſtood that very probably a general mutiny, if not a total revolt, would have followed, if any ſuch execution had been attempted. This ſucceſs of the *Scots* ruined the King's affairs. And by it the neceſſity of the union of the two Kingdoms may appear very evident: For nothing but a ſuperiour army able to beat the *Scots* can hinder their doing this at any time: And the ſeiſing the coalries muſt immediately bring the City of *London* into great diſtreſs. Two armies were now in the north as a load on the King, beſides all the other grievances. The Lord *Saville*'s forgery came to be diſcovered. The King knew it; and yet he was brought afterwards to truſt him, and to advance him to be Earl of *Suſſex*. The King preſſed my uncle to deliver him the letter, who excuſed himſelf upon his oath; and not knowing what uſe might be made of it, he cut out every ſubſcription, and ſent it to the perſon for whom it was forged. The imitation was ſo exact, that every man, as ſoon as he ſaw his hand ſimply by itſelf, acknowledged that he could not have denied it.

Great diſcontents in *England*.

The ill ſtate of the King's affairs.

The King was now in great ſtraits: He had laid up 700000 *l.* before the troubles in *Scotland* began; and yet had raiſed no guards nor force in *England*, but truſted a very illegal adminiſtration to a legal execution. His treaſure was now exhauſted; his ſubjects were highly irritated; the miniſtry were all frighted, being expoſed to the anger and juſtice of the Parliament: So that he had brought himſelf into great diſtreſs, but had not the dexterity to extricate himſelf out of it. He loved high and rough methods, but had neither the ſkill to conduct them, nor the height of genius to manage them. He hated all that offered prudent and moderate counſels: He thought it flowed from a meanneſs of ſpirit, and a care to preſerve themſelves by ſacrificing his authority, or from republican principles: And even when he ſaw it was neceſſary to follow ſuch advices, yet he hated thoſe that gave them. His heart was wholly turned to the gaining the two armies. In order to that he gained the Earl of *Rothes* entirely, who hoped by the King's mediation to have married the Counteſs of *Devonſhire*, a rich and magnificent lady that lived long in the greateſt ſtate of any in that age: He alſo gained the Earl of *Montroſe*, who was a young man well learned, who had travelled, but had taken upon him the port of a hero too much. When he was beyond ſea he travelled with the Earl of *Denbigh*; and they conſulted all the aſtrologers they could hear of. I plainly ſaw the Earl of *Denbigh* relied on what had been told him to his dying day; and the rather becauſe the Earl of *Montroſe* was promiſed a glorious fortune for ſome time, but all was to be overthrown in concluſion. When the Earl of *Montroſe* returned from his travels, he was not conſidered by the King as he thought he deſerved: So he ſtudied to render himſelf popular in *Scotland*; and he was the firſt man in the oppoſition they made during the firſt war. He both adviſed and drew the letter to the King of *France*, for which the Lord *Lowdun* who ſigned it was impriſoned in the Tower of *London*. But the Earl of *Lauderdale*, as he himſelf told me, when it came to his turn to ſign that letter, found falſe *French* in it; for inſtead of *rayons de ſoleil* he had writ *raye de ſoleil*, which in *French* ſignifies a ſort of fiſh; and ſo the matter went no farther at that time; and the treaty came on ſo ſoon after, that it was never again taken up. The Earl of *Montroſe* was gained by the King at *Berwick*, and undertook to do great ſervices. He either fancied, or at leaſt he made the King fancy, that he could turn the whole Kingdom: Yet indeed he could do nothing. He was again trying to make a new party: And he kept a correſpondence with the King when he lay at *Newcaſtle*; and was pre-

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tending he had a great intereſt among the covenanters, whereas at that time he had none at all. All theſe little plottings came to be either known, or at leaſt ſuſpected. The Queen was a woman of great vivacity in converſation, and loved all her life long to be in intrigues of all ſorts, but was not ſo ſecret in them as ſuch times and ſuch affairs required. She was a woman of no manner of judgment: She was bad at contrivance, but much worſe in the execution: But by the livelineſs of her diſcourſe ſhe made always a great impreſſion on the King: And to her little practices, as well as to the King's own temper, the ſequel of all his misfortunes was owing. I know it was a maxim infuſed into his ſons, which I have often heard from King *James*, that he was undone by his conceſſions. This is true in ſome reſpect: For his paſſing the act that the Parliament ſhould ſit during pleaſure was indeed his ruin, to which he was drawn by the Queen. But if he had not made great conceſſions, he had ſunk without being able to make a ſtruggle for it; and could not have divided the Nation, or engaged ſo many to have ſtood by him: Since by the conceſſions that he made, eſpecially that of the triennial Parliament, the honeſt and quiet part of the Nation was ſatisfied, and thought their religion and liberties were ſecured: So they broke off from thoſe violenter propoſitions that occaſioned the war.

The truth was, the King did not come into thoſe conceſſions ſeaſonably, nor with a good grace: All appeared to be extorted from him. There were alſo grounds, whether true or plauſible, to make it to be believed, that he intended not to ſtand to them any longer than he lay under that force that viſibly drew them from him contrary to his own inclinations. The proofs that appeared of ſome particulars, that made this ſeem true, made other things that were whiſpered to be more readily believed: For in all critical times there are deceitful people of both ſides, that pretend to merit by making diſcoveries, on condition that no uſe ſhall be made of them as witneſſes; which is one of the moſt peſtiferous ways of calumny poſſible. Almoſt the whole Court had been concerned in one illegal grant or another: So theſe Courtiers, to get their faults paſs'd over, were as ſo many ſpies upon the King and Queen: They told all they heard, and perhaps not without large additions, to the leading men of the Houſe of Commons. This inflamed the jealouſy, and puſh'd them on to the making ſtill new demands. One eminent paſſage was told me by the Lord *Hollis:*

An account of the Earl of *Strafford*'s being given up by the King.

The Earl of *Strafford* had married his ſiſter: So, tho' in that Parliament he was one of the hotteſt men of the party, yet when that

that matter was before them he always withdrew. When the bill of attainder was paſs'd, the King ſent for him to know what he could do to ſave the Earl of *Strafford*. *Hollis* anſwered, that if the King pleaſed, ſince the execution of the law was in him, he might legally grant him a reprieve, which muſt be good in law; but he would not adviſe it. That which he propoſed was, that Lord *Strafford* ſhould ſend him a petition for a ſhort reſpite, to ſettle his affairs and to prepare for death; upon which he adviſed the King to come next day with the petition in his hands, and lay it before the two houſes with a ſpeech which he drew for the King; and *Hollis* ſaid to him, he would try his intereſt among his friends to get them to conſent to it. He prepared a great many by aſſuring them, that if they would ſave Lord *Strafford* he would become wholly theirs in conſequence of his firſt principles: And that he might do them much more ſervice by being preſerved, than he could do if made an example upon ſuch new and doubtful points. In this he had wrought on ſo many, that he believed if the King's party had ſtruck into it he might have ſaved him. It was carried to the Queen, as if *Hollis* had engaged that the Earl of *Strafford* ſhould accuſe her, and diſcover all he knew: So the Queen not only diverted the King from going to the Parliament, changing the ſpeech into a meſſage all writ with the King's own hand, and ſent to the Houſe of Lords by the Prince of *Wales:* [which *Hollis* had ſaid, would have perhaps done as well, the King being apt to ſpoil things by an unacceptable manner:] But to the wonder of the whole world, the Queen prevailed with him to add that mean poſtſcript, *if he muſt die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday:* Which was a very unhandſome giving up of the whole meſſage. When it was communicated to both houſes, the whole Court party was plainly againſt it: And ſo he fell truly by the Queen's means.

The mentioning this makes me add one particular concerning Archbiſhop *Laud:* When his impeachment was brought to the Lord's bar, he apprehending how it would end, ſent over *Warner*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, with the keys of his cloſet and cabinet, that he might deſtroy or put out of the way all papers that might either hurt himſelf or any body elſe. He was at that work for three hours, till upon *Laud*'s being committed to the black rod a meſſenger went over to ſeal up his cloſet, who came after all was withdrawn. Among the writings he took away, it is believed the original *Magna Charta* paſſed by King *John* in the mead near *Stains* was one. This was found among *Warner*'s papers by his executor: And that deſcended to his ſon

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and executor, Colonel *Lee*, who gave it to me. So it is now in my hands; and it came very fairly to me. For this conveyance of it we have nothing but conjecture.

I do not intend to profecute the hiſtory of the wars. I have told a great deal relating to them in the memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. *Ruſhworth*'s collections contain many excellent materials: And now the firſt volume of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s hiſtory gives a faithful repreſentation of the beginnings of the troubles, tho' writ in favour of the Court, and full of the beſt excuſes that ſuch ill things were capable of. I ſhall therefore only ſet out what I had particular reaſon to know, and what is not to be met with in books.

The new model of the Presbytery in *Scotland*.

The Kirk was now ſettled in *Scotland* with a new mixture of ruling elders; which, tho' they were taken from the *Geneva* pattern to aſſiſt or rather to be a check on the Miniſters in the managing the parochial diſcipline, yet theſe never came to their aſſemblies till the year 1638, that they thought it neceſſary to make them firſt go and carry all the elections of the Miniſters at the ſeveral presbyteries, and next come themſelves and ſit in the aſſemblies. The nobility and chief gentry offered themſelves upon that occaſion: And the Miniſters, ſince they ſaw they were like to act in oppoſition to the King's orders, were glad to have ſo great a ſupport. But the elders that now came to aſſiſt them beginning to take, as the Miniſters thought, too much on them, they grew weary of ſuch imperious maſters: So they ſtudied to work up the inferiour people to much zeal: And as they wrought any up to ſome meaſure of heat and knowledge, they brought them alſo into their elderſhip; and ſo got a majority of hot zealots who depended on them. One out of theſe was deputed to attend on the judicatories. They had ſynods of all the clergy, in one or more counties who met twice a year: And a general aſſembly met once a year: And at parting that body named ſome, called the commiſſion of the Kirk, who were to ſit in the intervals to prepare matters for the next aſſembly, and to look into all the concerns of the church, to give warning of dangers, and to inſpect all proceedings of the ſtate as far as related to the matters of religion: By theſe means they became terrible to all their enemies. In their ſermons, and chiefly in their prayers, all that paſs'd in the ſtate was canvaſſed: Men were as good as named, and either recommended or complained of to God as they were acceptable or odious to them. This grew up in time to an inſufferable degree of boldneſs. The way that was given to it, when the King and the Biſhops were there common themes, made that afterwards the humour could not

be reſtrained: And it grew ſo petulant, that the pulpit was a ſcene of news and paſſion. For ſome years this was managed with great appearances of fervour by men of age and ſome authority: But when the younger and hotter zealots took it up, it became odious to almoſt all ſort of people, except ſome four enthuſiaſts, who thought all their impertinence was zeal and an effect of inſpiration; which flowed naturally from the conceit of extemporary prayers being praying by the ſpirit.

The chief Miniſters of the party.

Henderſon, a Miniſter of *Edenburgh*, was by much the wiſeſt and graveſt of them all: But as all his performances that I have ſeen are flat and heavy, ſo he found it was an eaſier thing to raiſe a flame than to quench it. He ſtudied to keep his party to him: Yet he found he could not moderate the heat of ſome fiery ſpirits: So when he ſaw he could follow them no more, but that they had got the people out of his hands, he ſunk both in body and mind, and died ſoon after. The perſon next to him was *Douglas*, believed to be deſcended from the royal family tho' the wrong way: There appeared an air of greatneſs in him, that made all that ſaw him inclined enough to believe he was of no ordinary deſcent. He was a reſerved man: He had the ſcriptures by heart to the exactneſs of a *Jew*; for he was as a concordance: He was too calm and too grave for the furious men, but yet he was much depended on for his prudence. I knew him in his old age; and ſaw plainly, he was a ſlave to his popularity, and durſt not own the free thoughts he had of ſome things for fear of offending the people.

I will not run out in giving the characters of the other leading preachers among them, ſuch as *Dickſon*, *Blair*, *Rutherford*, *Baily*, *Cant*, and the two *Gilliſpys*. They were men all of a ſort: They affected great ſublimities in devotion: They poured themſelves out in their prayers with a loud voice, and often with many tears. They had but an ordinary proportion of learning among them; ſome thing of *Hebrew*, and very little *Greek*: Books of controverſy with *Papiſts*, but above all with the *Arminians*, was the height of their ſtudy. A way of preaching by doctrine, reaſon, and uſe was that they ſet up on: And ſome of them affected a ſtrain of ſtating caſes of conſcience, not with relation to moral actions, but to ſome reflexions on their condition and temper: That was occaſioned chiefly by their conceit of praying by the ſpirit, which every one could not attain to, or keep up to the ſame heat in at all times. The learning they recommended to their young divines were ſome *German* ſyſtemes, ſome commentators on the ſcripture, books of controverſy, and practical books: They were ſo careful to oblige

Their ſtudies, and other methods.

lige them to make their round in theſe, that if they had no men of great learning among them, yet none were very ignorant: As if they had thought an equality in learning was neceſſary to keep up the parity of their Government. None could be ſuffered to preach as Expectants, (as they called them,) but after a tryal or two in private before the Miniſters alone: Then two or three ſermons were to be preached in publick, ſome more learnedly, ſome more practically: Then a head in divinity was to be common placed in *Latin*, and the perſon was to maintain *Theſes* upon it: He was alſo to be tried in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and in ſcripture chronology. The queſtionary trial came laſt, every Miniſter aſking ſuch queſtions as he pleaſed. When any had paſs'd thro' all theſe with approbation, which was done in a courſe of three or four months, he was allowed to preach when invited. And if he was preſented or called to a Church, he was to paſs thro' a new ſet of the ſame tryals. This made that there was a ſmall circle of knowledge in which they were generally well inſtructed. True morality was little ſtudied or eſteemed by them: They took much pains among their people to maintain their authority: They affected all the ways of familiarity that were like to gain on them.

They forced all people to ſign the covenant: And the greateſt part of the Epiſcopal Clergy, among whom there were two Biſhops, came to them, and renounced their former principles, and deſired to be received into their body. At firſt they received all that offered themſelves: But afterwards they repented of this: And the violent men among them were ever preſſing the purging the Kirk, as they called it, that is the ejecting all the Epiſcopal Clergy. Then they took up the term of Malignants, by which all who differed from them were diſtinguiſhed: But the ſtrictneſs of piety and good life, which had gained them ſo much reputation before the war, began to wear off; and inſtead of that a fierceneſs of temper, and a copiouſneſs of many long ſermons, and much longer prayers, came to be the diſtinction of the party. This they carried even to the ſaying grace before and after meat ſome times to the length of a whole hour. But as every new war broke out, there was a viſible abatement of even the outward ſhews of piety. Thus the war corrupted both ſides. When the war broke out in *England*, the *Scots* had a great mind to go into it. The decayed nobility, the military men, and the Miniſters, were violently ſet on it. They ſaw what good quarters they had in the north of *England*. And they hoped the umpirage of the war would fall into their hands. The diviſion appearing ſo near an equality in *England*, they reckoned they would

Their great ſeverity.

would turn the ſcales, and ſo be courted of both ſides: And they did not doubt to draw great advantages from it, both for the Nation in general, and themſelves in particular. Duke *Hamilton* was truſted by the King with the management of his affairs in that Kingdom, and had powers to offer, but ſo ſecretly that if diſcovered it could not be proved, for fear of diſguſting the *Engliſh*, that if they would engage in the King's ſide he would conſent to the uniting *Northumberland, Cumberland,* and *Weſtmerland,* to *Scotland*; and that *Newcaſtle* ſhould be the ſeat of the Government; that the Prince of *Wales* ſhould hold his Court always among them; that every third year the King ſhou'd go among them; and every office in the King's houſhold ſhould in the third turn be given to a *Scotchman.* This I found not among Duke *Hamilton*'s papers: But the Earl of *Lauderdale* aſſured me of it, and that at the Iſle of *Wight* they had all the engagements from the King that he could give. Duke *Hamilton* quickly ſaw, it was a vain imagination to hope that Kingdom could be brought to eſponſe the King's quarrel. The inclination ran ſtrong the other way: All he hoped to ſucceed in was to keep them neuter for ſome time: And this he ſaw could not hold long: So after he had kept off their engaging with *England* all the year 1643, he and his friends ſaw it was in vain to ſtruggle any longer. The courſe they all reſolved on was, that the nobility ſhould fall in heartily with the inclinations of the Nation to join with *England*, that ſo they might procure to themſelves and their friends the chief commands in the army: And then, when they were in *England,* and that their army was as a diſtinct body ſeparated from the reſt of the Kingdom, it might be much eaſier to gain them to the King's ſervice than it was at that time to work on the whole Nation.

Conditions offered to the *Scots.*

This was not a very ſincere way of proceeding: But it was intended for the King's ſervice, and would probably have had the effect deſigned by it, if ſome accidents had not happened that changed the face of affairs, which are not rightly underſtood: And therefore I will open them clearly. The Earl of *Montroſe* and a party of high Royaliſts were for entring into an open breach with the country in the beginning of the year 1643, but offered no probable methods of maintaining it; nor could they reekon themſelves aſſured of any conſiderable party. They were full of undertakings: But when they were preſſed to ſhew what concurrence might be depended on, nothing was offered but from the *Highlanders:* And on this wiſe men could not rely: So Duke *Hamilton* would not expoſe the King's affairs by ſuch a deſperate way of proceeding. Upon this they went to *Oxford,*

Montroſe's undertakings.

Oxford, and filled all people there with complaints of the treachery of the *Hamiltons*; and they pretended they could have ſecured *Scotland*, if their propoſitions had been entertained. This was but too ſuitable to the King's own inclinations, and to the humour that was then prevailing at *Oxford*. So when the two *Hamiltons* came up, they were not admitted to ſpeak to the King: And it was believed, if the younger brother had not made his eſcape, that both would have ſuffered; for when the Queen heard of his eſcape, ſhe with great commotion ſaid, *Abercorn* has miſſed a Dukedom; for that Earl was a Papiſt, and next to the two brothers. They could have demonſtrated, if heard, that they were ſure of above two parts in three of the officers of the army; and did not doubt to have engaged the army in the King's cauſe. But the failing in this was not all. The Earl then made Marquis of *Montroſe* had powers given him ſuch as he deſired and was ſent down with them: But he could do nothing till the end of the year. A great body of the *Macdonalds* commanded by one Col. *Killoch* came over from *Ireland* to recover *Kentire*, the beſt country of all the *Highlands*, out of which they had been driven by the *Argile* family, who had poſſeſſed their country about fifty years. The head of theſe was the Earl of *Antrim*, who had married the Duke of *Buckingham*'s widow: And being a Papiſt, and having a great command in *Ulſter*, was much relied on by the Queen. He was the main perſon in the firſt rebellion, and was the moſt engaged in blood-ſhed of any in the north: Yet he continued to correſpond with the Queen to the great prejudice of the King's affair's. When the Marquis of *Montroſe* heard they were in *Argileſhire*, he went to them, and told them, if they would let him lead them he would carry them into the heart of the Kingdom, and procure them better quarters and good pay: So he led them into *Perthſhire*. The *Scots* had at that time an army in *England*, and another in *Ireland*: Yet they did not think it neceſſary to call home any part of either, but deſpiſing the *Iriſh*, and the *Highlanders*, they raiſed a tumultuary army, and put it under the command of ſome Lords noted for want of courage, and of others who wiſhed well to the other ſide. The Marquis of *Montroſe*'s men were deſperate, and met with little reſiſtance: So that ſmall body of the Covenanters army was routed. And here the Marquis of *Montroſe* got horſes and ammunition, having but three horſes before, and powder only for one charge. Then he became conſiderable: And he marched through the northern parts by *Aberdeen*. The Marquis of *Huntly* was in the King's intereſts; but would not join with him, tho' his ſons did. Aſtro-

proceeded againſt both with ſeverity and with indignities. The preachers thundred in their pulpits againſt all that did the work of the Lord deceitfully; and cried out againſt all that were for moderate proceedings, as guilty of the blood that had been ſhed. *Thine eye ſhall not pity, and thou ſhalt not ſpare*, were often inculcated after every execution: They triumphed with ſo little decency, that it gave all people very ill impreſſions of them. But this was not the worſt effect of Lord *Montroſe*'s expedition. It loſt the opportunity at *Uxbridge:* It alienated the *Scots* much from the King: It exalted all that were enemies to peace. Now they ſeemed to have ſome colour for all thoſe aſperſions they had caſt on the King, as if he had been in a correſpondence with the *Iriſh* rebels, when the worſt tribe of them had been thus employed by him. His affairs declined totally in *England* that ſummer: And Lord *Hollis* ſaid to me, all was owing to Lord *Montroſe*'s unhappy ſucceſſes.

Antrim's correſpondence with the King and Queen.

Upon this occaſion I will relate ſomewhat concerning the Earl of *Antrim*. I had in my hand ſeveral of his letters to the King in the year 1646, writ in a very confident ſtyle. One was ſomewhat particular: He in a poſtſcript deſired the King to ſend the incloſed to the good woman, without making any excuſe for the preſumption; by which, as follows in the poſtſcript, he meant his wife, the Ducheſs of *Buckingham*. This made me more eaſy to believe a ſtory that the Earl of *Eſſex* told me he had from the Earl of *Northumberland:* Upon the Reſtoration, in the year 1660, Lord *Antrim* was thought guilty of ſo much blood-ſhed, that it was taken for granted he could not be included in the indemnity that was to paſs in *Ireland:* Upon this he (Lord *Antrim*) ſeeing the Duke of *Ormond* ſet againſt him, came over to *London*, and was lodged at *Somerſet-Houſe:* And it was believed, that having no children he ſettled his eſtate on *Jermyn* then Earl of St. *Albans:* But before he came away, he had made a prior ſettlement in favour of his brother. He petitioned the King to order a Committee of Council to examine the warrants that he had acted upon. The Earl of *Clarendon* was for rejecting the petition, as containing a high indignity to the memory of King *Charles* the firſt: And ſaid plainly at Council table, that if any perſon had pretended to affirm ſuch a thing while they were at *Oxford*, he would either have been ſeverely puniſhed for it, or the King would ſoon have had a very thin Court. But it ſeemed juſt to ſee what he had to ſay for himſelf: So a committee was named, of which the Earl of *Northumberland* was the chief. He produced to them ſome of the King's letters: But they did not come up to a full proof. In one of them the

King wrote, that he had not then leiſure, but referred himſelf to the Queen's letter; and ſaid, that was all one as if he writ himſelf. Upon this foundation he produced a ſeries of letters writ by himſelf to the Queen, in which he gave her an account of every one of theſe particulars that were laid to his charge, and ſhewed the grounds he went on, and deſired her directions to every one of theſe: He had anſwers ordering him to do as he did. This the Queen-mother eſpouſed with great zeal; and ſaid, ſhe was bound in honour to ſave him. I ſaw a great deal of that management, for I was then at Court. But it was generally believed, that this train of letters was made up at that time in a colluſion between the Queen and him: So a report was prepared to be ſigned by the Committee, ſetting forth that he had ſo fully juſtified himſelf in every thing that had been objected to him, that he ought not to be excepted out of the indemnity. This was brought firſt to the Earl of *Northumberland* to be ſigned by him: But he refuſed it; and ſaid, he was ſorry he had produced ſuch warrants, but he did not think they could ſerve his turn; for he did not believe any warrant from the King or Queen could juſtify ſo much bloodſhed, in ſo many black inſtances as were laid againſt him. Upon his refuſal the reſt of the Committee did not think fit to ſign the report: So it was let fall: And the King was prevailed on to write to the Duke of *Ormond*, telling him that he had ſo vindicated himſelf, that he muſt endeavour to get him to be included in the indemnity. That was done; and was no ſmall reproach to the King, that did thus ſacrifice his father's honour to his mother's importunity. Upon this the Earl of *Eſſex* told me, that he had taken all the pains he could to enquire into the original of the *Iriſh* maſſacre, but could never ſee any reaſon to believe the King had any acceſſion to it. He did indeed believe that the Queen hearkened to the propoſitions made by the *Iriſh*, who undertook to take the Government of *Ireland* into their hands, which they thought they could eaſily perform: And then, they ſaid, they, would aſſiſt the King to ſubdue the hot ſpirits at *Weſtminſter*. With this the plot of the inſurrection began: And all the *Iriſh* believed the Queen encouraged it. But in the firſt deſign there was no thought of a maſſacre: That came in head as they were laying the methods of executing it: So, as thoſe were managed by the Prieſts, they were the chief men that ſet on the *Iriſh* to all the blood and cruelty that followed.

The original of the *Iriſh* maſſacre.

I know nothing in particular of the ſequel of the war, nor of all the confuſions that happened till the murder of King *Charles* the firſt: Only one paſſage I had from Lieutenant General *Drumond*,

mond, afterwards Lord *Strathallan*. He ſerved on the King's ſide: But he had many friends among thoſe who were for the Covenant: So the King's affairs being now ruined, he was recommended to *Cromwell* being then in a treaty with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, who was negotiating for ſome regiments to be levied and ſent over from *Scotland* to *Flanders:* He happened to be with *Cromwell* when the commiſſioners ſent from *Scotland* to proteſt againſt the putting the King to death came to argue the matter with him. *Cromwell* bade *Drumond* ſtay and hear their conference, which he did. They began in a heavy languid ſtyle to lay indeed great load on the King: But they ſtill inſiſted on that clauſe in the Covenant, by which they ſwore they would be faithful in the preſervation of his Majeſty's perſon: With this they ſhewed upon what terms *Scotland*, as well as the two Houſes, had engaged in the war; and what ſolemn declarations of their zeal and duty to the King they all along publiſhed; which would now appear, to the ſcandal and reproach of the chriſtian name, to have been falſe pretences, if when the King was in their power they ſhould proceed to extremities. Upon this *Cromwell* entered into a long diſcourſe of the nature of the regal power, according to the principles of *Mariana* and *Buchanan:* He thought a breach of truſt in a King ought to be puniſhed more than any other crime whatſoever: He ſaid as to their Covenant, they ſwore to the preſervation of the King's perſon in defence of the true religion: If then it appeared that the ſettlement of the true religion was obſtructed by the King, ſo that they could not come at it but by putting him out of the way, then their oath could not bind them to the preſerving him any longer. He ſaid alſo, their Covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cauſe, to condign puniſhment: And was not this to be executed impartially? What were all thoſe on whom publick juſtice had been done, eſpecially thoſe who ſuffered for joining with *Montroſe*, but ſmall offenders acting by commiſſion from the King, who was therefore the principal, and ſo the moſt guilty? *Drumond* ſaid, *Cromwell* had plainly the better of them at their own weapon, and upon their own principles. At this time presbytery was in its height at *Scotland*.

Cromwell argues with the *Scots* concerning the King's death.

In ſummer 1648, when the Parliament declared they would engage to reſcue the King from his impriſonment, and the Parliament of *England* from the force it was put under by the army, the Nobility went into the deſign, all except ſix or eight. The King had ſigned an engagement to make good his offers to the Nation of the northern counties, with the other conditions

The oppoſition of the General Aſſembly to the Parliament.

tions formerly mentioned: And particular favours were promiſed to every one that concurred in it. The Marquis of *Argile* gave it out that the *Hamiltons*, let them pretend what they would, had no ſincere intentions to their cauſe, but had engaged to ſerve the King on his own terms: He filled the preachers with ſuch jealouſies of this, that tho' all the demands that they made for the ſecurity of their cauſe, and in declaring the grounds of the war, were complied with, yet they could not be ſatisfied, but ſtill ſaid the *Hamiltons* were in a confederacy with the malignants in *England*, and did not intend to ſtand to what they promiſed. The General Aſſembly declared againſt it, as an unlawful confederacy with the enemies of God; and called it the Unlawful Engagement, which came to be the name commonly given to it in all their pulpits. They every where preached againſt it, and oppoſed the levies all they could by ſolemn denunciations of the wrath and curſe of God on all concerned in them. This was a ſtrange piece of oppoſition to the ſtate, little inferiour to what was pretended to, and put in practice by the Church of *Rome*.

The ſouth-weſt counties of *Scotland* have ſeldom corn enough to ſerve them round the year: And the northern parts producing more than they need, thoſe in the weſt come in the ſummer to buy at *Lieth* the ſtores that come from the north: And from a word *Whiggam*, uſed in driving their horſes all that drove were called the *Whiggamors*, and ſhorter the *Whiggs*. Now in that year, after the news came down of Duke *Hamilton*'s defeat, the Miniſters animated their people to riſe, and march to *Edenburgh*: And they came up marching on the head of their pariſhes, with an unheard-of fury, praying and preaching all the way as they came. The Marquis of *Argile* and his party came and headed them, they being about 6000. This was called the *Whiggamor*'s inroad: And ever after that all that oppoſed the Court came in contempt to be called *Whiggs*: And from *Scotland* the word was brought into *England*, where it is now one of our unhappy terms of diſtinction. The Miniſters made an inſurrection.

The Committee of their eſtates, with the force they had in their hands, could eaſily have diſſipated this undiſciplin'd herd. But they knowing their own weakneſs ſent to *Cromwell* deſiring his aſſiſtance. Upon that the Committee ſaw they could not ſtand before him: So they came to a treaty, and delivered up the Government to this new body. Upon their aſſuming it, they declared all who had ſerved or aſſiſted in the engagement incapable of any employment, till they had firſt ſatisfied the Kirk of the truth of their repentance, and made publick profeſſions of it.

it. All Churches were upon that full of mock penitents, ſome making their acknowledgments all in tears to gain more credit with the new party. The Earl of *Lowdun*, that was Chancellour, had entred into ſolemn promiſes both to the King and the *Hamiltons:* But when he came to *Scotland*, his wife, a high covenanter, and an heireſs by whom he had both honour and eſtate, threatned him, if he went on that way, with a proceſs of adultery, in which ſhe could have had very copious proofs: He durſt not ſtand this, and ſo componnded the matter by the deſerting his friends, and turning over to the other ſide: Of which he made publick profeſſion in the Church of *Edenburgh* with many tears, confeſſing his weakneſs in yielding to the temptation of what had a ſhew of honour and loyalty, for which he expreſſed a hearty ſorrow. Thoſe that came in early with great ſhews of compunction got eaſier off: But thoſe who ſtood out long found it a harder matter to make their peace. *Cromwell* came down to *Scotland*, and ſaw the new model fully ſettled.

The treaty in the Iſle of *Wight.*

During his abſence from the ſcene, the treaty of the iſle of *Wight* was ſet on foot by the Parliament, who ſeeing the army at ſuch a diſtance took this occaſion of treating with the King. Sir *Henry Vane*, and others who were for a change of Government, had no mind to treat any more. But both city and country were ſo deſirous of a perſonal treaty, that it could not be reſiſted. *Vane*, *Pierpoint*, and ſome others went to the treaty on purpoſe to delay matters till the army could be brought up to *London*. All that wiſh'd well to the treaty prayed the King at their firſt coming to diſpatch the buſineſs with all poſſible haſte, and to grant the firſt day all that he could bring himſelf to grant on the laſt. *Hollis* and *Grimſtone* told me, they had both on their knees begged this of the King. They ſaid, they knew *Vane* would ſtudy to draw out the treaty to a great length: And he, who declared for an unbounded liberty of conſcience, would try to gain on the King's party by the offer of a toleration for the common prayer and the epiſcopal clergy. His deſign in that was to gain time, till *Cromwell* ſhould ſettle *Scotland* and the north. But they ſaid, if the King would frankly come in without the formality of papers backward and forward, and ſend them back next day with the conceſſions that were abſolutely neceſſary, they did not doubt but he ſhould in a very few days be brought up with honour freedom and ſafety to the Parliament, and that matters ſhould be brought to a preſent ſettlement. *Titus*, who was then much truſted by the King, and employed in a negotiation with the preſbyterian party, told me he had

ſpoke often and earneſtly to him in the ſame ſtrain: But the King could not come to a reſolution: And he ſtill fancied, that in the ſtruggle between the Houſe of Commons and the Army both ſaw they needed him ſo much to give them the ſuperiour ſtrength, that he imagined by balancing them he would bring both ſides into a greater dependence on himſelf, and force them to better terms. In this *Vane* flattered the epiſcopal party, to the King's ruin as well as their own. But they ſtill hated the Preſbyterians as the firſt authors of the war; and ſeemed unwilling to think well of them, or to be beholding to them. Thus the treaty went on with a fatal ſlowneſs: And by the time it was come to ſome maturity, *Cromwell* came up with his army and overturned all.

Cromwell's diſſimulation.

Upon this I will ſet down what Sir *Harbotle Grimſton* told me a few weeks before his death: Whether it was done at this time or the year before I cannot tell: I rather believe the latter. When the Houſe of Commons and the Army were a quarrelling, at a meeting of the officers it was propoſed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. *Cromwell* upon that ſaid, he was ſure of the Army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the Houſe of Commons, and he thought the Army only could do that. Two officers that were preſent brought an account of this to *Grimſton*, who carried them with him to the Lobby of the Houſe of Commons, they being reſolved to juſtify it to the Houſe. There was another debate then on foot: But *Grimſton* diverted it, and ſaid, he had a matter of privilege of the higheſt ſort to lay before them: It was about the being and freedom of the Houſe. So he charged *Cromwell* with the deſign of putting a force on the Houſe: He had his witneſſes at the door, and deſired they might be examined: They were brought to the barr, and juſtified all that they had ſaid to him, and gave a full relation of all that had paſs'd at their meetings. When they withdrew, *Cromwell* fell down on his knees, and made a ſolemn prayer to God, atteſting his innocence, and his zeal for the ſervice of the houſe: He ſubmitted himſelf to the providence of God, who it ſeems thought fit to exerciſe him with calumny and ſlander, but he committed his cauſe to him: This he did with great vehemence, and with many tears. After this ſtrange and bold preamble he made ſo long a ſpeech, juſtifying both himſelf and the reſt of the officers, except a few that ſeemed inclined to return back to *Egypt*, that he wearied out the Houſe, and wrought ſo much on his party, that what the witneſſes had ſaid was ſo little believed, that had it been moved *Grimſton* thought that both he and

they would have been ſent to the *Tower*. But whether their guilt made them modeſt, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall: And there was no ſtrength in the other ſide to carry it farther. To compleat the ſcene, as ſoon as ever *Cromwell* got out of the Houſe, he reſolved to truſt himſelf no more among them; but went to the Army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the Houſe.

I had much diſcourſe on this head with one who knew *Cromwell* well and all that ſet of men; and aſked him how they could excuſe all the prevarications, and other ill things of which they were viſibly guilty in the conduct of their affairs. He told me, they believed there were great occaſions in which ſome men were called to great ſervices, in the doing of which they were excuſed from the common rules of morality: Such were the practices of *Ehud* and *Jael*, *Samſon* and *David*: And by this they fancied they had a privilege from obſerving the ſtanding rules. It is very obvious how far this principle may be carried, and how all juſtice and mercy may be laid aſide on this pretence by every bold enthuſiaſt. *Ludlow* in his memoirs juſtifies this force put on the Parliament, as much as he condemns the force that *Cromwell* and the Army afterwards put on the Houſe: And he ſeems to lay this down for a maxim, that the military power ought always to be ſubject to the civil: And yet, without any ſort of reſentment for what he had done, he owns the ſhare he had in the force put on the Parliament at this time. The plain reconciling of this is, that he thought when the Army judged the Parliament was in the wrong they might uſe violence, but not otherwiſe: Which gives the Army a ſuperiour authority, and an inſpection into the proceedings of the Parliament. This ſhews how impoſſible it is to ſet up a Commonwealth in *England:* For that cannot be brought about but by a military force: And they will ever keep the Parliament in ſubjection to them, and ſo keep up their own authority.

The men chiefly engaged in the taking the King's life.

I will leave all that relates to the King's trial and death to common hiſtorians, knowing nothing that is particular of that great tranſaction, which was certainly one of the moſt amazing ſcenes in hiſtory. *Ireton* was the perſon that drove it on: For *Cromwell* was all the while in ſome ſuſpence about it. *Ireton* had the principles and the temper of a *Caſſius* in him: He ſtuck at nothing that might have turned *England* to a Commonwealth: And he found out *Cook* and *Bradſhaw*, two bold lawyers, as proper inſtruments for managing it. *Fairfax* was much diſtracted in his mind, and changed purpoſes often every day. The Presbyterians

terians and the body of the City were much againſt it, and were every where faſting and praying for the King's preſervation. There was not above 8000 of the Army about the town: But theſe were ſelected out of the whole Army, as the moſt engaged in enthuſiaſm: And they were kept at prayer in their way almoſt day and night, except when they were upon duty: So that they were wrought up to a pitch of fury, that ſtruck a terrour into all people. On the other hand the King's party was without ſpirit: And, as many of themſelves have ſaid to me, they could never believe his death was really intended till it was too late. They thought all was a pageantry to ſtrike a terrour, and to force the King to ſuch conceſſions as they had a mind to extort from him.

The King himſelf ſhewed a calm and a compoſed firmneſs, which amazed all people; and that ſo much the more, becauſe it was not natural to him. It was imputed to a very extraordinary meaſure of ſupernatural aſſiſtance. Biſhop *Juxon* did the duty of his function honeſtly, but with a dry coldneſs that could not raiſe the King's thoughts: So that it was owing wholly to ſomewhat within himſelf that he went thro' ſo many indignities with ſo much true greatneſs, without diſorder or any ſort of affectation. Thus he died greater than he had lived; and ſhewed, that which has been often obſerved of the whole race of the *Stewards*, that they bore misfortunes better than proſperity. His reign both in peace and war was a continual ſeries of errours: So that it does not appear that he had a true judgment of things. He was out of meaſure ſet on following his humour, but unreaſonably feeble to thoſe whom he truſted, chiefly to the Queen. He had too high a notion of the regal power, and thought that every oppoſition to it was rebellion. He minded little things too much, and was more concerned in the drawing of a paper than in fighting a battel. He had a firm averſion to Popery, but was much inclined to a middle way between Proteſtants and Papiſts, by which he loſt the one without gaining the other. His engaging the Duke of *Rohan* in the war of *Rochelle*, and then aſſiſting him ſo poorly, and forſaking him at laſt, gave an ill character of him to all the Proteſtants abroad. The Earl of *Lauderdale* told me, the Duke of *Rohan* was at *Geneva*, where he himſelf was, when he received a very long letter or rather a little book from my father, which gave him a copious account of the beginning of the troubles in *Scotland:* He tranſlated it to the Duke of *Rohan*, who expreſſed a vehement indignation at the Court of *England* for their uſage of him: Of which this was the account he then gave.

The King's behaviour.

The

The affair of *Rochelle*.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had a ſecret converſation with the Queen of *France*, of which the Queen-mother was very jealous, and poſſeſſed the King with ſuch a ſenſe of it, that he was ordered immediately to leave the Court. Upon his return to *England* under this affront he poſſeſſed the King with ſuch a hatred of that Court, that the Queen was ill uſed on her coming over, and all her ſervants were ſent back. He told him alſo that the Proteſtants were ſo ill uſed, and ſo ſtrong, that if he would protect them they would involve that Kingdom in new wars; which he repreſented as ſo glorious a beginning of his reign, that the King without weighing the conſequence of it ſent one to treat with the Duke of *Rohan* about it. Great aſſiſtance was promiſed by ſea: So a war was reſolved on, in which the ſhare that our Court had is well enough known. But the infamous part was, that *Richlieu* got the King of *France* to make his Queen write an obliging letter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, aſſuring him that, if he would let *Rochelle* fall without aſſiſting it, he ſhould have leave to come over, and ſhould ſettle the whole matter of the religion according to their edicts. This was a ſtrange proceeding: But *Cardinal Richlieu* could turn that weak King as he pleaſed. Upon this the Duke made that ſhameful campaign of the iſle of *Rhe*. But finding next winter that he was not to be ſuffered to go over into *France*, and that he was abuſed into a falſe hope, he reſolved to have followed that matter with more vigour, when he was ſtabbed by *Felton*.

A deſign of making the *Spaniſh Netherlands* a Commonwealth.

There is another ſtory told of the King's conduct during the peaceable part of his reign, which I had from *Halewyn* of *Dort*, who was one of the judges in the Court of *Holland*, and was the wiſeſt and greateſt man I knew among them. He told me, he had it from his father, who being then the chief man of *Dort* was of the States, and had the ſecret communicated to him. When *Iſabella Clara Eugenia* grew old, and began to decline, a great many of her council, apprehending what miſeries they would fall under when they ſhould be again in the hands of the *Spaniards*, formed a deſign of making themſelves a free Commonwealth, that, in imitation of the union among the Cantons of *Switzerland* that were of both religions, there ſhould be a perpetual confederacy between them and the States of the ſeven provinces. This they communicated to *Henry Frederick* Prince of *Orange*, and to ſome of the States, who approved of it, but thought it neceſſary to engage the King of *England* in it. The Prince of *Orange* told the *Engliſh* Embaſſadour, that there was a matter of great conſequence that was fit to be laid before the King; but it was of ſuch a nature, and ſuch perſons were concerned

concerned in it, that it could not be communicated unleſs the King would be pleaſed to promiſe abſolute ſecrecy for the preſent. This the King did: And then the Prince of *Orange* ſent him the whole ſcheme. The ſecret was ill kept: Either the King truſted it to ſome who diſcovered it, or the paper was ſtollen from him; for it was ſent over to the Court of *Bruxells:* One of the Miniſtry loſt his head for it: And ſome took the alarm ſo quickly that they got to *Holland* out of danger. After this the Prince of *Orange* had no commerce with our Court, and often lamented that ſo great a deſign was ſo unhappily loſt. He had as ill an opinion of the King's conduct of the war; for when the Queen came over, and brought ſome of the generals with her, the Prince ſaid, after he had talked with them, (as the late King told me,) he did not wonder to ſee the affairs of *England* decline as they did, ſince he had talked with the King's generals.

I will not enter farther into the military part: For I remember an advice of Marſhall *Scomberg*'s, never to meddle in the relation of military matters. He ſaid, ſome affected to relate thoſe affairs in all the terms of war, in which they committed great errours that expoſed them to the ſcorn of all commanders, who muſt deſpiſe relations that pretend to an exactneſs when there were blunders in every part of them.

In the King's death the ill effect of extreme violent counſels diſcovered itſelf. *Ireton* hoped that by this all men concerned in it would become irreconcileable to monarchy, and would act as deſperate men, and deſtroy all that might revenge that blood. But this had a very different effect. Something of the ſame nature had happened in lower inſtances before: But they were not the wiſer for it. The Earl of *Strafford*'s death made all his former errours be forgot: It raiſed his character, and caſt a laſting odium on that way of proceeding; whereas he had ſunk in his credit by any cenſure lower than death, and had been little pitied, if not thought juſtly puniſhed. The like effect followed upon Archbiſhop *Laud*'s death. He was a learned, a ſincere and zealous man, regular in his own life, and humble in his private deportment; but was a hot, indiſcreet man, eagerly purſuing ſome matters that were either very inconſiderable or miſchievous, ſuch as ſetting the communion table by the eaſt walls of churches, bowing to it, and calling it the Altar, the ſuppreſſing the *Walloons* privileges, the breaking of lectures, the encouraging of ſports on the Lord's day, with ſome other things that were of no value: And yet all the zeal and heat of that time was laid out on theſe. His ſeverity in the Star-chamber and

The ill effects of violent counſels.

in the High-Commiſſion-Court, but above all his violent and indeed inexcuſable injuſtice in the proſecution of Biſhop *Williams*, were ſuch viſible blemiſhes, that nothing but the putting him to death in ſo unjuſt a manner could have raiſed his character; which indeed it did to a degree of ſetting him up as a pattern, and the eſtabliſhing all his notions as ſtandards, by which judgments are to be made of men whether they are true to the church or not. His diary, tho' it was a baſe thing to publiſh it, repreſents him as an abject fawner on the Duke of *Buckingham*, and as a ſuperſtitious regarder of dreams: His defence of himſelf, writ with ſo much care when he was in the *Tower*, is a very mean performance. He intended in that to make an appeal to the world. In moſt particulars he excuſes himſelf by this, that he was but one of many, who either in Council, Star-chamber, or High-Commiſſion voted illegal things. Now tho' this was true, yet a chief Miniſter, and one in high favour, determines the reſt ſo much, that they are generally little better than machines acted by him. On other occcaſions he ſays, the thing was proved but by one witneſs. Now, how ſtrong ſoever this defence may be in law, it is of no force in an appeal to the world; for if a thing is true, it is no matter how full or how defective the proof is. The thing that gave me the ſtrongeſt prejudice againſt him in that book is, that after he had ſeen the ill effects of his violent counſels, and had been ſo long ſhut up, and ſo long at leiſure to reflect on what had paſs'd in the hurry of paſſion in the exaltation of his proſperity, he does not in any one part of that great work acknowledge his own errours, nor mix in it any wiſe or pious reflections on the ill uſage he met with or the unhappy ſteps he had made: So that while his enemies did really magnify him by their inhuman proſecution, his friends *Heylin* and *Wharton* have as much leſſened him, the one by writing his life, and the other by publiſhing his vindication of himſelf.

The account of Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ.

But the recoiling of cruel counſels on the authors of them never appeared more eminently than in the death of King *Charles* the firſt, whoſe ſerious and chriſtian deportment in it made all his former errours be entirely forgot, and raiſed a compaſſionate regard to him, that drew a laſting hatred on the actors, and was the true occaſion of the great turn of the nation in the year 1660. This was much heightened by the publiſhing of his book called Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, which was univerſally believed to be his own: And that coming out ſoon after his death had the greateſt run in many impreſſions that any book has had in our age. There is in it a nobleneſs and juſtneſs of thought with a greatneſs

neſs of ſtyle, that made it to be look'd on as the beſt writ book in the *Engliſh* language: And the piety of the prayers made all people cry out againſt the murder of a Prince, who thought ſo ſeriouſly of all his affairs in his ſecret meditations before God. I was bred up with a high veneration of this book: And I remember that, when I heard how ſome denied it to be his, I aſked the Earl of *Lothian* about it, who both knew the King very well and loved him little: He ſeemed confident it was his own work; for he ſaid, he had heard him ſay a great many of thoſe very periods that he found in that book. Being thus confirmed in that perſuaſion, I was not a little ſurpriſed, when in the year 1673, in which I had a great ſhare of favour and free converſation with the then Duke of *York*, afterwards King *James* the ſecond, as he ſuffered me to talk very freely to him about matters of religion, and as I was urging him with ſomewhat out of his father's book, he told me that book was not of his father's writing, and that the letter to the Prince of *Wales* was never brought to him. He ſaid, Dr. *Gawden* writ it: After the reſtoration he brought the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Earl of *Southampton* both to the King and to himſelf, who affirmed that they knew it was his writing; and that it was carried down by the Earl of *Southampton*, and ſhewed the King during the treaty of *Newport*, who read it, and approved of it as containing his ſenſe of things. Upon this he told me, that tho' *Sheldon* and the other Biſhops oppoſed *Gawden*'s promotion becauſe he had taken the Covenant, yet the merits of that ſervice carried it for him notwithſtanding the oppoſition made to it. There has been a great deal of diſputing about this book: Some are ſo zealous for mantaining it to be the King's, that they think a man falſe to the Church that doubts it to be his: Yet the evidence ſince that time brought to the contrary has been ſo ſtrong, that I muſt leave that under the ſame uncertainty under which I found it: Only this is certain, that *Gawden* never writ any thing with that force, his other writings being ſuch, that no man from a likeneſs of ſtyle would think him capable of writing ſo extraordinary a book as that is.

Upon the King's death the *Scots* proclaimed his ſon King, and ſent over Sir *George Wincam*, that married my great aunt, to treat with him while he was in the iſle of *Jerſey*. The King entred into a negotiation with them, and ſent him back with general aſſurances of conſenting to every reaſonable propoſition that they ſhould ſend him. He named the *Hague* for the place of treaty, he being to go thither in a few days. So the *Scots* ſent over commiſſioners, the chief of whom were the Earls of *Caſſiles* The *Scots* treat with King *Charles* the ſecond.

Caſſiles and *Lothian*, the former of theſe was my firſt wife's father, a man of great vertue and of a conſiderable degree of good underſtanding: He was ſo ſincere, that he would ſuffer no man to take his words in any other ſenſe than as he meant them: He adhered firmly to his inſtructions, but with ſo much candour, that King *Charles* retained very kind impreſſions of it to his life's end. The man then in the greateſt favour with the King was the Duke of *Buckingham:* He was wholly turned to mirth and pleaſure: He had the art of turning perſons or things into ridicule beyond any man of the age: He poſſeſſed the young King with very ill principles both as to religion and morality, and with a very mean opinion of his father, whoſe ſtiffneſs was with him a frequent ſubject of raillery. He prevailed with the King to enter into a treaty with the *Scots*, tho' that was vehemently oppoſed by almoſt all the reſt that were about him, who preſſed him to adhere ſteddily to his father's maxims and example.

Montroſe's offers. When the King came to the *Hague*, *William* Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who had left *Scotland*, entred into a great meaſure of favour and confidence with him. The Marquis of *Montroſe* came likewiſe to him, and undertook if he would follow his counſels to reſtore him to his Kingdoms by main force: But when the King deſired the Prince of *Orange* to examine the methods which he propoſed, he entertained him with a recital of his own performances and of the credit he was in among the people; and ſaid, the whole nation would riſe if he went over, tho' accompanied only with a page. He deſired of the King nothing but power to act in his name, with a ſupply in money, and a letter recommending him to the King of *Denmark* for a ſhip to carry him over, and for ſuch arms as he could ſpare. With that the King gave him the Garter. He got firſt to *Orkney*, and from thence into the Highlands of *Scotland*; but could perform nothing of what he had undertaken. At laſt he was betrayed by one of thoſe to whom he truſted himſelf, *Mackland* of *Aſſin*, and was brought over a priſoner

And death. to *Edenburgh*. He was carried thro' the ſtreets with all the infamy that brutal men could contrive: And in a few days he was hanged on a very high gibbet: And his head and quarters were ſet up in divers places of the Kingdom. His behaviour under all that barbarous uſage was as great and firm to the laſt, looking on all that was done to him with a noble ſcorn, as the fury of his enemies was black and univerſally deteſted. This cruelty raiſed a horrour in all ſober people againſt thoſe who could inſult over ſuch a man in misfortunes. The triumphs that the

preachers made on this occaſion rendered them odious, and made Lord *Montroſe* to be both more pitied and lamented, than otherwiſe he could have been. This happened while the *Scots* commiſſioners were treating with the King at the *Hague*. The violent party in *Scotland* were for breaking off the treaty upon it, tho' by the date of Lord *Montroſe*'s commiſſion it appeared to have been granted before the treaty was begun: But it was carried not to recall their commiſſioners: Nor could the King on the other hand be prevailed on by his own Court to ſend them away upon this cruelty to a man who had acted by his commiſſion, and yet was ſo uſed. The treaty was quickly concluded: The King was in no condition to ſtruggle with them, but yielded to all their demands, of taking the Covenant, and ſuffering none to be about him but ſuch as took it. He ſailed home to *Scotland* in ſome *Dutch* men of war with which the Prince of *Orange* furniſhed him, with all the ſtock of money and arms that his credit could raiſe. That indeed would not have been very great, if the Prince of *Orange* had not joined his own to it. The Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lauderdale* were ſuffered to go home with him: But ſoon after his landing an order came to put them from him. The King complained of this: But Duke *Hamilton* at parting told him, he muſt prepare for things of a harder digeſtion: He ſaid, at preſent he could do him no ſervice: The Marquis of *Argile* was then in abſolute credit: Therefore he deſired that he would ſtudy to gain him, and give him no cauſe of jealouſy on his account. This King *Charles* told me himſelf, as a part of Duke *Hamilton*'s character. The Duke of *Buckingham* took all the ways poſſible to gain Lord *Argile* and the Miniſters: Only his diſſolute courſe of life was exceſſive ſcandalous; which to their great reproach they connived at, becauſe he adviſed the King to put himſelf wholly into their hands. The King wrought himſelf into as grave a deportment as he could: He heard many prayers and ſermons, ſome of a great length. I remember in one faſt day there were ſix ſermons preached without intermiſſion. I was there my ſelf, and not a little weary of ſo tedious a ſervice. The King was not allowed ſo much as to walk abroad on ſundays: And if at any time there had been any gaiety at Court, ſuch as dancing or playing at cards, he was ſeverely reproved for it. This was managed with ſo much rigour, and ſo little diſcretion, that it contributed not a little to beget in him an averſion to all ſort of ſtrictneſs in religion. All that had acted on his father's ſide were ordered to keep at a great diſtance from him: And becauſe the common people ſhewed ſome affection to the King, the

crouds that preſs'd to ſee him were alſo kept off from coming about him. *Cromwell* was not idle: But ſeeing the *Scots* were calling home their King, and knowing that from thence he might expect an invaſion into *England*, he reſolved to prevent them, and ſo marched into *Scotland* with his army. The *Scots* brought together a very good army: The King was ſuffered to come once to ſee it, but not to ſtay in it; for they were afraid he might gain too much upon the ſouldiers: So he was ſent away.

The defeat at *Dunbar*.

The army was indeed one of the beſt that ever *Scotland* had brought together: But it was ill commanded: For all that had made defection from their cauſe, or that were thought indifferent as to either ſide, which they called deteſtable neutrality, were put out of commiſſion. The preachers thought it an army of ſaints, and ſeemed well aſſured of ſucceſs. They drew near *Cromwell*, who being preſſed by them retired towards *Dunbar*, where his ſhips and proviſions lay. The *Scots* followed him, and were poſted on a hill about a mile from thence, where there was no attacking them. *Cromwell* was then in great diſtreſs, and looked on himſelf as undone. There was no marching towards *Berwick*, the ground was too narrow: Nor could he come back into the country without being ſeparated from his ſhips, and ſtarving his army. The leaſt evil ſeemed to be to kill his horſes, and put his army on board, and ſail back to *Newcaſtle*; which, in the diſpoſition that *England* was in at that time, would have been all their deſtruction, for it would have occaſioned an univerſal inſurrection for the King. They had not above three days forage for their horſes. So *Cromwell* called his officers to a day of ſeeking the Lord, in their ſtyle. He loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards: He ſaid, he felt ſuch an enlargement of heart in prayer, and ſuch quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. After prayer they walked in the Earl of *Roxburgh*'s gardens that lay under the hill: And by proſpective glaſſes they diſcerned a great motion in the *Scotiſh* Camp: Upon which *Cromwell* ſaid, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us. *Leſley* was in the chief command: But he had a committee of the States to give him his orders, among whom *Wariſtoun* was one. Theſe were weary of lying in the fields, and thought that *Leſley* made not haſte enough to deſtroy thoſe Sectaries; for ſo they came to call them. He told them, by lying there all was ſure; but that by engaging in action with gallant and deſperate men all might be loſt: Yet they ſtill called on him to fall on. Many have thought that all this was treachery done on deſign to deliver up our army to *Cromwell*.

Cromwell; ſome laying it upon *Leſley*, and others upon my uncle. I am perſuaded there was no treachery in it: Only *Wariſtoun* was too hot, and *Leſley* was too cold, and yielded too eaſily to their humours, which he ought not to have done. They were all the night employed in coming down the hill: And in the morning, before they were put in order, *Cromwell* fell upon them. Two regiments ſtood their ground, and were almoſt all killed in their ranks: The reſt did run in a moſt ſhameful manner: So that both their artillery and baggage were loſt, and with theſe a great many priſoners were taken, ſome thouſands in all. *Cromwell* upon this advanced to *Edenburgh*, where he was received without any oppoſition: And the caſtle that might have made a long reſiſtance did capitulate. So all the ſouthern part of *Scotland* came under contribution to *Cromwell*. *Sterlin* was the advanced garriſon on the King's ſide. He himſelf retired to St. *Johnſtoun*. A Parliament was called that ſat for ſome time at *Sterlin*, and for ſome time at St. *Johnſtoun*, in which a full indemnity was paſs'd, not in the language of a pardon but of an act of approbation: Only all that joined with *Cromwell* were declared traitors. But now the way of raiſing a new army was to be thought on.

Diſputes about the admitting of all perſons to ſerve their country.

A queſtion had been propoſed both to the committee of States and to the commiſſioners of the Kirk, whether in this extremity thoſe who had made defection, or had been hitherto too backward in the work, might not upon the profeſſion of their repentance be received into publick truſt, and admitted to ſerve in the defence of their country. To this anſwers were diſtinctly given by two reſolutions: The one was, that they ought to be admitted to make profeſſion of their repentance: And the other was, that after ſuch profeſſions made they might be received to defend and ſerve their country.

Upon this a great diviſion followed in the Kirk: Thoſe who adhered to theſe reſolutions were called the Publick Reſolutioners: But againſt theſe ſome of thoſe bodies proteſted, and they, together with thoſe who adhered to them, were called the Proteſtors. On the one hand it was ſaid, that every government might call out all that were under its protection to its defence: This ſeemed founded on the law of nature and of nations: And, if men had been miſled, it was a ſtrange cruelty to deny room for repentance: This was contrary to the nature of God and to the Goſpel, and was a likely mean to drive them to deſpair: Therefore after two years time it ſeemed reaſonable to allow them to ſerve according to their birthright in Parliament, or in other hereditary offices, or in the army; from all which they had been

been excluded by an act made in the year 1649, which ranged them in different claſſes, and was from thence called the act of claſſes. But the Proteſtors objected againſt all this, that to take in men of known enmity to the cauſe was a ſort of betraying it, becauſe it was the putting it in their power to betray it; that to admit them into a profeſſion of repentance was a profanation, and a mocking of God: It was viſible, they were willing to comply with theſe terms, tho' againſt their conſcience, only to get into the army: Nor could they expect a bleſſing from God on an army ſo conſtituted. And as to this particular they had great advantage; for this mock penitence was indeed a matter of great ſcandal. When theſe reſolutions were paſs'd with this proteſtation, a great many of the five weſtern counties, *Cliddiſdale*, *Renfrew*, *Air*, *Galloway* and *Nithiſdale*, met, and formed an aſſociation apart, both againſt the army of Sectaries, and againſt this new defection in the Kirk party. They drew a remonſtrance againſt all the proceedings in the treaty with the King, when, as they ſaid, it was viſible by the commiſſion he granted to *Montroſe* that his heart was not ſincere: And they were alſo againſt the tendring him the Covenant, when they had reaſon to believe he took it not with a reſolution to maintain it, ſince his whole deportment and private converſation ſhewed a ſecret enmity to the work of God: And, after an inviduous enumeration of many particulars, they imputed the ſhameful defeat at *Dunbar* to their prevaricating in theſe things; and concluded with a deſire, that the King might be excluded from any ſhare in the adminiſtration of the Government, and that his cauſe might be put out of the ſtate of the quarrel with the army of the Sectaries. This was brought to the committee of the States at St. *Johnſtoun*, and was ſeverely inveighed againſt by Sir *Thomas Nicholſon*, the King's advocate or attorney general there, who had been till then a zealous man of their party: But he had lately married my ſiſter, and my father had great influence on him. He prevailed ſo, that the remonſtrance was condemned as diviſive, factious, and ſcandalous: But that the people might not be too much moved with theſe things, a declaration was prepared to be ſet out by the King for the ſatisfying of them. In it there were many hard things. The King owned the ſin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family: He acknowledged the bloodſhed in the late wars lay at his father's door: He expreſſed a deep ſenſe of his own ill education, and the prejudices he had drunk in againſt the cauſe of God, of which he was now very ſenſible: He confeſſed all the former parts of his life to have been a courſe of enmity to the work of God:

Great hardſhips put on the King.

God: He repented of his commiſſion to *Montroſe*, and of every thing he had done that gave offence: And with ſolemn proteſtations he affirmed, that he was now ſincere in his declaration, and that he would adhere to it to the end of his life in *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*.

The King was very uneaſy when this was brought to him. He ſaid, he could never look his mother in the face if he paſs'd it. But when he was told it was neceſſary for his affairs, he reſolved to ſwallow the pill without farther chewing it. So it was publiſhed, but had no good effect; for neither ſide believed him ſincere in it. It was thought a ſtrange impoſition, to make him load his father's memory in ſuch a manner. But, while the King was thus beſet with the high and more moderate Kirk parties, the old Cavaliers ſent to him, offering that if he would caſt himſelf into their hands they would meet him near *Dundee* with a great body. Upon this the King, growing weary of the ſad life he led, made his eſcape in the night, and came to the place appointed: But it was a vain undertaking; for he was met by a very inconſiderable body at *Clova*, the place of rendezvous. Thoſe at St. *Johnſtoun* being troubled at this ſent Col. *Montgomery* after him, who came up and preſs'd him to return very rudely: So the King came back. But this had a very good effect. The government ſaw now the danger of uſing him ill, which might provoke him to deſperate courſes: After that, he was uſed as well as that Kingdom in ſo ill a ſtate was capable of. He ſaw the neceſſity of courting the Marqnis of *Argile*, and therefore made him great offers: At laſt he talked of marrying his daughter. Lord *Argile* was cold and backward: He ſaw the King's heart lay not to him: So he looked on all offers, but as ſo many ſnares. His ſon, the Lord *Lorn*, was captain of the guards: And he made his court more dextrouſly; for he brought all perſons that the King had a mind to ſpeak with at all hours to him, and was in all reſpects not only faithful but zealous. Yet this was ſuſpected as a colluſion between the father and the ſon. The King was crowned on the firſt of *January*: And there he again renewed the Covenant: And now all people were admitted to come to him, and to ſerve in the army. The two armies lay peaceably in their winter quarters. But when the ſummer came on, a body of the *Engliſh* paſs'd the *Frith*, and landed in *Fife*. So the King, having got up all the forces he had expected, reſolved on a march into *England*. *Scotland* could not maintain another year's war. This was a deſperate reſolution: But there was nothing elſe to be done.

I will not purſue the relation of the march to *Worceſter*, nor the total defeat given the King's army on the third of *September*, the ſame day in which *Dunbar* fight had been fought the year before. Theſe things are ſo well known, as is alſo the King's eſcape, that I can add nothing to the common relations that have been over and over made of them. At the ſame time that *Cromwell* followed the King into *England*, he left *Monk* in *Scotland* with an army ſufficient to reduce the reſt of the Kingdom. The town of *Dundee* made a raſh and ill conſidered reſiſtance: It was after a few days ſiege taken by ſtorm: Much blood was ſhed, and the town was ſeverely plundered: No other place made any reſiſtance. I remember well of three regiments coming to *Aberdeen*. There was an order and diſcipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Moſt of them were Independents and Anabaptiſts: They were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved. But they never diſturbed the publick aſſemblies in the churches but once. They came and reproached the preachers for laying things to their charge that were falſe. I was then preſent: The debate grew very fierce: At laſt they drew their ſwords: But there was no hurt done: Yet *Cromwell* diſplaced the governour for not puniſhing this.

Scotland was ſubdued by *Monk*.

When the low-countries in *Scotland* were thus reduced, ſome of the more zealous of the nobility went to the Highlands in the year 1653. The Earl of *Glencairn*, a grave and ſober man, got the tribe of the *Macdonalds* to declare for the King. To theſe the Lord *Lorn* came with about a thouſand men: But the jealouſy of the father made the ſon be ſuſpected. The Marquis of *Argile* had retired into his country when the King marched into *England*; and did not ſubmit to *Monk* till the year 52. Then he received a garriſon: But Lord *Lorn* ſurpriſed a ſhip that was ſent about with proviſions to it, which helped to ſupport their little ill-formed army. Many gentlemen came to them: And almoſt all the good horſes of the Kingdom were ſtollen, and carried up to them. They made a body of about 3000: Of theſe they had about 500 horſe. They endured great hardſhips; for thoſe parts were not fit to entertain men that had been accuſtomed to live ſoftly. The Earl of *Glencairn* had almoſt ſpoiled all: For he took much upon him: And upon ſome ſuſpicion he ordered Lord *Lorn* to be clapt up, who had notice of it, and prevented it by an eſcape: Otherwiſe they had fallen to cut one another's throats, inſtead of marching to the enemy. The Earl of *Belcarras*, a vertuous and knowing man but ſomewhat moroſe in his humour, went alſo among them. They differed

A body flood out in the Highlands.

fered in their counſels: Lord *Glencairn* was for falling into the low-countries: And he began to fancy he ſhould be another *Montroſe*. *Belcarras* on the other hand was for keeping in their faſtneſſes: They made a ſhew of a body for the King, which they were to keep up in ſome reputation as long as they could, till they could ſee what aſſiſtance the King might be able to procure them from beyond ſea of men money and arms; whereas if they went out of thoſe faſt grounds, they could not hope to ſtand before ſuch a veteran and well diſciplined army as *Monk* had; and if they met with the leaſt check, their tumultuary body would ſoon melt away.

Among others one Sir *Robert Murray*, that had married Lord *Belcarras*'s ſiſter, came among them: He had ſerved in *France*, where he had got into ſuch a degree of favour with *Cardinal Richlieu*, that few ſtrangers were ever ſo much conſidered by him as he was. He was raiſed to be a Collonel there, and came over for recruits when the King was with the *Scotch* army at *Newcaſtle*. There he grew into high favour with the King; and laid a deſign for his eſcape, of which I have given an account in Duke *Hamilton*'s memoirs: He was the moſt univerſally beloved and eſteemed by men of all ſides and ſorts, of any man I have ever known in my whole Life. He was a pious man, and in the midſt of armies and conrts he ſpent many hours a day in devotion. He had gone thro' the eaſy parts of mathematicks, and knew the hiſtory of nature beyond any man I ever yet knew. He had a genius much like *Peïriſki*, as he is deſcribed by *Gaſſendi*. He was afterwards the firſt former of the Royal ſociety, and its firſt preſident; and while he lived he was the life and ſonl of that body. He had an eqnality of temper in him rhat nothing conld alter; and was in practice the only Stoick I ever knew. He had a great tincture of one of their principles; for he was much for abſolute decrees. He had a moſt diffuſed love to all mankind, and he delighted in every occaſion of doing good, which he managed with great diſcretion and zeal. He had a ſuperiority of genius and comprehenſion to moſt men: And had the plaineſt, but with all the ſofteſt, way of reproving, chiefly young people, for their faults that I ever met with. Sir *Robert Murray* was in ſuch credit in that little army, that Lord *Glencairn* took a ſtrange courſe to break it, and to ruin him. A letter was pretended to be found at *Antwerp*, as writ by him to *William Murray* of the bed-chamber, that had been whipping boy to King *Charles* the firſt, and upon that had grown up to a degree of favour and confidence that was very particular: He had a leud creature there, whom he turned off:

Sir *Robert Murray*'s character.

And

And ſhe to be revenged on him framed this plot againſt him. This ill forged letter gave an account of a bargain Sir *Robert* had made with *Monk* for killing the King, which was to be executed by Mr. *Murray:* So he prayed him in his letter to make haſte and diſpatch it. This was brought to the Earl of *Glencairn:* So Sir *Robert* was ſeverely queſtioned upon it, and put in arreſt: And it was ſpread about thro' a rude army that he intended to kill the King, hoping it ſeems that ſome of theſe wild people believing it would have fallen upon him without uſing any forms. Upon this occaſion Sir *Robert* practiſed in a very eminent manner his true chriſtian philoſophy, without ſhewing ſo much as a cloud in his whole behaviour.

The Earl of *Belcarras* left the Highlands, and went to the King; and ſhewed him the neceſſity of ſending a military man to command that body, to whom they would ſubmit more willingly than to any of the Nobility. *Midletoun* was ſent over, who was a gallant man and a good officer: He had firſt ſerved on the Parliament's ſide: But he turned over to the King, and was taken at *Worceſter* fight, but made his eſcape out of the Tower. He upon his coming over did for ſome time lay the heats that were among the Highlanders; and made as much of that face of an army for another year as was poſſible.

Meſſages ſent to the King.

Drumond was ſent by him to *Paris* with an invitation to the King to come among them; for they had aſſurances ſent them, that the whole Nation was in a diſpoſition to riſe with them: And *England* was beginning to grow weary of their new government, the Army and the Parliament being on ill terms. The *Engliſh* were alſo engaged in a war with the States: And the *Dutch* upon that account might be inclined to aſſiſt the King to give a diverſion to their enemies forces. *Drumond* told me, that upon his coming to *Paris* he was called to the little Council that was then about the King: And when he had delivered his meſſage, Chancellour *Hide* aſked him, how the King would be accommodated if he came among them: He anſwered, not ſo well as was fitting, but they would all take care of him to furniſh him with every thing that was neceſſary. He wondered that the King did not check the Chancellour in his demand; for he ſaid, it looked ſtrange to him, that when they were hazarding their lives to help him to a crown, he ſhould be concerned for accommodation. He was ſent back with good words and a few kind letters. In the end of the year 1654 *Morgan* marched into the Highlands, and had a ſmall engagement with *Midletoun*, which broke that whole matter, of which all people were grown weary; for they had no proſpect of ſucceſs,

and the low countries were ſo over-run with robberies on the pretence of going to aſſiſt the Highlanders, that there was an univerſal joy at the diſperſing of that little unruly army.

The ſtate of *Scotland* during the uſurpation.

After this the country was kept in great order: Some caſtles in the Highlands had garriſons put in them, that were ſo careful in their diſcipline, and ſo exact to their rules, that in no time the Highlands were kept in better order than during the uſurpation. There was a conſiderable force of about 7 or 8000 men kept in *Scotland:* Theſe were paid exactly, and ſtrictly diſciplined. The pay of the army brought ſo much money into the Kingdom, that it continued all that while in a very flouriſhing ſtate. *Cromwell* built three citadels, at *Leith*, *Air*, and *Inverneſs*, beſides many little forts. There was good juſtice done, and vice was ſuppreſs'd and puniſhed; ſo that we always reckon thoſe eight years of uſurpation a time of great peace and proſperity. There was alſo a ſort of union of the three Kingdoms in one Parliament, where *Scotland* had its repreſentative. The Marquis of *Argile* went up one of our commiſſioners.

Diſputes among the Covenanters.

The next ſcene I muſt open relates to the church, and the heats raiſed in it by the publick reſolutions, and the proteſtation made againſt them. New occaſions of diſpute aroſe. A General Aſſembly was in courſe to meet; and ſate at St. *Andrews:* So the commiſſion of the Kirk wrote a circular letter to all the Preſbyteries, ſetting forth all the grounds of their reſolutions, and complaining of thoſe who had proteſted againſt them; upon which they deſired that they would chuſe none of thoſe who adhered to the proteſtation to repreſent them in the next aſſembly. This was only an advice, and had been frequently practiſed in the former years: But now it was highly complained of, as a limitation on the freedom of elections, which inferred a nullity on all their proceedings: So the Proteſtors renewed their proteſtation againſt the meeting upon a higher point, diſowning that authority which hitherto they had magnified as the higheſt tribunal in the church, in which they thought Chriſt was in his throne. Upon this a great debate followed, and many books were written in a courſe of ſeveral years. The Publick men ſaid, this was the deſtroying of Preſbytery, if the leſſer number did not ſubmit to the greater: It was a ſort of Prelacy, if it was pretended that votes ought rather to be weighed than counted: Parity was the eſſence of their conſtitution: And in this all people ſaw they had clearly the better of the argument. The Proteſtors urged for themſelves, that, ſince all Proteſtants rejected the pretence of infallibility, the major part of the church might fall into errours, in which caſe the leſſer num-

ber could not be bound to ſubmit to them: They complained of the many corrupt Clergy-men who were yet among them, who were leavened with the old leaven, and did on all occaſions ſhew what was ſtill at heart notwithſtanding all their outward compliance: (For the epiſcopal Clergy, that had gone into the Covenant and Preſbytery to hold their livings, ſtruck in with great heat to inflame the controverſy: And it appeared very viſibly that Preſbytery, if not held in order by the civil power, could not be long kept in quiet:) If in the ſupream Court of judicature the majority did not conclude the matter, it was not poſſible to keep up their beloved parity: It was confeſſed that in doctrinal points the leſſer number was not bound to ſubmit to the greater: But in the matters of mere government it was impoſſible to maintain the Preſbyterian form on any other bottom.

As this debate grew hot, and they were ready to break out into cenſures on both ſides, ſome were ſent down from the Commonwealth of *England* to ſettle *Scotland:* Of theſe Sir *Henry Vane* was one. The Reſolutioners were known to have been more in the King's intereſt: So they were not ſo kindly looked on as the Proteſtors. Some of the *Engliſh* juncto moved, that pains ſhould be taken to unite the two parties. But *Vane* oppoſed this with much zeal: He ſaid, would they heal the wound that they had given themſelves, which weakened them ſo much? The ſetting them at quiet could have no other effect, but to heal and unite them in their oppoſition to their authority: He therefore moved, that they might be left at liberty to fight out their own quarrels, and be kept in a greater dependence on the temporal authority, when both ſides were forced to make their appeal to it: So it was reſolved to ſuffer them to meet ſtill in their Preſbyteries and Synods, but not in General Aſſemblies, which had a greater face of union and authority.

This advice was followed: So the diviſion went on. Both ſides ſtudied when any church became vacant to get a man of their own party to be choſen to ſucceed in the election: And upon theſe occaſions many tumults happened: In ſome of them ſtones were thrown, and many were wounded, to the great ſcandal of religion. In all theſe diſputes the Proteſtors were the fiercer ſide: For being leſs in number they ſtudied to make that up with their fury. In one point they had the other at a great advantage, with relation to their new maſters who required them to give over praying for the King. The Proteſtors were weary of doing it, and ſubmitted very readily: But the others ſtood out longer; and ſaid, it was a duty lying on them by the Covenant,

Covenant, ſo they could not let it fall. Upon that the *Engliſh* Council ſet out an order, that ſuch as ſhould continue to pray for the King ſhould be denied the help of law to recover their tithes, or as they called them their ſtipends. This touched them in a ſenſible point: But, that they might not ſeem to act upon the civil authority, they did enact it in their Preſbyteries, that ſince all duties did not oblige at all times, therefore conſidering the preſent juncture, in which the King could not protect them, they reſolved to diſcontinue that piece of duty. This expoſed them to much cenſure, ſince ſuch a carnal conſideration as the force of law for their benefices, (which all regard but too much tho' few will own it,) ſeemed to be that which determined them.

This great breach among them being rather encouraged than ſuppreſſed by thoſe who were in power, all the methods imaginable were uſed by the Proteſtors to raiſe their credit among the people. They preached often, and very long; and ſeemed to carry their devotions to a greater ſublimity than others did. Their conſtant topick was, the ſad defection and corruption of the judicatories of the church, and they often propoſed ſeveral expedients for purging it. The truth was they were more active, and their performances were livelier, than the Publick men. They were in nothing more ſingular than in their communions. In many places the ſacrament was diſcontinued for ſeveral years; where they thought the magiſtracy, or the more eminent of the pariſh, were engaged in what they called the defection, which was much more looked at than ſcandal given by bad lives. But where the greateſt part was more ſound, they gave the ſacrament with a new and unuſual ſolemnity. On the *Wedneſday* before they held a faſt day with prayers and ſermons for abont eight or ten hours together: On the *Saturday* they had two or three preparation ſermons: And on the Lord's day they had ſo very many, that the action continued above twelve hours in ſome places: And all ended with three or four ſermons on *Monday* for thankſgiving. A great many Miniſters were brought together from ſeveral parts: And high pretenders would have gone 40 or 50 miles to a noted communion. The crouds were far beyond the capacity of their churches, or the reach of their voices: So at the ſame time they had ſermons in two or three different places: And all was performed with great ſhew of zeal. They had ſtories of many ſequal converſions that were wrought on theſe occaſions. Methods taken on both ſides.

It is ſcarce credible what an effect this had among the people, to how great a meaſure of knowledge they were brought, and

and how readily they could pray *extempore*, and talk of divine matters. All this tended to raiſe the credit of the Proteſtors. The Reſolutioners tried to imitate them in theſe practices: But they were not thought ſo ſpiritual, nor ſo ready at them: So the others had the chief following. Where the judicatories of the church were near an equality of the men of both ſides, there were perpetual janglings among them: At laſt they proceeded to deprive men of both ſides, as they were the majority in the judicatories: But becauſe the poſſeſſion of the church, and the benefice, was to depend on the orders of the temporal Courts, both ſides made their application to the privy Council that *Cromwell* had ſet up in *Scotland:* And they were by them referred to *Cromwell* himſelf. So they ſent deputies up to *London*. The Proteſtors went in great numbers: They came nearer both to the principles, and to the temper that prevailed in the Army: So they were looked on as the better men, on whom, by reaſon of the firſt riſe of the difference, the government might more certainly depend: Whereas the others were conſidered as more in the King's intereſts.

The Reſolutioners ſent up one *Sharp*, who had been long in *England*, and was an active and eager man: He had a very ſmall proportion of learning, and was but an indifferent preacher: But having ſome acquaintance with the Preſbyterian Miniſters at *London*, whom *Cromwell* was then courting much by reaſon of their credit in the City, he was by an errour that proved fatal to the whole party ſent up in their name to *London*; where he continued for ſome years ſoliciting their concerns, and making himſelf known to all ſorts of people. He ſeemed more than ordinary zealous for Preſbytery. And, as *Cromwell* was then deſigning to make himſelf King, Dr. *Wilkins* told me he often ſaid to him, no temporal government could have a ſure ſupport without a national church that adhered to it, and he thought *England* was capable of no conſtitution but epiſcopacy, to which, he told me, he did not doubt but *Cromwell* would have turned, as ſoon as the deſign of his Kingſhip was ſettled. Upon this *Wilkins* ſpoke to *Sharp*, that it was plain by their breach that Preſbytery could not be managed ſo as to maintain order among them, and that an epiſcopacy muſt be brought in to ſettle them: But *Sharp* could not bear the diſcourſe, and rejected it with horror. I have dwelt longer on this matter, and opened it more fully than was neceſſary, if I had not thought that this may have a good effect on the reader, and ſhew him how impoſſible it is in a parity to maintain peace and order, if the magiſtrate does

does not interpoſe: And if he does that will be cried out upon by the zealots of both ſides, as abominable Eraſtianiſm.

From theſe matters I go next to ſet down ſome particulars that I knew concerning *Cromwell*, that I have not yet ſeen in books. Some of theſe I had from the Earls of *Carliſle* and *Orrery:* The one had been the captain of his guards: And the other had been the preſident of his council in *Scotland.* But he from whom I learned the moſt was *Stouppe*, a *Griſon* by birth, then Miniſter of the *French* Church in the *Savoy*, and afterwards a brigadeer general in the *French* armies: A man of intrigue, but of no vertue: He adhered to the Proteſtant religion as to outward appearance: He was much truſted by *Cromwell* in foreign affairs; in which *Cromwell* was oft at a loſs, and having no foreign language, but the little latin that ſtuck to him from his education, which he ſpoke very vitiouſly and ſcantily, had not the neceſſary means of informing himſelf. Some of *Cromwell's* maxims.

When *Cromwell* firſt aſſumed the government, he had three great parties of the Nation all againſt him, the Epiſcopal, the Preſbyterian, and the Republican party. The laſt was the moſt ſet on his ruin, looking on him as the perſon that had perfidiouſly broke the Houſe of Commons, and was ſetting up for himſelf. He had none to rely on but the Army: Yet that enthuſiaſtick temper, that he had taken ſo much pains to raiſe among them, made them very intractable: Many of the chief officers were broken, and impriſoned by him: And he flattered the reſt the beſt he could. He went on in his old way of long and dark diſcourſes, ſermons, and prayers. As to the Cavalier party, he was affraid both of aſſaſſination and other plottings from them. As to the former of theſe he took a method that proved very effectual: He ſaid often and openly, that in a war it was neceſſary to return upon any ſide all the violent things that any of the one ſide did to the other: This was done for preventing greater miſchief, and for bringing men to fair war: Therefore, he ſaid, aſſaſſinations were ſuch deteſtable things that he would never begin them: But if any of the King's party ſhould endeavour to aſſaſſinate him, and fail in it, he would make an aſſaſſinating war of it, and deſtroy the whole family: And he pretended he had inſtruments to execute it, whenſoever he ſhould give order for it. The terrour of this was a better ſecurity to him than his guards.

The other as to their plottings was the more dangerous. But he underſtood that one Sir *Richard Willis* was Chancellour *Hide's* chief confident, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party ſubmitted, looking on him as an able and wiſe man in

whom they confided abſolutely. So he found a way to talk with him: He ſaid, he did not intend to hurt any of the party: His deſign was rather to ſave them from ruin: They were apt after their cups to run into fooliſh and ill concerted plots, which ſignified nothing but to ruin thoſe who engaged in them: He knew they conſulted him in every thing: All he deſired of him was to know all their plots, that he might ſo diſconcert them that none might ever ſuffer for them: If he clapt any of them up in priſon, it ſhould only be for a little time: And they ſhould be interrogated only about ſome trifling diſcourſe, but never about the buſineſs they had been engaged in. He offered *Willis* whatever he would accept of, and to give it when or as he pleaſed. He durſt not aſk or take above 200 pound a year. None was truſted with this but his ſecretary *Thurlo*, who was a very dexterous man at getting intelligence.

Thus *Cromwell* had all the King's party in a net. He let them dance in it at pleaſure: And upon occaſions clapt them up for a ſhort while: But nothing was ever diſcovered that hurt any of them. In concluſion, after *Cromwell*'s death, *Willis* continued to give notice of every thing to *Thurlo*. At laſt, when the plot was laid among the Cavaliers for a general inſurrection, the King was deſired to come over to that which was to be raiſed in *Suſſex:* He was to have landed near *Chicheſter*, all by *Willis*'s management: And a ſnare was laid for him, in which he would probably have been caught, if *Morland*, *Thurlo*'s under ſecretary, who was a prying man, had not diſcovered the correſpondence between his Maſter and *Willis*, and warned the King of his danger. Yet it was not eaſy to perſuade thoſe who had truſted *Willis* ſo much, and who thought him faithful in all reſpects, to believe that he could be guilty of ſo black a treachery: So *Morland*'s advertiſement was look'd on as an artifice to create jealouſy. But he to give a full conviction obſerved where the ſecretary laid ſome letters of advice, on which he ſaw he relied moſt, and getting the key of that cabinet in his hand to ſeal a letter with a ſeal that hung to it, he took the impreſſion of it in wax, and got a key to be made from it, by which he opened the cabinet, and ſent over ſome of the moſt important of thoſe letters. The hand was known, and this artful but black treachery was diſcovered: So the deſign of the riſing was laid aſide. Sir *George Booth* having engaged at the ſame time to raiſe a body in *Cheſhire*, two ſeveral meſſengers were ſent to him to let him know the deſign could not be executed at the time appointed: But both theſe perſons were ſuſpected by ſome garriſons thro' which they muſt paſs, as giving no good account of themſelves

themſelves in a time of jealouſy, and were ſo long ſtopt, that they could not give him notice in time: So he very gallantly performed his part: But not being ſeconded he was ſoon cruſhed by *Lambert*. Thus *Willis* loſt the merit of great and long ſervices. This was one of *Cromwell*'s maſter pieces.

As for the Preſbyterians, they were ſo apprehenſive of the fury of the Commonwealth party, that they thought it a deliverance to be reſcued out of their hands: Many of the Republicans begun to profeſs Deiſm: And almoſt all of them were for deſtroying all Clergy-men, and for breaking every thing that looked like the union of a national church. They were for pulling down the churches, for diſcharging the tithes, and for leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or reſtraint. *Cromwell* aſſured the Preſbyterians, he would maintain a publick miniſtry with all due encouragement; and he joined them in a commiſſion with ſome Independents, to be the triers of all thoſe who were to be admitted to benefices. Theſe diſpoſed alſo of all the churches that were in the gift of the Crown, of the Biſhops, and of the Cathedral Churches: So this ſoftened them.

He ſtudied to divide the Commonwealth party among themſelves, and to ſet the Fifth-monarchy men and the Enthuſiaſts againſt thoſe who pretended to little or no religion, and acted only upon the principles of civil liberty; ſuch as *Algernoon Sidney*, *Henry Nevill*, *Martin*, *Wildman*, and *Harrington*. The Fifth-monarchy men ſeemed to be really on expectation every day when *Chriſt* ſhould appear: *John Goodwin* headed theſe, who firſt brought in *Arminianiſm* among the ſectaries, for he was for liberty of all ſorts. *Cromwell* hated that doctrine: For his beloved notion was, that once a child of God was always a child of God: Now he had led a very ſtrict life for above eight years together before the war: So he comforted himſelf much with his reflections on that time, and on the certainty of perſeverance. But none of the preachers were ſo thorough paced for him as to temporal matters, as *Goodwin* was; for he not only juſtified the putting the King to death, but magnified it as the glorioſeſt action men were capable of. He filled all people with ſuch expectation of a glorious thouſand years ſpeedily to begin, that it looked like a madneſs poſſeſſing them.

It was no eaſy thing for *Cromwell* to ſatisfy thoſe, when he took the power into his own hands; ſince that looked like a ſtep to Kingſhip, which *Goodwin* had long repreſented as the great Antichriſt, that hindered Chriſt's being ſet on his throne. To theſe he ſaid, and as ſome have told me, with many tears, that he

His deſign for the Kingſhip.

he would rather have taken a ſhepherd's ſtaff than the Protectorſhip, ſince nothing was more contrary to his genius than a ſhew of greatneſs: But he ſaw it was neceſſary at that time to keep the Nation from falling into extream diſorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy: And therefore he only ſtept in between the living and the dead, as he phraſed it, in that interval, till God ſhould direct them on what bottom they ought to ſettle: And he aſſured them, that then he would ſurrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the ſorrow with which he was affected while under that ſhew of dignity. To men of this ſtamp he would enter into the terms of their old equality, ſhutting the door, and making them ſit down covered by him, to let them ſee how little he valued thoſe diſtances that for form's ſake he was bound to keep up with others. Theſe diſcourſes commonly ended in a long prayer. Thus with much ado he managed the republican enthuſiaſts. The other Republicans he called the Heathens, and profeſſed he could not ſo eaſily work upon them. He had ſome chaplains of all ſorts: And he begun in his latter years to be gentler towards thoſe of the church of *England*. They had their meetings in ſeveral places about *London* without any diſturbance from him. In concluſion, even the Papiſts courted him: And he with great diſſimulation carried things with all ſorts of people farther than was thought poſſible, conſidering the difficulties he met with in all his Parliaments: But it was generally believed that his life and all his arts were exhauſted at once, and that if he had lived much longer he could not have held things together.

The debates came on very high for ſetting up a King. All the lawyers, chiefly *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Fountain*, and *St. Johns*, were vehemently for this. They ſaid, no new government could be ſettled legally but by a King, who ſhould paſs bills for ſuch a form as ſhould be agreed on. Till then all they did was like building upon ſand: Still men were in danger of a revolution: And in that caſe all that had been done would be void of itſelf, as contrary to a law yet in being and not repealed. Till that was done, every man that had been concerned in the war, and in the blood that was ſhed, chiefly the King's, was ſtill obnoxious: And no warrants could be pleaded, but what were founded on or approved of by a law paſs'd by King, Lords, and Commons. They might agree to truſt this King as much as they pleaſed, and to make his power determine as ſoon as they pleaſed, ſo that he ſhould be a *Felo de ſe*, and conſent to an act, if need were, of extinguiſhing both name and thing for ever. And as no man's perſon was ſafe till that was done, ſo they ſaid all

the grants and ſales that had been made were null and void: All men that had gathered or diſpoſed of the publick money were for ever accountable. In ſhort, this point was made out beyond the poſſibility of anſwering it, except upon enthuſiaſtick principles. But by that ſort of men all this was called a miſtruſting of God, and a truſting to the arm of fleſh: They had gone out, as they ſaid, in the ſimplicity of their hearts to fight the Lord's battels, to whom they had made the appeal: He had heard them, and appeared for them, and now they could truſt him no longer: They had pulled down monarchy with the monarch, and would they now build that up which they had deſtroyed: They had ſolemnly vowed to God to be true to the Commonwealth, without a King or Kingſhip: And under that vow, as under a banner, they had fought and prevailed: But now they muſt be ſecure, and in order to that go back to *Egypt*: They thought, it was rather a happineſs that they were ſtill under a legal danger: This might be a mean to make them more cautious and diligent: If Kings were invaders of God's right, and uſurpers upon mens liberties, why muſt they have recourſe to ſuch a wicked engine? Upon theſe grounds they ſtood out: And they looked on all that was offered about the limiting this King in his power, as the gilding the pill: The aſſertors of thoſe laws that made it neceſſary to have a King would no ſooner have one, than they would bring forth out of the ſame ſtore-houſe all that related to the power and prerogative of this King: Therefore they would not hearken to any thing that was offered on that head, but rejected it with ſcorn. Many of them began openly to ſay, if we muſt have a King in conſequence of ſo much law as was alledged, why ſhould we not rather have that King to whom the law certainly pointed than any other? The Earl of *Orrery* told me, that, coming one day to *Cromwell* during thoſe heats, and telling him he had been in the City all that day, *Cromwell* aſked him what news he had heard there: The other anſwered, that he was told he was in treaty with the King, who was to be reſtored and to marry his daughter. *Cromwell* expreſſing no indignation at this, Lord *Orrery* ſaid, in the ſtate to which things were brought, he ſaw not a better expedient: They might bring him in on what terms they pleaſed: And *Cromwell* might retain the ſame authority he then had with leſs trouble. *Cromwell* anſwered, the King can never forgive his father's blood. *Orrery* ſaid, he was one of many that were concerned in that, but he would be alone in the merit of reſtoring him. *Cromwell* replied, he is ſo damnably debauched he would undo us all; and ſo turned to another diſcourſe without any

emotion, which made *Orrery* conclude he had often thought of that expedient.

Before the day in which he refuſed the offer of the Kingſhip that was made to him by the Parliament, he had kept himſelf on ſuch a reſerve that no man knew what anſwer he would give. It was thought more likely he would accept of it: But that which determined him to the contrary was, that, when he went down in the morning to walk in St. *James*'s park, *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* were waiting for him: The one had married his daughter, and the other his ſiſter. With theſe he entered into much diſcourſe on the ſubject, and argued for it: He ſaid, it was a tempting of God to expoſe ſo many worthy men to death and poverty, when there was a certain way to ſecure them. The others inſiſted ſtill on the oaths they had taken. He ſaid, theſe oaths were againſt the power and tyranny of Kings, but not againſt the four letters that made the word King. In concluſion, they, believing from his diſcourſe that he intended to accept of it, told him, they ſaw great confuſions would follow on it: And as they could not ſerve him to ſet up the idol they had put down, and had ſworn to keep down, ſo they would not engage in any thing againſt him, but would retire and look on. So they offered him their commiſſions, ſince they were reſolved not to ſerve a King: He deſired they would ſtay till they heard his anſwer. It was believed, that he, ſeeing two perſons ſo near him ready to abandon him, concluded that many others would follow their example; and therefore thought it was too bold a venture. So he refuſed it, but accepted of the continuance of his Protectorſhip. Yet, if he had lived out the next winter, as the debates were to have been brought on again, ſo it was generally thought he would have accepted of the offer. And it is yet a queſtion what the effect of that would have been. Some have thought it would have brought on a general ſettlement, ſince the law and the ancient government were again to take place: Others have fancied juſt the contrary, that it would have engaged the Army, ſo that they would either have deſerted the ſervice, or have revolted from him, and perhaps have killed him in the firſt fray of the tumult. I will not determine which of theſe would have moſt probably happened. In theſe debates ſome of the Cavalier party, or rather their children, came to bear ſome ſhare. They were then all zealous Commonwealths-men, according to the directions ſent them from thoſe about the King. Their buſineſs was to oppoſe *Cromwell* on all his demands, and ſo to weaken him at home and expoſe him abroad. When ſome of the other party took notice of this great change, from being

the abettors of prerogative to become the patrons of liberty, they pretended their education in the Court and their obligation to it had engaged them that way; but now ſince that was out of doors, they had the common principles of human nature and the love of liberty in them. By this mean as the old republicans aſſiſted and protected them, ſo at the ſame time they ſtrengthened the faction againſt *Cromwell*. But theſe very men at the Reſtoration ſhook off this diſguiſe, and reverted to their old principles for a high prerogative and abſolute power. They ſaid they were for liberty, when it was a mean to diſtreſs one who they thought had no right to govern; but when the government returned to its old channel; they were ſtill as firm to all prerogative notions, and as great enemies to liberty as ever.

Cromwell's engagement with France.

I go next to give an account of *Cromwell*'s tranſactions with relation to foreign affairs. He laid it down for a maxim to ſpare no coſt or charge in order to procure him intelligence. When he underſtood what dealers the *Jews* were every where in that trade that depends on news, the advancing money upon high or low intereſts in proportion to the riſque they run or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in the buying and ſelling of the actions of money ſo advanced, he, more upon that account than in compliance with the principle of toleration, brought a company of them over to *England*, and gave them leave to build a Synagogue. All the while that he was negotiating this, they were ſure and good ſpies for him, eſpecially with relation to *Spain* and *Portugal*. The Earl of *Orrery* told me, he was once walking with him in one of the galleries of *Whitehall*, and a man almoſt in rags came in view: He preſently diſmiſs'd Lord *Orrery*, and carried that man into his cloſet; who brought him an account of a great ſum of money that the *Spaniards* were ſending over to pay their army in *Flanders*, but in a *Dutch* man of war: And he told him the places of the ſhip in which the money was lodged. *Cromwell* ſent an expreſs immediately to *Smith*, afterwards Sir *Jeremy Smith*, who lay in the *Downs*, telling him that within a day or two ſuch a *Dutch* ſhip would paſs the channel, whom he muſt viſit for the *Spaniſh* money, which was conterband goods, we being then in war with *Spain*. So when the ſhip paſs'd by *Dover*, *Smith* ſent and demanded leave to ſearch him. The *Dutch* captain anſwered, none but his maſters might ſearch him. *Smith* ſent him word, he had ſet up an hour glaſs, and if before that was run out he did not ſubmit to the ſearch, he would force it. The Captain ſaw it was in vain to ſtruggle, and ſo all the money was found. Next time that *Cromwell* ſaw *Orrery* he told him, he had his intel-

intelligence from that contemptible man he ſaw him go to ſome days before. He had on all occaſions very good intelligence: He knew every thing that paſs'd in the King's little Court: And yet none of his ſpies were diſcovered, but one only.

The greateſt difficulty on him in his foreign affairs was, what ſide to chuſe, *France* or *Spain*. The Prince of *Conde* was then in the *Netherlands* with a great many Proteſtants about him. He ſet the *Spaniards* on making great ſteps towards the gaining *Cromwell* into their intereſts. *Spain* ordered their Ambaſſador to compliment him: He was eſteemed one of their ableſt men: His name was *Don Alonſo de Cardenas:* He offered that if *Cromwell* would join with them, they would engage themſelves to make no peace till he ſhould recover *Calais* again to *England*. This was very agreeable to *Cromwell*, who thought it would recommend him much to the Nation, if he could reſtore that town again to the *Engliſh* Empire, after it had been a hundred years in the hands of the *French*. *Mazarin* hearing of this ſent one over to negotiate with him, but at firſt without a character: And, to outbid the *Spaniard*, he offered to aſſiſt *Cromwell* to take *Dunkirk*, which was a place of much more importance. The Prince of *Conde* ſent over likewiſe to offer *Cromwell* to turn Proteſtant; and, if he would give him a fleet with good troops, he would make a deſcent in *Guienne*, where he did not doubt but that he ſhould be aſſiſted by the Proteſtants; and that he ſhould ſo diſtreſs *France*, as to obtain ſuch conditions for them, and for *England*, as *Cromwell* himſelf ſhould dictate. Upon this offer *Cromwell* ſent *Stoupe* round all *France*, to talk with their moſt eminent men, to ſee into their ſtrength, into their preſent diſpoſition, the oppreſſions they lay under, and their inclinations to truſt the Prince of *Conde*. He went from *Paris* down the *Loire*, then to *Bourdeaux*, from thence to *Montauban*, and croſs the ſouth of *France* to *Lions:* He was inſtructed to talk to them only as a traveller, and to aſſure them of *Cromwell*'s zeal and care for them, which he magnified every where. The Proteſtants were then very much at their eaſe: For *Mazarin*, who thought of nothing but to enrich his family, took care to maintain the edicts better than they had been in any time formerly. So *Stoupe* returned, and gave *Cromwell* an account of the eaſe they were then in, and of their reſolution to be quiet. They had a very bad opinion of the Prince of *Conde*, as a man who ſought nothing but his own greatneſs, to which they believed that he was ready to ſacrifice all his friends, and every cauſe that he eſpouſed. This ſettled *Cromwell* as to that particular. He alſo found that the Cardinal had ſuch ſpies on that Prince, that

he knew every meſſage that had paſſed between them: Therefore he would have no farther correſpondence with him: He ſaid upon that to *Stoupe*, *Stultus eſt, & garrulus, & venditur à ſuis Cardinali.* That which determined him afterwards in the choice was this: He found the parties grew ſo ſtrong againſt him at home; that he ſaw if the King or his brother were aſſiſted by *France* with an army of *Huguenots* to make a deſcent in *England*, which was threatned if he ſhould join with *Spain*, this might prove very dangerous to him, who had ſo many enemies at home and ſo few friends. This particular conſideration with relation to himſelf made great impreſſion on him; for he knew the *Spaniards* could give thoſe Princes no ſtrength, nor had they any Proteſtant ſubjects to aſſiſt them in any ſuch deſign. Upon this occaſion King *James* told me, that among other prejudices he had at the Proteſtant religion this was one, that both his brother and himſelf, being in many companies in *Paris incognito*, where they met many Proteſtants, he found they were all alienated from them, and were great admirers of *Cromwell:* So he believed they were all rebels in their heart. I anſwered, that foreigners were no other way concerned in the quarrels of their neighbours, than to ſee who could or would aſſiſt them: The coldneſs they had ſeen formerly in the Court of *England* with relation to them, and the zeal which was then expreſſed, muſt naturally make them depend on one that ſeemed reſolved to protect them. As the negotiation went on between *France* and *England*, *Cromwell* would have the King and his brother diſmiſſed the Kingdom. *Mazarin* conſented to this; for he thought it more honourable, that the *French* King ſhould ſend them away of his own accord, than that it ſhould be done purſuant to an article with *Cromwell.* Great excuſes were made for doing it: They had ſome money given them, and were ſent away loaded with promiſes of conſtant ſupplies that were never meant to be performed: And they retired to *Colen*; for the *Spaniards* were not yet out of hope of gaining *Cromwell.* But when that vaniſhed, they invited them to *Bruxells*, and they ſettled great appointments on them; in their way, which was always to promiſe much, how little ſoever they could perform. They alſo ſettled a pay for ſuch of the ſubjects of the three Kingdoms as would come and ſerve under our Princes: But few came, except from *Ireland:* Of theſe ſome regiments were formed. But tho' this gave them a great and laſting intereſt in our Court, eſpecially in King *James*'s, yet they did not much to deſerve it.

Before King *Charles* left *Paris* he changed his religion, but by whoſe perſuaſion is not yet known: Only Cardinal *de Retz* was The King turned Papiſt.

was on the ſecret, and Lord *Aubigny* had a great hand in it. It was kept a great ſecret. Chancellour *Hide* had ſome ſuſpicion of it, but would never ſuffer himſelf to believe it quite. Soon after the Reſtoration that Cardinal came over in diſguiſe, and had an audience of the King: What paſs'd is not known. The firſt ground I had to believe it was this: The Marquis *de Roucy*, who was the man of the greateſt family in *France* that continued Proteſtant to the laſt, was much preſſed by that Cardinal to change his religion: He was his Kinſman and his particular friend. Among other reaſons one that he urged was, that the Proteſtant religion muſt certainly be ruined, and that they could expect no protection from *England*, for to his certain knowledge both the Princes were already changed. *Roucy* told this in great confidence to his Miniſter, who after his death ſent an advertiſement of it to my ſelf. Sir *Allen Broderick*, a great confident of the Chancellour's, who from being very atheiſtical became in the laſt years of his life an eminent penitent, as he was a man of great parts, with whom I had lived long in great confidence, on his death-bed ſent me likewiſe an account of this matter, which he believed was done in *Fontainebleau*, before King *Charles* was ſent to *Colen*. As for King *James*, it ſeems he was not reconciled at that time: For he told me, that being in a Monaſtery in *Flanders*, a Nun deſired him to pray every day, that if he was not in the right way God would bring him into it: And he ſaid, the impreſſion theſe words made on him never left him till he changed.

Cromwell's deſign on the Weſt-Indies.

To return to *Cromwell:* While he was balancing in his mind what was fit for him to do, *Gage*, who had been a Prieſt, came over from the *Weſt-Indies*, and gave him ſuch an account of the feebleneſs as well as of the wealth of the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts, as made him conclude that it would be both a great and an eaſy conqueſt to ſeize on their dominions. By this he reckoned he would be ſupplied with ſuch a treaſure, that his government would be eſtabliſhed before he ſhould need to have any recourſe to a Parliament for money. *Spain* would never admit of a peace with *England* between the tropicks: So he was in a ſtate of war with them as to thoſe parts, even before he declared war in *Europe*. He upon that equipped a fleet with a force ſufficient, as he hoped, to have ſeized *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*. And *Gage* had aſſured him, that ſucceſs in that expedition would make all the reſt fall into his hands. *Stoupe*, being on another occaſion called to his cloſet, ſaw him one day very intent in looking on a Map, and in meaſuring diſtances. *Stoupe* ſaw it was a Map of the Bay of *Mexico*, and obſerved who printed it. So, there being

being no diſcourſe upon that ſubject, *Stoupe* went next day to the Printer to buy the Map. The Printer denied he had printed it. *Stoupe* affirmed he had ſeen it. Then, he ſaid, it muſt be only in *Cromwell*'s hand; for he only had ſome of the Prints, and had given him a ſtrict charge to ſell none till he had leave given him. So *Stoupe* perceived there was a deſign that way. And when the time of ſetting out the fleet came on, all were in a gaze whither it was to go: Some fancied it was to rob the Church of *Loretto*, which did occaſion a fortification to be drawn round it: Others talked of *Rome* itſelf; for *Cromwell*'s preachers had this often in their mouths, that if it were not for the diviſions at home he would go and ſack *Babylon:* Others talked of *Cadiz*, tho' he had not yet broke with the *Spaniards.* The *French* could not penetrate into the ſecret. *Cromwell* had not finiſhed his alliance with them: So he was not bound to give them an account of the expedition. All he ſaid upon it was, that he ſent out the fleet to guard the ſeas, and to reſtore *England* to its dominion on that element. *Stoupe* happened to ſay in a company, he believed the deſign was on the *Weſt-Indies.* The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, hearing that, ſent for him very privately, to aſk him upon what ground he ſaid it: And he offered to lay down 10000 *l.* if he could make any diſcovery of that. *Stoupe* owned to me he had a great mind to the money; and fancied he betrayed nothing if he did diſcover the grounds of theſe conjectures, ſince nothing had been truſted to him: But he expected greater matters from *Cromwell*, and ſo kept the ſecret; and ſaid only, that in a diverſity of conjectures that ſeemed to him more probable than any others. But the Ambaſſadour made no account of that; nor did he think it worth the writing to *Don John*, then at *Bruxells*, about it.

Stoupe writ it over as his conjecture to one about the Prince of *Conde*, who at firſt hearing it was perſuaded that muſt be the deſign, and went next day to ſuggeſt it to *Don John:* But *Don John* relied ſo much on the Ambaſſadour, that this made no impreſſion. And indeed all the Miniſters whom he employed knew that they were not to diſturb him with troubleſome news: Of which King *Charles* told a pleaſant ſtory. One whom *Don John* was ſending to ſome Court in *Germany* coming to the King to aſk his commands, he deſired him only to write him news: The *Spaniard* aſked him, whether he would have true or falſe news: And, when the King ſeemed amazed at the queſtion, he added, if he writ him true news the King muſt be ſecret, for he knew he muſt write news to *Don John* that would be acceptable, true or falſe: When the Miniſters of that Court ſhewed that they would

would be ſerved in ſuch a manner, it is no wonder to ſee how their affairs have declined. This matter of the fleet continued a great ſecret. And ſome months after that *Stoupe* being accidentally with *Cromwell*, one came from the fleet thro' *Ireland* with a letter. The bearer looked like one that brought no welcome news. And as ſoon as *Cromwell* had read the letter, he diſmiſſed *Stoupe*, who went immediately to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, then Lord *Liſle*, and told him what he had ſeen. He being of *Cromwell*'s Council went to *Whitehall*, and came back, and told *Stoupe* of the deſcent made on *Hiſpaniola*, and of the misfortune that had happened. It was then late, and was the poſt-night for *Flanders*. So *Stoupe* writ it as news to his correſpondent, ſome days before the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour knew any thing of it. *Don John* was amazed at the news, and had never any regard for the Ambaſſadour after that; but had a great opinion of *Stoupe*, and ordered the Ambaſſadour to make him theirs at any rate. The Ambaſſadour ſent for him, and aſked him, now that it appeared he had gueſſed right, what were his grounds: And when he told what they were, the Ambaſſadour owned he had reaſon to conclude as he did upon what he ſaw. And upon that he made great uſe of *Stoupe:* But he himſelf was never eſteemed after that ſo much as he had been. This deſerved to be ſet down ſo particularly, ſince by it it appears that the greateſt deſign may be diſcovered by an undue careleſneſs. The Court of *France* was amazed at the undertaking, and was glad that it had miſcarried; for the Cardinal ſaid, if he had ſuſpected it, he would have made peace with *Spain* on any terms, rather than to have given way to that which would have been ſuch an addition to *England*, as muſt have brought all the wealth of the world into their hands. The fleet took *Jamaica:* But that was a ſmall gain, tho' much magnified to cover the failing of the main deſign. The war after that broke out, in which *Dunkirk* was indeed taken, and put in *Cromwell*'s hand: But the trade of *England* ſuffered more in that, than in any former war: So he loſt the heart of the city of *London* by that means.

His zeal for the Proteſtant religion.

Cromwell had two ſignal occaſions given him to ſhew his zeal in protecting the Proteſtants abroad. The Duke of *Savoy* raiſed a new perſecution of the *Vaudois:* So *Cromwell* ſent to *Mazarin*, deſiring him to put a ſtop to that; adding, that he knew well they had that Duke in their power, and could reſtrain him as they pleaſed: And if they did not he muſt preſently break with them. *Mazarin* objected to this as unreaſonable: He promiſed to do good offices: But he could not be obliged to anſwer for the effects they might have. This did not ſatisfy *Cromwell:*

So they obliged the Duke of *Savoy* to put a ſtop to that unjuſt fury: And *Cromwell* raiſed a great ſum for the *Vaudois*, and ſent over *Morland* to ſettle all their concerns, and to ſupply all their loſſes. There was alſo a tumult in *Niſmes*, in which ſome diſorder had been committed by the *Huguenots*: And they, apprehending ſevere proceedings upon it, ſent one over with great expedition to *Cromwell*, who ſent him back to *Paris* in an hour's time with a very effectual letter to his Ambaſſadour, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be paſs'd over, or to come away immediately. *Mazarin* complained of this way of proceeding, as too imperious: But the neceſſity of their affairs made him yield. Theſe things raiſed *Cromwell*'s character abroad, and made him be much depended on.

His Ambaſſadour in *France* at this time was *Lockhart*, a *Scotchman*, who had married his niece, and was in high favour with him, as he well deſerved to be. He was both a wiſe and a gallant man, calm and vertuous, and one that carried the generoſities of friendſhip very far. He was made governour of *Dunkirk*, and Ambaſſadour at the ſame time. But he told me, that when he was ſent afterwards Ambaſſadour by King *Charles*, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in *Cromwell*'s time.

Stoupe told me of a great deſign *Cromwell* had intended to begin his Kingſhip with, if he had aſſumed it: He reſolved to ſet up a Council for the Proteſtant religion, in oppoſition to the congregation *de Propaganda fide* at *Rome*. He intended it ſhould conſiſt of ſeven councellours, and four ſecretaries for different provinces. Theſe were the firſt, *France*, *Switzerland*, and the *Valleys*: The *Palatinate* and the other Calviniſts were the ſecond: *Germany*, the *North*, and *Turkey* were the third: And the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* were the fourth. The ſecretaries were to have 500 *l.* ſalary apiece, and to keep a correſpondence every where, to know the ſtate of religion all over the world, that ſo all good deſigns might be by their means protected and aſſiſted. *Stoupe* was to have the firſt Province. They were to have a fund of 10000 *l.* a year at their diſpoſal for ordinary emergences, but to be farther ſupplied as occaſions ſhould require it. *Chelſea* college was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building, that had been at firſt raiſed to be a college for writers of controverſy. I thought it was not fit to let ſuch a project as this be quite loſt: It was certainly a noble one: But how far he would have purſued it muſt be left to conjecture.

A great deſign for the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion.

Stoupe told me a remarkable paſſage in his employment under *Cromwell*. *Stoupe* had deſired all that were under the Prince

Some paſſages in *Cromwell*'s life.

of *Conde* to let him know ſome news, in return of that he writ to them. So he had a letter from one of them, giving an account of an *Iriſhman* newly gone over, who had ſaid he would kill *Cromwell*, and that he was to lodge in *King-ſtreet Weſtminſter*. With this *Stoupe* went to *Whitehall*. *Cromwell* being then at Council, he ſent him a note, letting him know that he had a buſineſs of great conſequence to lay before him. *Cromwell* was then upon a matter that did ſo entirely poſſeſs him, that he, fancying it was only ſome piece of foreign intelligence, ſent *Thurlo* to know what it might be. *Stoupe* was troubled at this, but could not refuſe to ſhew him his letter. *Thurlo* made no great matter of it: He ſaid, they had many ſuch advertiſements ſent them, which ſignified nothing but to make the world think the Protector was in danger of his life: And the looking too much after theſe things had an appearance of fear, which did ill become ſo great a man. *Stoupe* told him, *King-ſtreet* might be ſoon ſearched. *Thurlo* anſwered, if we find no ſuch perſon, how ſhall we be laught at? Yet he ordered him to write again to *Bruxells*, and promiſe any reward if a more particular diſcovery could be made. *Stoupe* was much caſt down, when he ſaw that a piece of intelligence which he hoped might have made his fortune was ſo little conſidered. He wrote to *Bruxells:* But he had no more from thence, but a confirmation of what had been writ formerly to him. And *Thurlo* did not think fit to make any ſearch, or any farther inquiry into it: Nor did he ſo much as acquaint *Cromwell* with it. *Stoupe*, being uneaſy at this, told Lord *Liſle* of it: And it happened that, a few weeks after, *Syndercomb*'s deſign of aſſaſſinating *Cromwell* near *Brentford*, as he was going to *Hampton-court*, was diſcovered. When he was examined, it appeared that he was the perſon ſet out in the letters from *Bruxells*. So *Liſle* ſaid to *Cromwell*, this is the very man of whom *Stoupe* had the notice given him. *Cromwell* ſeemed amazed at this; and ſent for *Stoupe*, and in great wrath reproached him for his ingratitude in concealing a matter of ſuch conſequence to him. *Stoupe* upon this ſhewed him the letters he had received; and put him in mind of the note he had ſent in to him, which was immediately after he had the firſt letter, and that he had ſent out *Thurlo* to him. At that *Cromwell* ſeemed yet more amazed; and ſent for *Thurlo*, to whoſe face *Stoupe* affirmed the matter: Nor did he deny any part of it; but only ſaid, that he had many ſuch advertiſements ſent him, in which till this time he had never found any truth. *Cromwell* replied ſternly, that he ought to have acquainted him with it, and left him to judge of the importance of it. *Thurlo* deſired

to

to ſpeak in private with *Cromwell*. So *Stoupe* was diſmiſs'd, and went away not doubting but *Thurlo* would be diſgraced. But, as he underſtood from *Liſle* afterward, *Thurlo* ſhewed *Cromwell* ſuch inſtances of his care and fidelity on all ſuch occaſions, and humbly acknowledged his errour in this matter, but imputed it wholly to his care both for his honour and quiet, that he pacified him entirely: And indeed he was ſo much in all *Cromwell*'s ſecrets, that it was not ſafe to diſgrace him without deſtroying him; and that it ſeems *Cromwell* could not reſolve on. *Thurlo* having maſtered this point, that he might farther juſtify his not being ſo attentive as he ought to have been, did ſo much ſearch into *Stoupe*'s whole deportment, that he poſſeſſed *Cromwell* with ſuch an ill opinion of him, that after that he never treated him with any confidence. So he found how dangerous it was even to preſerve a Prince, (ſo he called him) when a Miniſter was wounded in the doing of it; and that the Miniſter would be too hard for the Prince, even tho' his own ſafety was concerned in it.

Theſe are all the memorable things that I have learnt concerning *Cromwell*; of whom ſo few have ſpoken with any temper, ſome commending, and others condemning him, and both out of meaſure, that I thought a juſt account of him, which I had from ſure hands, might be no unacceptable thing. He never could ſhake off the roughneſs of his education and temper: He ſpoke always long and very ungracefully. The enthuſiaſt and the diſſembler mixed ſo equally in a great part of his deportment, that it was not eaſy to tell which was the prevailing character. He was indeed both, as I underſtood from *Wilkins* and *Tillotſon*, the one having married his ſiſter, and the other his niece. He was a true enthuſiaſt, but with the principle formerly mentioned, from which he might be eaſily led into all the practices both of falſhood and cruelty: Which was, that he thought moral laws were only binding on ordinary occaſions, but that upon extraordinary ones theſe might be ſuperſeded. When his own deſigns did not lead him out of the way, he was a lover of juſtice and vertue, and even of learning, tho' much decried at that time.

His moderation in government.

He ſtudied to ſeek out able and honeſt men, and to employ them: And ſo having heard that my father had a very great reputation in *Scotland* for piety and integrity, tho' he knew him to be a royaliſt, he ſent to him, deſiring him to accept of a judge's place, and to do juſtice in his own country, hoping only that he would not act againſt his government; but he would not preſs him to ſubſcribe or ſwear to it. My father refuſed it in

a pleaſant way. When he who brought the meſſage was running out into *Cromwell*'s commendation, my father told a ſtory of a Pilgrim in Popery, who came to a church where one Saint *Kilmaclotius* was in great reverence: So the Pilgrim was bid pray to him: But he anſwered, he knew nothing of him, for he was not in his breviary: But when he was told how great a Saint he was, he prayed this collect; *O ſancte Kilmacloti, tu nobis hactenus es incognitus, hoc ſolum à te rogo, ut ſi bona tua nobis non proſint, ſaltem mala ne noceant.* My father replied, that he deſired no other favour of him but leave to live privately, without the impoſitions of oaths and ſubſcriptions: And ever after he lived in great quiet. And this was an inſtance of it: *Overton* one of *Cromwell*'s major generals, who was a high Republican, being for ſome time at *Aberdeen*, where we then lived, my father and he were often together: In particular they were ſhut up alone for about two hours the night after the order came from *Cromwell* to take away *Overton*'s commiſſions, and to put him in arreſt. Upon that *Howard*, afterward Earl of *Carliſle*, being ſent down to enquire into all the plots that thoſe men had been in, heard of this long privacy: But, when with that he heard what my father's character was, he made no farther enquiry into it; but ſaid, *Cromwell* was very uneaſy when any good man was queſtioned for any thing.

His publick ſpirit.

This gentleneſs had in a great meaſure quieted people's minds with relation to him. And his maintaining the honour of the Nation in all foreign countries gratifyed the vanity which is very natural to *Engliſhmen*; of which he was ſo careful, that tho' he was not a crowned head, yet his Ambaſſadours had all the reſpects paid them which our King's Ambaſſadours ever had: He ſaid, the dignity of the Crown was upon the account of the Nation, of which the King was only the repreſentative head; ſo the Nation being ſtill the ſame, he would have the ſame regards paid to his Miniſters.

Another inſtance of this pleaſed him much. *Blake* with the fleet happened to be at *Malaga* before he made war upon *Spain:* And ſome of his ſeamen went aſhore, and met the Hoſtie carried about; and not only paid no reſpect to it, but laughed at thoſe who did: So one of the Prieſts put the people on reſenting this indignity; and they fell upon them, and beat them ſeverely. When they returned to their ſhip they complained of this uſage: And upon that *Blake* ſent a trumpet to the Viceroy, to demand the Prieſt who was the chief inſtrument in that ill uſage. The Viceroy anſwered, he had no authority over the Prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of him. *Blake* upon that ſent

him word, that he would not enquire who had the power to ſend the Prieſt to him, but if he were not ſent within three hours he would burn their town: And they, being in no condition to reſiſt him, ſent the Prieſt to him, who juſtified himſelf upon the petulant behaviour of the ſeamen. *Blake* anſwered, that if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place at which he touched: But he took it ill, that he ſet on the *Spaniards* to do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an *Engliſhman* was only to be puniſhed by an *Engliſhman:* And ſo he treated the Prieſt civilly, and ſent him back, being ſatisfied that he had him at his mercy.

Cromwell was much delighted with this, and read the letters in Council with great ſatisfaction; and ſaid, he hoped he ſhould make the name of an *Engliſhman* as great as ever that of a *Roman* had been. The States of *Holland* were in ſuch dread of him, that they took care to give him no ſort of umbrage: And when at any time the King or his brothers came to ſee their ſiſter, the Princeſs royal, within a day or two after they uſed to ſend a deputation to let them know that *Cromwell* had required of the States that they ſhould give them no harbour. King *Charles*, when he was ſeeking for colours for the war with the *Dutch* in the year 1672, urged it for one, that they ſuffered ſome of his rebels to live in their Provinces. *Borel*, then their Ambaſſadour, anſwered, that it was a maxim of long ſtanding among them, not to enquire upon what account ſtrangers came to live in their country, but to receive them all, unleſs they had been concerned in conſpiracies againſt the perſons of Princes. The King told him upon that, how they had uſed both himſelf and his brother. *Borel*, in great ſimplicity, anſwered: *Ha! ſire, c'eſtoit une autre choſe: Cromwell eſtoit un grand homme, & il ſe faiſoit craindre & par terre & par mer.* This was very rough. The King's anſwer was: *Je me feray craindre auſſy à mon tour:* But he was ſcarce as good as his word.

All the world was afraid of him.

Cromwell's favourite alliance was with *Sweden*. *Carolus Guſtavus* and he lived in great conjunction of counſels. Even *Algernoon Sydney*, who was not inclined to think or ſpeak well of Kings, commended him to me; and ſaid, he had juſt notions of publick liberty; and added, that Queen *Chriſtina* ſeemed to have them likewiſe. But ſhe was much changed from that, when I waited on her at *Rome*; for ſhe complained of us as a factious Nation, that did not readily comply with the commands of our Princes. All *Italy* trembled at the name of *Cromwell*, and ſeem-

ed under a panick fear as long as he lived. His fleet ſcoured the *Mediterranean:* And the *Turks* durſt not offend him; but deliver'd up *Hide*, who kept up the character of an Ambaſſadour from the King there, and was brought over and executed for it. The putting the brother of the King of *Portugal*'s Ambaſſadour to death for murder, was the carrying juſtice very far; ſince, tho' in the ſtrictneſs of the law of nations it is only the Ambaſſadour's own perſon that is exempted from any authority but his maſter's that ſends him, yet the practice had gone in favour of all that the Ambaſſadour owned to belong to him. *Cromwell* ſhewed his good underſtanding in nothing more, than in ſeeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but moſt particularly for the Courts of law, which gave a general ſatisfaction.

The ruin of his family.

Thus he lived, and at laſt died, on his auſpicious third of *September*, of ſo ſlight a ſickneſs, that his death was not looked for. He had two ſons, and four daughters. His ſons were weak, but honeſt men. *Richard*, the eldeſt, tho' declared Protector in purſuance of a nomination pretended to be made by *Cromwell*, the truth of which was much queſtioned, was not at all bred for buſineſs, nor indeed capable of it. He was innocent of all the ill his father had done: So there was no prejudice lay againſt him: And both the Royaliſts and the Preſbyterians fancied he favoured them, tho' he pretended to be an Independent. But all the Commonwealth party cried out upon his aſſuming the Protectorſhip, as a high uſurpation; ſince whatever his father had from his Parliaments was only perſonal, and ſo fell with him: Yet in oppoſition to this, the City of *London*, and all the Counties and Cities almoſt in *England*, ſent him addreſſes congratulatory, as well as condoling. So little do theſe pompous appearances of reſpect ſignify. *Tillotſon* told me, that a week after *Cromwell*'s death he being by accident at *Whitehall*, and hearing there was to be a faſt that day in the houſhold, he out of curioſity went into the preſence chamber where it was held. On the one ſide of a table *Richard* with the reſt of *Cromwell*'s family were placed, and ſix of the preachers were on the other ſide: *Thomas Goodwin*, *Owen*, *Carril* and *Sterry* were of the number. There he heard a great deal of ſtrange ſtuff, enough to diſguſt a man for ever of that enthuſiaſtick boldneſs. God was as it were reproached with *Cromwell*'s ſervices, and challenged for taking him away ſo ſoon. *Goodwin*, who had pretended to aſſure them in a prayer that he was not to die, which was but a very few minutes before he expired, had now the impudence to ſay to God, *thou haſt deceived us, and we were deceived.*

Sterry

Sterry, praying for *Richard*, uſed thoſe indecent words, next to blaſphemy, *make him the brightneſs of the father's glory, and the expreſs image of his perſon. Richard* was put on giving his father a pompous funeral, by which his debts encreaſed ſo upon him, that he was ſoon run out of all credit. When the Parliament met, his party tried to get a recognition of his Protectorſhip: But it ſoon appeared, they had no ſtrength to carry it. *Fleetwood*, who married *Ireton*'s Widow, ſet up a Council of officers: And theſe reſolved to lay aſide *Richard*, who had neither genius nor friends, neither treaſure nor army to ſupport him. He deſired only ſecurity for the debts he had contracted; which was promiſed, but not performed. And ſo without any ſtruggle he withdrew, and became a private man. And as he had done hurt to no body, ſo no body did ever ſtudy to hurt him, by a rare inſtance of the inſtability of human greatneſs, and of the ſecurity of innocence. His brother had been made by the father Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and had the moſt ſpirit of the two; but he could not ſtand his ground, when his brother quitted his. One of *Cromwell*'s daughters was married to *Claypole*, and died a little before himſelf: Another was married to the Earl of *Falconbridge*, a wiſe and worthy woman, more likely to have maintained the poſt than either of her brothers; according to a ſaying that went of her, that thoſe who wore breeches deſerved petticoats better, but if thoſe in petticoats had been in breeches they would have held faſter. The other daughter was married, firſt to the Earl of *Warwick*'s heir, and afterwards to one *Ruſſel*. They were both very worthy perſons.

Upon *Richard*'s leaving the ſtage, the Commonwealth was again ſet up: And the Parliament which *Cromwell* had broke was brought together: But the Army and they fell into new diſputes: So they were again broke by the army: And upon that the Nation was like to fall into great convulſions. The enthuſiaſts became very fierce, and talked of nothing but the deſtroying all the records and the law, which they ſaid had been all made by a ſucceſſion of Tyrants and Papiſts: So they reſolved to model all anew by a levelling and a ſpiritual government of the Saints. There was ſo little ſenſe in this, that *Nevil* and *Harington* with ſome others ſet up in *Weſtminſter* a meeting to conſider of a form of government that ſhould ſecure liberty, and yet preſerve the Nation. They ran chiefly on having a Parliament elected by ballot, in which the Nation ſhould be repreſented according to the proportion of what was paid in taxes towards the publick expence: And by this Parliament a Council of twenty four was to be choſen by ballot: And every year eight of theſe were to be

Great diſorders followed.

be changed, and might not again be brought into it, but after an interval of three years: By theſe the Nation was to be governed: And they were to give an account of the adminiſtration to the Parliament every year. This meeting was a matter of diverſion and ſcorn, to ſee a few perſons take upon them to form a ſcheme of government: And it made many conclude, it was neceſſary to call home the King, that ſo matters might again fall into their old channel. *Lambert* became the man on whom the Army depended moſt. Upon his forcing the Parliament, great applications were made to *Monk* to declare for the Parliament: But under this the declaring for the King was generally underſtood. Yet he kept himſelf under ſuch a reſerve, that he declared all the while in the moſt ſolemn manner for a Commonwealth, and againſt a ſingle perſon, in particular againſt the King: So that none had any ground from him to believe he had any deſign that way. Some have thought that he intended to try, if it was poſſible, to ſet up for himſelf: Others rather believed, that he had no ſettled deſign any way, and reſolved to do as occaſion ſhould be offered to him. The *Scottiſh* Nation did certainly hope he would bring home the King. He drew the greateſt part of the Army towards the borders, where *Lambert* advanced towards him with 7000 horſe. *Monk* was ſtronger in foot: But being apprehenſive of engaging on diſadvantage, he ſent *Clarges* to the Lord *Fairfax* for his advice and aſſiſtance, who returned anſwer by Dr. *Fairfax*, afterwards ſecretary to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and aſſured him he would raiſe *Yorkſhire* on the firſt of *January*. And he deſired him to preſs upon *Lambert*, in caſe that he ſhould ſend a detachment into *Yorkſhire*. On the firſt of *January*, *Fairfax* appeared with about 100 gentlemen and their ſervants. But ſo much did he ſtill maintain his great credit with the Army, that the night after the *Iriſh* Brigade, that conſiſted of 1200 horſe and was the rear of *Lambert*'s army, came over to him. Upon that *Lambert* retreated, finding his army was ſo little ſure to him, and reſolved to march back to *London*. He was followed by *Monk*, who when he came to *Yorkſhire* met with *Fairfax*, and offered to reſign the chief command to him. The Lord *Fairfax* refuſed it, but preſs'd *Monk* to declare for a free Parliament: Yet in that he was ſo reſerved to him, that *Fairfax* knew not how to depend on him. But as *Lambert* was making haſte up, his army mouldered away, and he himſelf was brought up a priſoner, and was put in the Tower of *London*. Yet not long after he made his eſcape, and gathered a few troops about him in *Northamptonſhire*. But theſe were ſoon ſcattered: For *Ingoldsby*, tho'

tho' one of the King's judges, raiſed *Buckinghamſhire* againſt him. And ſo little force ſeemed now in that party, that with very little oppoſition *Ingoldsby* took him priſoner, and brought him into *Northampton:* Where *Lambert*, as *Ingoldsby* told me, entertained him with a pleaſant reflection for all his misfortunes. The people were in great crouds applauding and rejoycing for the ſucceſs. So *Lambert* put *Ingoldsby* in mind of what *Cromwell* had ſaid to them both, near that very place, in the year 1650; when they with a body of the officers were going down after their army that was marching to *Scotland*, the people all the while ſhouting and wiſhing them ſucceſs: *Lambert* upon that ſaid to *Cromwell*, he was glad to ſee they had the Nation on their ſide: *Cromwell* anſwered, do not truſt to that; for theſe very perſons would ſhout as much if you and I were going to be hanged. *Lambert* ſaid, he looked on himſelf as in a fair way to that, and began to think *Cromwell* propheſied.

Upon the diſperſing *Lambert*'s army, *Monk* marched ſouthward, and was now the object of all men's hope. At *London* all ſorts of people began to cabal together, Royaliſts, Presbyterians, and Republicans. *Hollis* told me, the Preſbyterians preſſed the Royaliſts to be quiet, and to leave the game in their hands; for their appearing would give jealouſy, and hurt that which they meant to promote. He and *Aſhly Cooper*, *Grimſtone* and *Anneſly*, met often with *Mancheſter*, *Roberts*, and the reſt of the Preſbyterian party: And the Miniſters of *London* were very active in the City: So that when *Monk* came up, he was preſſed to declare himſelf. At firſt he would only declare for the Parliament that *Lambert* had forced. But there was then a great fermentation all over the Nation. *Monk* and the Parliament grew jealous of one another, even while they tried who could give the beſt words, and expreſs their confidence in the higheſt terms of one another. I will purſue the relation of this tranſaction no farther: For this matter is well known.

The King had gone in Autumn 1659 to the meeting at the *Pyrenees*, where Cardinal *Mazarin* and *Don Lewis de Haro* were negotiating a peace. He applied himſelf to both ſides, to try what aſſiſtance he might expect upon their concluding the peace. It was then known, that he went to Maſs ſometimes, that ſo he might recommend himſelf the more effectually to both Courts: Yet this was carried ſecretly, and was confidently denied. *Mazarin* ſtill talked to *Lockhart* upon the foot of the old confidence: For he went thither to watch over the treaty; tho' *England* was now in ſuch convulſions, that no Miniſter from thence could be much conſidered, unleſs it was upon his own account.

All turn to the King's ſide.

But matters were ripening ſo faſt towards a revolution in *England*, that the King came back to *Flanders* in all haſte, and went from thence to *Breda*. *Lockhart* had it in his power to have made a great fortune, if he had begun firſt, and had brought the King to *Dunkirk*. As ſoon as the peace of the *Pyrenees* was made, he came over and found *Monk* at *London*, and took all the pains he could to penetrate into his deſigns. But *Monk* continued ſtill to proteſt to him in the ſolemneſt manner poſſible, that he would be true to the Commonwealth, and againſt the Royal family. *Lockhart* went away, perſuaded that matters would continue ſtill in the ſame ſtate: So that when his old friend *Middletoun* writ to him to make his own terms, if he would invite the King to *Dunkirk*, he ſaid, he was truſted by the Commonwealth, and could not betray it.

The Houſe of Commons put *Monk* on breaking the gates of the City of *London*, not doubting but that would render him ſo odious to them, that it would force him to depend wholly on themſelves. He did it: And ſoon after he ſaw how odious he was become by it. So conceiving a high indignation at thoſe who had put him on ſuch an ungracious piece of ſervice, he ſent about all that night to the Miniſters and other active citizens, aſſuring them that he would quickly repair that errour, if they would forgive it. So the turn was ſudden: For the City ſent and invited him to dine the next day at *Guildhall*: And there he declared for the members whom the Army had forced away in the year 47 and 48, who were known by the name of *ſecluded members*. And ſome happening to call the body that then ſat at *Weſtminſter* the Rump of a Parliament, a ſudden humour run like a madneſs through the whole City, of roaſting the Rumps of all ſorts of animals. And thus the City expreſſed themſelves ſufficiently. Thoſe at *Weſtminſter* had no ſupport: So they fell unpitied, and unregarded. The ſecluded members came, and ſate down among them. But all they could do was to give orders for the ſummoning a new Parliament to meet the firſt of *May:* And ſo they declared themſelves diſſolved.

Care taken to manage the Army.

There was ſtill a murmuring in the Army. So great care was taken to ſcatter them in wide quarters, and not to ſuffer too many of thoſe who were ſtill for the old cauſe to lie near one another. The well and the ill affected were ſo mixed, that in caſe of any inſurrection ſome might be ready at hand to aſſiſt them. They changed the officers that were ill affected, who were not thought fit to be truſted with the commanding thoſe of their own ſtamp; and ſo created a miſtruſt between the officers and the ſouldiers. And above all they took care to have no more troops than

than was neceſſary about the City: And theſe were the beſt affected. This was managed with great diligence and ſkill: And by this conduct it was, that the great turn was brought about without the leaſt tumult or bloodſhed, which was beyond what any perſon could have imagined. Of all this *Monk* had both the praiſe and the reward; tho' I have been told a very ſmall ſhare of it belonged to him. Admiral *Montague* was then in chief command at ſea, newly returned from the *Sound*, where he and *de Ruyter*, upon the orders they received from their Maſters, had brought the two northern Kings to a peace, the King of *Sweden* dying as it was a making up. He was ſoon gained to be for the King; and dealt ſo effectually with the whole Fleet, that the turn there was as ſilently brought about, without any revolt or oppoſition, as it had been in the Army. The Republicans went about like madmen, to rouſe up their party. But their time was paſt. All were either as men amazed or aſleep. They had neither the ſkill, nor the courage to make any oppoſition. The elections of Parliament men run all the other way. So they ſaw their buſineſs was quite loſt, and they felt themſelves ſtruck as with a ſpirit of giddineſs. And then every man thought only how to ſave or ſecure himſelf. And now they ſaw how deceitful the argument from ſucceſs was, which they had uſed ſo oft, and triumphed ſo much upon. For whereas ſucceſs in the field, which was the foundation of their argument, depended much upon the conduct and courage of armies, in which the will of man had a large ſhare, here was a thing of another nature: A Nation, that had run on long in ſuch a fierce oppoſition to the Royal family, was now turned as one man to call home the King.

The Nation had one great happineſs during the long courſe of the civil war, that no forreigners had got footing among them. *Spain* was ſinking to nothing: *France* was under a baſe ſpirited Miniſter: And both were in war all the while. Now a peace was made between them. Ad very probably, according to what is in *Mazarin*'s letters, they would have joined forces to have reſtored the King. The Nation was by this means entirely in its own hands: And now returning to its wits was in a condition to put every thing in joint again: Whereas, if foreigners had been poſſeſſed of any important place, they might have had a large ſhare of the management, and would have been ſure of taking care of themſelves. Enthuſiaſm was now languid: For that owing its mechanical force to the livelineſs of the blood and ſpirits, men in diſorder and depreſſed could not raiſe in themſelves thoſe heats, with which they were formerly

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wont to tranſport both themſelves and others. Chancellour *Hide* was all this while very buſy: He ſent over Dr. *Morley*, who talked much with the Preſbyterians of moderation in general, but would enter into no particulars: Only he took care to let them know he was a *Calviniſt:* And they had the beſt opinion of ſuch of the Church of *England* as were of that perſuaſion. *Hide* wrote in the King's name to all the leading men, and got the King to write a great many letters in a very obliging manner. Some that had been faulty ſent over conſiderable preſents, with aſſurances that they would redeem all that was paſt with their zeal for the future. Theſe were all accepted of. Their money was alſo very welcome; for the King needed money when his matters were on that criſis and he had ſo many tools at work. The management of all this was ſo entirely the Chancellour's ſingle performance, that there was ſcarce any other that had ſo much as a ſhare in it with him. He kept a regiſter of all the King's promiſes, and of his own; and did all that lay in his power afterwards to get them all to be performed. He was alſo all that while giving the King many wiſe and good advices. But he did it too much with the air of a governour, or of a lawyer. Yet then the King was wholly in his hands.

A new Parliament.

I need not open the ſcene of the new Parliament, (or Convention, as it came afterwards to be called, becauſe it was not ſummoned by the King's writ:) Such unanimity appeared in their proceedings, that there was not the leaſt diſpute among them, but upon one ſingle point: Yet that was a very important one. *Hale*, afterwards the famous Chief Juſtice, moved that a Committee might be appointed to look into the propoſitions that had been made, and the conceſſions that had been offered by the late King during the war, particularly at the treaty of *Newport*, that from thence they might digeſt ſuch propoſitions as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to the King. This was ſeconded, but I do not remember by whom. It was foreſeen, that ſuch a motion might be ſet on foot: So *Monk* was inſtructed how to anſwer it, whenſoever it ſhould be propoſed. He told the Houſe, that there was yet, beyond all mens hope, an univerſal quiet all over the Nation; but there were many incendiaries ſtill on the watch, trying where they could firſt raiſe the flame. He ſaid, he had ſuch copious informations ſent him of theſe things, that it was not fit they ſhould be generally known: He could not anſwer for the peace, either of the Nation or of the Army, if any delay was put to the ſending for the King: What need was there of ſending propoſitions to him? Might they not as well prepare them, and offer them to him, when he ſhould come

over?

over? He was to bring neither army nor treaſure with him, either to fright them or to corrupt them. So he moved, that they would immediately ſend commiſſioners to bring over the King: And ſaid, that he muſt lay the blame of all the blood or miſchief that might follow on the heads of thoſe, who ſhould ſtill inſiſt on any motion that might delay the preſent ſettlement of the Nation. This was echo'd with ſuch a ſhout over the Houſe, that the motion was no more inſiſted on.

This was indeed the great ſervice that *Monk* did. It was chiefly owing to the poſt he was in, and to the credit he had gained: For as to the Reſtoration itſelf, the tide run ſo ſtrong, that he only went into it dexterouſly enough, to get much fame, and great rewards, for that which will have ſtill a great appearance in hiſtory. If he had died ſoon after, he might have been more juſtly admired, becauſe leſs known, and ſeen only in one advantageous light: But he lived long enough to make it known, how falſe a judgment men are apt to make upon outward appearance. To the King's coming in without conditions may be well imputed all the errours of his reign. And when the Earl of *Southampton* came to ſee what he was like to prove, he ſaid once in great wrath to Chancellour *Hide*, it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not poſſeſſed them in all his letters with ſuch an opinion of the King, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power either to do himſelf or them any miſchief, which was like to be the effect of their truſting him ſo entirely. *Hide* anſwered, that he thought the King had ſo true a judgment, and ſo much good nature, that when the age of pleaſure ſhould be over, and the idleneſs of his exile, which made him ſeek new diverſions for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would have ſhaken off thoſe entanglements. I muſt put my reader in mind, that I leave all common tranſactions to ordinary books. If at any time I ſay things that occur in any books, it is partly to keep the thread of the narration in an unintangled method, and partly, becauſe I neither have heard nor read thoſe things in books; or at leaſt, I do not remember to have read them ſo clearly and ſo particularly as I have related them. I now leave a mad and confuſed ſcene, to open a more auguſt and ſplendid one.

They called home the King without a treaty.

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK II.

Of the firſt twelve years of the reign of King Charles II. *from the year* 1660 *to the year* 1673.

DIVIDE King *Charles*'s reign into two books, not ſo much becauſe, conſiſting of twenty four years, it fell, if divided at all, naturally to put twelve years in a book: But I have a much better reaſon for it, ſince as to the firſt twelve years, tho' I knew the affairs of *Scotland* very authentically, yet I had only ſuch a general knowledge of the affairs of *England* as I could pick up at a diſtance: Whereas I lived 1660.

1660. ed ſo near the ſcene, and had indeed ſuch a ſhare in ſeveral parts of it, during the laſt twelve years, that I can write of theſe with much more certainty, as well as more fully, than of the firſt twelve. I will therefore enlarge more particularly, within the compaſs that I have fixed for this book, on the affairs of *Scotland*; both out of the inbred love that all men have for their native country, and more particularly, that I may leave ſome uſeful inſtructions to thoſe of my own order and profeſſion by repreſenting to them the conduct of the Biſhops of *Scotland:* For having obſerved with more than ordinary niceneſs all the errours that were committed, both at the firſt ſetting up of Epiſcopacy, and in the whole progreſs of its continuance in *Scotland* till it was again overturned there, I am enabled to ſet all that matter in a full view and in a clear light.

Many went over to the *Hague.*

As ſoon as it was fixed that the King was to be reſtored, a great many went over to make their court: Among theſe *Sharp*, who was employed by the reſolutioners of *Scotland*, was one. He carried with him a letter from the Earl of *Glencairn* to *Hide*, made ſoon after Earl of *Clarendon*, recommending him as the only perſon capable to manage the deſign of ſetting up Epiſcopacy in *Scotland:* Upon which he was received into great confidence. Yet, as he had obſerved very carefully the ſucceſs of *Monk*'s ſolemn proteſtations againſt the King and for a Commonwealth, it ſeems he was ſo pleaſed with the original that he reſolved to copy after it, without letting himſelf be diverted from it by ſcrples: For he ſtuck neither at ſolemn proteſtations, both by word of mouth and by letters, (of which I have ſeen many proofs,) nor at appeals to God of his ſincerity in acting for the Preſbytery both in prayers and on other occaſions, joining with theſe many dreadful imprecations on himſelf if he did prevaricate. He was all the while maintained by the Preſbyterians as their agent, and continued to give them a conſtant account of the progreſs of his negotiation in their ſervice, while he was indeed undermining it. This piece of craft was ſo viſible, he having repeated his proteſtations to as many perſons as then grew jealous of him, that when he threw off the maſk, about a year after this, it laid a foundation of ſuch a character of him, that nothing could ever bring people to any tolerable thoughts of a man, whoſe diſſimulation and treachery was ſo well known, and of which ſo many proofs were to be ſeen under his own hand.

The Nation was overrun with ſree and drunken-

With the Reſtoration of the King a ſpirit of extravagant joy ſpread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very profeſſions of vertue and piety: All ended in entertainments

tertainments and drunkenneſs, which over-run the three Kingdoms to ſuch a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the colour of drinking the King's health, there were great diſorders and much riot every where: And the pretences of religion, both in thoſe of the hypocritical ſort, and of the more honeſt but no leſs pernicious enthuſiaſts, gave great advantages, as well as they furniſhed much matter, to the prophane mockers of true piety. Thoſe who had been concerned in the former tranſactions thought, they could not redeem themſelves from the cenſures and jealouſies that thoſe brought on them by any method that was more ſure and more eaſy, than by going into the ſtream, and laughing at all religion, telling or making ſtories to expoſe both themſelves and their party as impious and ridiculous. 1660.

The King was then thirty years of age, and, as might have been ſuppoſed, paſt the levities of youth and the extravagance of pleaſure. He had a very good underſtanding. He knew well the ſtate of affairs both at home and abroad. He had a ſoftneſs of temper that charmed all who came near him, till they found how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promiſes; in which he was liberal to exceſs, becauſe he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of importunities, and to ſilence all farther preſſing upon him. He ſeemed to have no ſenſe of religion: Both at prayers and ſacrament he, as it were, took care to ſatisfy people, that he was in no ſort concerned in that about which he was employed. So that he was very far from being an hypocrite, unleſs his aſſiſting at thoſe performances was a ſort of hypocriſy, (as no doubt it was:) But he was ſure not to encreaſe that by any the leaſt appearance of religion. He ſaid once to my ſelf, he was no atheiſt, but he could not think God would make a man miſerable only for taking a little pleaſure out of the way. He diſguiſed his Popery to the laſt. But when he talked freely, he could not help letting himſelf out againſt the liberty that under the Reformation all men took of enquiring into matters of religion: For from their enquiring into matters of religion they carried the humour farther, to enquire into matters of ſtate. He ſaid often, he thought government was a much ſafer and eaſier thing where the authority was believed infallible, and the faith and ſubmiſſion of the people was implicite: About which I had once much diſcourſe with him. He was affable and eaſy, and loved to be made ſo by all about him. The great art of keeping him long was, the being eaſy, and the making every thing eaſy to him. He had made ſuch obſervations on the *French* govern- The King's character.

1660. ment, that he thought a King who might be checkt, or have his Miniſters called to an account by a Parliament, was but a King in name. He had a great compaſs of knowledge, tho' he was never capable of much application or ſtudy. He underſtood the Mechanicks and Phyſick; and was a good Chymiſt, and much ſet on ſeveral preparations of Mercury, chiefly the fixing it. He underſtood navigation well: But above all he knew the architecture of ſhips ſo perfectly, that in that reſpect he was exact rather more than became a Prince. His apprehenſion was quick, and his memory good. He was an everlaſting talker. He told his ſtories with a good grace: But they came in his way too often. He had a very ill opinion both of men and women; and did not think that there was either ſincerity or chaſtity in the world out of principle, but that ſome had either the one or the other out of humour or vanity. He thought that no body did ſerve him out of love: And ſo he was quits with all the world, and loved others as little as he thought they loved him. He hated buſineſs, and could not be eaſily brought to mind any: But when it was neceſſary, and he was ſet to it, he would ſtay as long as his Miniſters had work for him. The ruine of his reign, and of all his affairs, was occaſioned chiefly by his delivering himſelf up at his firſt coming over to a mad range of pleaſure. One of the race of the *Villers*, then married to *Palmer*, a Papiſt, ſoon after made Earl of *Caſtlemain*, who afterwards being ſeparated from him was advanced to be Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, was his firſt and longeſt miſtreſs, by whom he had five children. She was a woman of great beauty, but moſt enormouſly vitious and ravenous; fooliſh but imperious, very uneaſy to the King, and always carrying on intrigues with other men, while yet ſhe pretended ſhe was jealous of him. His paſſion for her and her ſtrange behaviour towards him, did ſo diſorder him, that often he was not maſter of himſelf, nor capable of minding buſineſs, which in ſo critical a time required great application: But he did then ſo entirely truſt the Earl of *Clarendon*, that he left all to his care, and ſubmitted to his advices as to ſo many oracles.

Clarendon's character. The Earl of *Clarendon* was bred to the Law, and was like to grow eminent in his profeſſion when the wars began. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo in the Houſe of Commons, that he became conſiderable, and was much truſted all the while the King was at *Oxford*. He ſtayed beyond ſea following the King's fortune till the Reſtoration; and was now an abſolute favourite, and the chief or the only Miniſter, but with too magiſterial a way. He was always preſſing the King to mind his affairs, but in vain.

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He was a good Chancellour, only a little too rough, but very impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice. He never ſeemed to underſtand foreign affairs well: And yet he meddled too much in them. He had too much levity in his wit, and did not always obſerve the decorum of his poſt. He was high, and was apt to reject thoſe who addreſſed themſelves to him with too much contempt. He had ſuch a regard to the King, that when places were diſpoſed of, even otherwiſe than as he adviſed, yet he would juſtify what the King did, and diſparage the pretenſions of others, not without much ſcorn; which created him many enemies. He was indefatigable in buſineſs, tho' the gout did often diſable him from waiting on the King: Yet, during his credit, the King came conſtantly to him when he was laid up by it. 1660.

The next man in favour with the King was the Duke of *Ormond:* A man every way fitted for a Court: Of a graceful appearance, a lively wit, and a cheerful temper: A man of great expence, decent even in his vices, for he always kept up the form of religion. He had gone through many tranſactions in *Ireland* with more fidelity than ſucceſs. He had made a treaty with the *Iriſh*, which was broken by the great body of them, tho' ſome few of them adhered ſtill to him. But the whole *Iriſh* Nation did ſtill pretend that, tho' they had broke the agreement firſt, yet he, or rather the King in whoſe name he had treated with them, was bound to perform all the articles of the treaty. He had miſcarried ſo in the ſiege of *Dublin*, that it very much leſſened the opinion of his military conduct. Yet his conſtant attendance on his maſter, his eaſineſs to him, and his great ſufferings for him, raiſed him to be Lord Steward of the Houſhold, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. He was firm to the Proteſtant religion, and ſo far firm to the laws, that he always gave good advices: But when bad ones were followed, he was not for complaining too much of them. *Ormond's* character.

The Earl of *Southampton* was next to theſe. He was a man of great vertue, and of very good parts. He had a lively apprehenſion, and a good judgment. He had merited much by his conſtant adhering to the King's intereſt during the war, and by the large ſupplies he had ſent him every year during his exile; for he had a great eſtate, and only three daughters to inherit it. He was Lord Treaſurer: But he grew ſoon weary of buſineſs; for as he was ſubject to the ſtone, which returned often and violently upon him, ſo he retained the principles of liberty, and did not go into the violent meaſures of the Court. When he ſaw the King's temper, and his way of managing, or rather of ſpoil- *Southampton's* character.

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1660. ing buſineſs, he grew very uneaſy, and kept himſelf more out of the way than was conſiſtent with that high poſt. The King ſtood in ſome awe of him; and ſaw how popular he would grow, if put out of his ſervice: And therefore he choſe rather to bear with his ill humour and contradiction, than to diſmiſs him. He left the buſineſs of the treaſury wholly in the hands of his ſecretary, Sir *Philip Warwick*, who was an honeſt but a weak man; underſtood the common road of the treaſury, he was an incorrupt man, and during ſeven years management of the treaſury made but an ordinary fortune out of it. Before the Reſtoration the Lord Treaſurer had but a ſmall ſalary, with an allowance for a table; but he gave, or rather ſold, all the ſubaltern places, and made great profits out of the eſtate of the Crown: But now, that eſtate being gone, and the Earl of *Southampton* diſdaining to ſell places, the matter was ſettled ſo, that the Lord Treaſurer was to have 8000 *l.* a year, and the King was to name all the ſubaltern officers. It continued to be ſo all his time: But ſince that time the Lord Treaſurer has both the 8000 *l.* and a main hand in the diſpoſing of thoſe places.

Shaftsbury's character.

The man that was in the greateſt credit with the Earl of *Southampton* was Sir *Anthony Aſhly Cooper*, who had married his niece, and became afterwards ſo conſiderable that he was raiſed to be Earl of *Shaftsbury*. And ſince he came to have ſo great a name, and that I knew him for many years in a very particular manner, I will dwell a little longer on his character; for it was of a very extraordinary compoſition. He began to make a conſiderable figure very early. Before he was twenty he came into the Houſe of Commons, and was on the King's ſide; and undertook to get *Wiltſhire* and *Dorſetſhire* to declare for him: But he was not able to effect it. Yet Prince *Maurice* breaking articles to a town, that he had got to receive him, furniſhed him with an excuſe to forſake that ſide, and to turn to the Parliament. He had a wonderful faculty in ſpeaking to a popular aſſembly, and could mix both the facetious and the ſerious way of arguing very agreeably. He had a particular talent to make others truſt to his judgment, and depend on it: And he brought over ſo many to a ſubmiſſion to his opinion, that I never knew any man equal to him in the art of governing parties, and of making himſelf the head of them. He was as to religion a Deiſt at beſt: He had the dotage of Aſtrology in him to a high degree: He told me, that a *Dutch* doctor had from the ſtars foretold him the whole ſeries of his life. But that which was before him, when he told me this, proved falſe, if he told me true: For he ſaid, he was yet to be a greater man than he had been. He fancied, that after death our ſouls

ſouls lived in ſtars. He had a general knowledge of the ſlighter parts of learning, but underſtood little to the bottom: So he triumphed in a rambling way of talking, but argued ſlightly when he was held cloſe to any point. He had a wonderful faculty at oppoſing, and running things down; but had not the like force in building up. He had ſuch an extravagant vanity in ſetting himſelf out, that it was very diſagreeable. He pretended that *Cromwell* offered to make him King. He was indeed of great uſe to him in withſtanding the enthuſiaſts of that time. He was one of thoſe who preſs'd him moſt to accept of the Kingſhip, becauſe, as he ſaid afterwards, he was ſure it would ruin him. His ſtrength lay in the knowledge of *England*, and of all the conſiderable men in it. He underſtood well the ſize of their underſtandings, and their tempers: And he knew how to apply himſelf to them ſo dextrouſly, that, tho' by his changing ſides ſo often it was very viſible how little he was to be depended on, yet he was to the laſt much truſted by all the diſcontented party. He was not aſhamed to reckon up the many turns he had made: And he valued himſelf on the doing it at the propereſt ſeaſon, and in the beſt manner. This he did with ſo much vanity, and ſo little diſcretion, that he loſt many by it. And his repntation was at laſt run ſo low, that he could not have held much longer, had he not died in good time, either for his family or for his party: The former would have been ruined, if he had not ſaved it by betraying the latter. 1660.

Another man, very near of the ſame ſort, who paſſed thro' many great employments, was *Anneſly*, advanced to be Earl of *Angleſey*; who had much more knowledge, and was very learned, chiefly in the law. He had the faculty of ſpeaking indefatigably upon every ſubject: But he ſpoke ungracefully; and did not know that he was not good at raillery, for he was always attempting it. He underſtood our government well, and had examined far into the original of our conſtitution. He was capable of great application: And was a man of a grave deportment; but ſtuck at nothing, and was aſhamed of nothing. He was neither loved nor truſted by any man or any ſide: And he ſeemed to have no regard to common decencies: But ſold every thing that was in his power: And ſold himſelf ſo often, that at laſt the price fell ſo low, that he grew uſeleſs. *Angleſey's character.*

Hollis was a man of great courage, and of as great pride: He was counted for many years the head of the Preſbyterian party. He was faithful and firm to his ſide, and never changed thro' the whole courſe of his life. He engaged in a particular oppoſition to *Cromwell* in the time of the war. They hated one ano- *Hollis's character.*

1660. ther equally. *Hollis* ſeemed to carry this too far: For he would not allow *Cromwell* to have been either wiſe or brave; but often applied *Solomon*'s obſervation to him, *that the battel was not to the ſtrong, nor favour to the man of underſtanding, but that time and chance happened to all men.* He was well verſed in the records of Parliament: And argued well, but too vehemently; for he could not bear contradiction. He had the ſoul of an old ſtubborn *Roman* in him. He was a faithful but a rough friend, and a ſevere but fair enemy. He had a true ſenſe of religion: And was a man of an unblamable courſe of life, and of a ſound judgment when it was not biaſſed by paſſion. He was made a Lord for his merits in bringing about the Reſtoration.

Manchester's character. The Earl of *Manchester* was made Lord Chamberlain: A man of a ſoft and obliging temper, of no great depth, but univerſally beloved, being both a vertuous and a generous man. The *Roberts's character.* Lord *Roberts* was made Lord Privy Seal, afterwards Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and at laſt Lord Preſident of the Council. He was a man of a more moroſe and cynical temper, juſt in his adminiſtration, but vitious under the appearances of vertue: Learned beyond any man of his quality, but intractable, ſtiff and obſtinate, proud and jealous.

Theſe five, whom I have named laſt, had the chief hand in engaging the Nation in the deſign of the Reſtoration. They had great credit, chiefly with the Preſbyterian party, and were men of much dexterity. So the thanks of that great turn was owing to them: And they were put in great poſts by the Earl of *Clarendon*'s means. By which he loſt moſt of the Cavaliers, who could not bear the ſeeing ſuch men ſo highly advanced, and ſo much truſted.

At the King's firſt coming over, *Monk* and *Mountague* were the moſt conſidered. They both had the Garter. The one was made Duke of *Albemarle*, and the other Earl of *Sandwich*, and had noble eſtates given them. *Monk* was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature. They both aſked, and ſold all that was within their reach, nothing being denied them for ſome time; till he became ſo uſeleſs, that little perſonal regard could be paid him. But the King maintained ſtill the appearances of it: For the appearance of the ſervice he did him was ſuch, that the King thought it fit to treat him with great diſtinction, even after he ſaw into him, and deſpiſed him. He took care to raiſe his kinſman *Greenvill*, who was made Earl of *Bath* and Groom of the Stole, a man who thought of nothing *Clarges's character.* but of getting and ſpending money. The Duke of *Albemarle* raiſed two other perſons. One was *Clarges*, his wife's brother, who

who was an honeſt but haughty man. He became afterwards a very conſiderable Parliament man, and valued himſelf on his oppoſing the Court, and on his frugality in managing the publick money; for he had *Cromwell*'s œconomy ever in his mouth, and was always for reducing the expence of war to the modeſty and parſimony of thoſe times. Many thought he carried this too far: But it made him very popular. After he was become very rich himſelf by the publick money, he ſeemed to take care that no body elſe ſhould grow as rich as he was in that way. Another man raiſed by the Duke of *Albemarle* was *Morrice*, who was the perſon that had prevailed with *Monk* to declare for the King. Upon that he was made Secretary of State. He was very learned, but full of pedantry and affectation. He had no true judgment about foreign affairs. And the Duke of *Albemarle*'s judgment of them may be meaſured by what he ſaid, when he found the King grew weary of *Morrice*, but that in regard to him had no mind to turn him out; He did not know what was neceſſary for a good Secretary of State in which he was defective, for he could ſpeak *French* and write ſhort hand. 1660.

Morrice's character.

Nicolas was the other Secretary, who had been employed by King *Charles* the firſt during the war, and had ſerved him faithfully, but had no underſtanding in foreign affairs. He was a man of vertue, but could not fall into the King's temper, or become acceptable to him. So not long after the Reſtoration, *Bennet*, advanced afterwards to be Earl of *Arlington*, was by the intereſt of the Popiſh party made Secretary of State; and was admitted into ſo particular a confidence, that he began to raiſe a party in oppoſition to the Earl of *Clarendon*. He was a proud man. His parts were ſolid, but not quick. He had the art of obſerving the King's temper, and managing it beyond all the men of that time. He was believed a Papiſt. He had once profeſſed it: And when he died, he again reconciled himſelf to that Church. Yet in the whole courſe of his miniſtry, he ſeemed to have made it a maxim, that the King ought to ſhew no favour to Popery, but that all his affairs would be ſpoiled if ever he turned that way; which made the Papiſts become his mortal enemies, and accuſe him as an apoſtate, and the betrayer of their intereſts. His chief friend was *Charles Berkely*, made Earl of *Falmouth*, who without any viſible merit, unleſs it was the managing the King's amours, was the moſt abſolute of all the King's favourites: And, which was peculiar to himſelf, he was as much in the Duke of *York*'s favour as in the King's. *Berkley* was generous in his expence: And it was thought, if he had outlived the lewdneſs of that time, and come to a more ſedate courſe of life,

Nicolas's character.

Arlington's character.

1660. life, he would have put the King on great and noble deſigns. This I ſhould have thought more likely, if I had not had it from the Duke, who had ſo wrong a taſte, that there was reaſon to ſuſpect his judgment both of men and things. *Bennet* and *Berkeley* had the management of the miſtriſs. And all the Earl of *Clarendon*'s enemies came about them: The chief of whom were the *Duke* of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Briſtol*.

Buckingham's character.

The firſt of theſe was a man of noble preſence. He had a great livelineſs of wit, and a peculiar faculty of turning all things into ridicule with bold figures and natural deſcriptions. He had no ſort of literature: Only he was drawn into chymiſtry: And for ſome years he thought he was very near the finding the philoſopher's ſtone; which had the effect that attends on all ſuch men as he was, when they are drawn in, to lay out for it. He had no principles of religion, vertue, or friendſhip. Pleaſure, frolick, or extravagant diverſion was all that he laid to heart. He was true to nothing, for he was not true to himſelf. He had no ſteadineſs nor conduct: He could keep no ſecret, nor execute any deſign without ſpoiling it. He could never fix his thoughts, nor govern his eſtate, tho' then the greateſt in *England*. He was bred about the King: And for many years he had a great aſcendent over him: But he ſpake of him to all perſons with that contempt, that at laſt he drew a laſting diſgrace upon himſelf. And he at length ruined both body and mind, fortune and reputation equally. The madneſs of vice appeared in his perſon in very eminent inſtances; ſince at laſt he became contemptible and poor, ſickly, and ſunk in his parts, as well as in all other reſpects, ſo that his converſation was as much avoided as ever it had been courted. He found the King, when he came from his travels in the year 45, newly come to *Paris*, ſent over by his father when his affairs declined: And finding the King enough inclined to receive ill impreſſions, he, who was then got into all the impieties and vices of the age, ſet himſelf to corrupt the King, in which he was too ſucceſsful, being ſeconded in that wicked deſign by the Lord *Percy*. And to compleat the matter, *Hobbs* was brought to him, under the pretence of inſtructing him in mathematicks: And he laid before him his ſchemes, both with relation to religion and politicks, which made deep and laſting impreſſions on the King's mind. So that the main blame of the King's ill principles, and bad morals, was owing to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Briſtol's character.

The Earl of *Briſtol* was a man of courage and learning, of a bold temper and a lively wit, but of no judgment nor ſteadineſs. He was in the Queen's intereſt during the war at *Oxford*. And he

he ſtudied to drive things paſt the poſſibility of a treaty, or any reconciliation; fancying that nothing would make the military men ſo ſure to the King, as his being ſure to them, and giving them hopes of ſharing the confiſcated eſtates among them; whereas, he thought, all diſcourſes of treaty made them feeble and fearful. When he went beyond ſea he turned Papiſt. But it was after a way of his own: For he loved to magnify the difference between the Church and the Court of *Rome*. He was eſteemed a very good ſpeaker: But he was too copious, and too florid. He was ſet at the head of the popiſh party, and was a violent enemy of the Earl of *Clarendon*. 1660.

Lauderdale's Character.

Having now ſaid as much as ſeems neceſſary to deſcribe the ſtate of the Court and Miniſtry at the Reſtoration, I will next give an account of the chief of the *Scots*, and of the parties that were formed among them. The Earl of *Lauderdale*, afterwards made Duke, had been for many years a zealous Covenanter: But in the year forty ſeven he turned to the King's intereſts; and had continued a priſoner all the while after *Worceſter* fight, where he was taken. He was kept for ſome years in the tower of *London*, in *Portland* caſtle, and in other priſons, till he was ſet at liberty by thoſe who called home the King. So he went over to *Holland*. And ſince he continued ſo long, and contrary to all mens opinions in ſo high a degree of favour and confidence, it may be expected that I ſhould be a little copious in ſetting out his character; for I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill appearance: He was very big: His hair red, hanging odly about him: His tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to: And his whole manner was rough and boiſterous, and very unfit for a Court. He was very learned, not only in *Latin*, in which he was a maſter, but in *Greek* and *Hebrew*. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almoſt all the hiſtorians ancient and modern: So that he had great materials. He had with theſe an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpoliſhed expreſſion. He was a man, as the Duke of *Buckingham* called him to me, of a blundering underſtanding. He was haughty beyond expreſſion, abject to thoſe he ſaw he muſt ſtoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of paſſion that carried him often to fits like madneſs, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to ſtudy to convince him: That would rather provoke him to ſwear, he would never be of another mind: He was to be let alone: And perhaps he would have forgot what he had ſaid, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldeſt friend and the violenteſt enemy I ever knew: I felt it too much not to

1660. never either reſerve or miſtake between us all the while till his death. And it was from him that I underſtood the whole ſecret of affairs; for he was truſted with every thing. He had a wonderful love to the King; and would never believe me, when I warned him, what he might look for, if he did not go along with an abject compliance in every thing. He found it true in concluſion. And the love he bore the King made his diſgrace ſink deeper in him, than became ſuch a philoſopher, or ſo good a chriſtian as he was.

I now turn to another ſet of men, of whom the Earls of *Middletoun* and *Glencairn* were the chief. They were followed by the herd of the Cavalier party, who were now very fierce and full of courage over their cups, tho' they had been very diſcreet managers of it in the field, and in time of action. But now every one of them boaſted that he had killed his thouſands. And all were full of merit, and as full of high pretenſions; far beyond what all the wealth and revenues of *Scotland* could anſwer. The ſubtileſt of all Lord *Middletoun*'s friends was Sir *Archibald Primeroſe*: A man of long and great practice in affairs; for he and his father had ſerved the Crown ſucceſſively an hundred years all but one, when he was turned out of employment. He was a dextrous man in buſineſs: He had always expedients ready at every difficulty. He had an art of ſpeaking to all men according to their ſenſe of things: And ſo drew out their ſecrets while he concealed his own: For words went for nothing with him. He ſaid every thing that was neceſſary to perſuade thoſe he ſpoke to, that he was of their mind; and did it in ſo genuine a way that he ſeemed to ſpeak his heart. He was always for ſoft counſels, and ſlow methods: And thought that the chief thing that a great man ought to do was, to raiſe his family and his kindred, who naturally ſtick to him; for he had ſeen ſo much of the world, that he did not depend much on friends, and ſo took no care in making any. He always adviſed the Earl of *Midletoun* to go ſlowly in the King's buſineſs; but to do his own effectually, before the King ſhould ſee he had no farther occaſion for him. That Earl had another friend, who had more credit with him, tho' *Primeroſe* was more neceſſary for managing a Parliament: He was Sir *John Fletcher*, made the King's Advocate or Attorney General: For *Nicolſon* was dead. *Fletcher* was a man of a generous temper, who deſpiſed wealth, except as it was neceſſary to ſupport a vaſt expence. He was a bold and fierce man, who hated all mild proceedings, and could ſcarce ſpeak with decency or patience to thoſe of the other ſide. So that he was looked on by all that had been faulty in the late times, as an

The general character of the old Cavaliers.

Primeroſe's character.

Fletcher's character.

Inquiſitor

Inquiſitor General. On the other hand *Primeroſe* took money liberally, and was the interceſſor for all who made ſuch effectual applications to him. 1660.

The firſt thing that was to be thought on, with relation to *Scottiſh* affairs, was the manner in which offenders in the late times were to be treated: For all were at mercy. In the letter the King writ from *Breda* to the Parliament of *England* he had promiſed a full indemnity for all that was paſt, excepting only thoſe who had been concerned in his father's death: To which the Earl of *Clarendon* perſuaded the King to adhere in a moſt ſacred manner; ſince the breaking of faith in ſuch a point was that which muſt for ever deſtroy confidence, and the obſerving all ſuch promiſes ſeemed to be a fundamental maxim in government, which was to be maintained in ſuch a manner, that not ſo much as a ſtretch was to be made in it. But there was no promiſe made for *Scotland:* So all the Cavaliers, as they were full of revenge, hoped to have the eſtates of thoſe who had been concerned in the late wars divided among them. The Earl of *Lauderdale* told the King, on the other hand, that the *Scottiſh* nation had turned eminently, tho' unfortunately, to ſerve his father in the year forty eight; that they had brought himſelf among them, and had loſt two armies in his ſervice, and had been under nine years oppreſſion on that account; that they had encouraged and aſſiſted *Monk* in all he did: They might be therefore highly diſguſted, if they ſhould not have the ſame meaſure of grace and pardon that he was to give *England.* Beſides, the King, while he was in *Scotland,* had in the Parliament of *Sterling* paſs'd a very full act of indemnity, tho' in the terms and with the title of an act of approbation. It is true, the records of that Parliament were not exſtant, but had been loſt in the confuſion that followed upon the reduction of that Kingdom: Yet the thing was ſo freſh in every man's memory, that it might have a very ill effect, if the King ſhould proceed without a regard to it. There was indeed another very ſevere act made in that Parliament againſt all that ſhould treat or ſubmit to *Cromwell,* or comply in any ſort with him: But, he ſaid, a difference ought to be made between thoſe who during the ſtruggle had deſerted the ſervice and gone over to the enemy, of which number it might be fit to make ſome examples, and the reſt of the kingdom, who upon the general reduction had been forced to capitulate: It would be hard to puniſh any for ſubmitting to a ſuperior force, when they were in no condition to reſiſt it. This ſeemed reaſonable: And the Earl of *Clarendon* acquieſced in it. But the Earl of *Midletoun* and his party complained of it, and deſired that

Advices offered in *Scottiſh* affairs.

For a general indemnity.

1660. the Marquis of *Argile*, whom they charged with an acceſſion to the King's murder, and ſome few of thoſe who had joined in the remonſtrance while the King was in *Scotland*, might be proceeded againſt. The Marquis of *Argile*'s craft made them affraid of him: And his Eſtate made them deſire to divide it among them. His ſon, the Lord *Lorn*, was come up to Court, and was well received by the King: For he had adhered ſo firmly to the King's intereſt, that he would never enter into any engagements with the Uſurpers: And upon every new occaſion of jealouſy he had been clapt up. In one of his impriſonments he had a terrible accident from a cannon bullet, which the ſoldiers were throwing to exerciſe their ſtrength, and by a recoil ſtruck him in the head, and made ſuch a fracture in his ſkull, that the operation of the trepan, and the cure, was counted one of the greateſt performances of ſurgery at that time. The difference between his father and him went on to a total breach; ſo that his father was ſet upon the diſinheriting him of all that was ſtill left in his power. Upon the Reſtoration the Marquis of *Argile* went up to the Highlands for ſome time, till he adviſed with his friends what to do, who were divided in opinion. He writ by his ſon to the King, aſking leave to come and wait on him. The King gave an anſwer that ſeemed to encourage it, but did not bind him to any thing. I have forgot the words: There was an equivocating in them that did not become a Prince: But his ſon told me, he wrote them very particularly to his father, without any advice of his own. Upon that the Marquis of *Argile* came up ſo ſecretly, that he was within *White-hall*, before his enemies knew any thing of his journey. He ſent his ſon to the King to beg admittance. But inſtead of that he was ſent to the Tower. And orders were ſent down for clapping up three of the chief Remonſtrators. Of theſe *Wariſtoun* was one: But he had notice ſent him before the meſſenger came: So he made his eſcape, and went beyond ſea, firſt to *Hamburgh*. He had been long courted by *Cromwell*, and had ſtood at a diſtance from him for ſeven years: But in the laſt year of his government he had gone inro his counſels, and was ſummoned as one of his Peers to the other Houſe, as it was called. He was after that put into the Council of ſtate after *Richard* was put out: And then he ſat in another coutt put up by *Lambert* and the Army, called the Committee of ſafety. So there was a great deal againſt him. *Swinton*, one of *Cromwell*'s Lords, was alſo ſent a priſoner to *Scotland*. And thus it was reſolved to make a few examples in the Parliament that was to be called, as ſoon as the King could be got to prepare matters for it. It was reſolved on, to reſtore the King's autho-

Argile ſent to the Tower.

authority to the ſame ſtate it was in before the wars, and to raiſe ſuch a force as might be neceſſary to ſecure the quiet of that kingdom for the future. 1660.

It was a harder point, what to do with the citadels that were built by *Cromwell*, and with the *Engliſh* garriſons that were kept in them. Many ſaid, it was neceſſary to keep that kingdom in that ſubdued ſtate; at leaſt till all things were ſettled, and that there was no more danger from thence. The Earl of *Clarendon* was of this mind. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* laid before the King, that the conqueſt *Cromwell* had made of *Scotland* was for their adhering to him: He might then judge what they would think, who had ſuffered ſo much and ſo long on his account; if the ſame thraldome ſhould be now kept up by his means: It would create an univerſal diſguſt. He told the King, that the time might come, in which he would wiſh rather to have *Scotch* garriſons in *England:* It would become a national quarrel, and looſe the affections of the country to ſuch a degree, that perhaps they would join with the garriſons, if any disjointing happen'd in *England* againſt him: Whereas, without any ſuch badge of ſlavery, *Scotland* might be ſo managed, that they might be made entirely his. The Earl of *Midletoun* and his party durſt not appear for ſo unpopular a thing. So it was agreed on, that the citadels ſhould be evacuated and ſlighted, as ſoon as the money could be raiſed in *England* for paying and diſbanding the Army. Of all this the Earl of *Lauderdale* was believed the chief adviſer. So he became very popular in *Scotland.* The citadels in *Scotland* demolith'd.

The next thing that fell under conſideration was the Church, and whether Biſhops were to be reſtored, or not. The Earl of *Lauderdale* at his firſt coming to the King ſtuck firm to Preſbytery. He told me, the King ſpoke to him to let that go, for it was not a religion for gentlemen. He being really a Preſbyterian, but at the ſame time reſolving to get into the King's confidence, ſtudied to convince the King by a very ſubtil method to keep up Preſbytery ſtill in *Scotland.* He told him, that both King *James* and his father had ruined their affairs by engaging in the deſign of ſetting up Epiſcopacy in that kingdom: And by that means *Scotland* became diſcontented, and was of no uſe to them: Whereas the King ought to govern them according to the grain of their own inclinations, and to make them ſure to him: He ought, inſtead of endeavouring an uniformity in both kingdoms, to keep up the oppoſition between them, and rather to encreaſe than to allay that hatred that was between them: And then the *Scots* would be ready, and might be caſily brought to ſerve him upon any occaſion of diſpute he might afterwards Diſputes concerning Epiſcopacy.

1660. afterwards have with the Parliament of *England:* All things were then ſmooth: But that was the honey moon, and it could not laſt long: Nothing would keep *England* more in awe, than if they ſaw *Scotland* firm in their duty and affection to him: Whereas nothing gave them ſo much heart, as when they knew *Scotland* was disjointed: It was a vain attempt to think of doing any thing in *England* by means of the *Iriſh*, who were a deſpicable people, and had a ſea to paſs: But *Scotland* could be brought to engage for the King in a more ſilent manner, and could ſerve him more effectually: He therefore laid it down for a maxim, from which the King ought never to depart, that *Scotland* was to be kept quiet and in good humour, that the oppoſition of the two kingdoms was to be kept up and heighten'd: And then the King might reckon on every man capable of bearing arms in *Scotland*, as a liſted ſoldier, who would willingly change a bad country for a better. This was the plan he laid before the King. I cannot tell, whether this was to cover his zeal for Preſbytery, or on deſign to encourage the King to ſet up arbitrary government in *England*.

To fortify theſe adviſes he wrote a long letter in white ink to a Daughter of the Earl of *Caſſilis*, Lady *Margaret Kennedy*, who was in great credit with the party, and was looked on as a very wiſe and good woman, and was out of meaſure zealous for them. I married her afterwards, and after her death found this letter among her papers: In which he expreſſed great zeal for the cauſe: He ſaw the King was indifferent in the matter: But he was eaſy to thoſe who preſſed for a change: Which, he ſaid, nothing could ſo effectually hinder, as the ſending up many men of good ſenſe, but without any noiſe, who might inform the King of the averſion the nation had to that government, and aſſure him that, if in that point he would be eaſy to them, he might depend upon them as to every thing elſe; and particularly, if he ſtood in need of their ſervice in his other dominions: But he charged her to truſt very few of the Miniſters with this, and to take care that *Sharp* might know nothing of it: For he was then jealous of him. This had all the effect that the Earl of *Lauderdale* intended by it. The King was no more jealous of his favouring Preſbytery; but looked on him as a fit inſtrument to manage *Scotland*, and to ſerve him in the moſt deſperate deſigns: And on this all his credit with the King was founded. In the mean time *Sharp*, ſeeing the King cold in the matter of Epiſcopacy, thought it was neceſſary to lay the Preſbyterians aſleep, to make them apprehend no danger to their government, and to engage the Publick Reſolutioners to proceed againſt

againſt all the Proteſters; that ſo thoſe who were like to be the moſt inflexible in the point of Epiſcopacy might be cenſured by their own party, and by that means the others might become ſo odious to the more violent Preſbyterians, that thereby they might be the more eaſily diſpoſed to ſubmit to Epiſcopacy, or at leaſt might have leſs credit to act againſt it. So he, being preſs'd by thoſe who employed him to procure ſomewhat from the King that might look like a confirmation of their government, and put to ſilence all diſcourſes of an intended change, obtained by the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s means, that a letter ſhould be writ by the King to the Preſbytery of *Edenburgh*, to be communicated by them to all the other Preſbyteries in *Scotland*, in which he confirmed the General Aſſemblies that ſate at St. *Andrews* and *Dundee* while he was in *Scotland*, and that had confirmed the publick reſolutions; in which he ordered them to proceed to cenſure all thoſe who had then proteſted againſt them, and would not now ſubmit to them. The King did alſo confirm their Preſbyterian government, as it was by law eſtabliſhed. This was ſigned, and ſent down without communicating it to the Earl of *Midletoun* or his party. But as ſoon as he heard of it, he thought *Sharp* had betrayed the deſign; and ſent for him, and charged him with it. *Sharp* ſaid, in his own excuſe, that ſomewhat muſt be done for quieting the Preſbyterians, who were beginning to take the allarm: That might have produced ſuch applications, as would perhaps make ſome impreſſion on the King: Whereas now all was ſecured, and yet the King was engaged to nothing; for his confirming their government, as it was eſtabliſhed by law, could bind him no longer than while that legal eſtabliſhment was in force: So the reverſing of that would releaſe the King. This allayed the Earl of *Midletoun*'s diſpleaſure a little. Yet *Primeroſe* told me, he ſpoke often of it with great indignation, ſince it ſeemed below the dignity of a King thus to equivocate with his people, and to deceive them. It ſeemed, that *Sharp* thonght it not enough to cheat the party himſelf, but would have the King ſhare with him in the fraud. This was no honourable ſtep to be made by a King, and to be contrived by a Clergyman. The letter was received with tranſports of joy: The Preſbyterians reckoned they were ſafe, and began to proceed ſeverely againſt the Proteſters; to which they were ſet on by ſome aſpiring men, who hoped to merit by the heat expreſſed on this occaſion. And if *Sharp*'s impatience to get into the Archbiſhoprick of St. *Andrews* had not wrought too ſtrong on him, it would have given a great advantage to the reſtitution of Epiſcopacy, if a General Aſſembly had been called, and 1660.

1660. the two parties had been let looſe on one another: That would have ſhewn the impoſſibility of maintaining the government of the Church in a parity, and the neceſſity of ſetting a ſuperiour order over them for keeping them in unity and peace.

A Miniſtry ſettled in *Scotland*.

The King ſettled the Miniſtry in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Middletoun* was declared the King's Commiſſioner for holding the Parliament, and General of the forces that were to be raiſed: The Earl of *Glencairn* was made Chancellour: The Earl of *Lauderdale* was Secretary of State: The Earl of *Rothes* Preſident of the Council: The Earl of *Crawford* was continued in the Treaſury: *Primeroſe* was Clark Regiſter, which is very like the place of Maſter of the Rolls in *England*. The reſt depended on theſe. But the Earls of *Midletoun* and *Lauderdale* were the two heads of the parties. The Earl of *Midletoun* had a private inſtruction, which, as *Lauderdale* told me, was not communicated to him, to try the inclinations of the Nation for Epiſcopacy, and to conſider of the beſt method of ſetting it up. This was drawn from the King by the Earl of *Clarendon:* For he himſelf was obſerved to be very cold in it, while theſe things were doing. *Primeroſe* got an order from the King to put up all the publick regiſters of *Scotland*, which *Cromwell* had brought up, and lodged in the Tower of *London*, as a pawn upon that Kingdom, in imitation of what King *Edward* the firſt was ſaid to have done when he ſubdued that Nation. They were now put up in fifty hogſheds: And a ſhip was ready to carry them down. But it was ſuggeſted to Lord *Clarendon*, that the original Covenant, ſigned by the King, and ſome other declarations under his hand, were among them. And he, apprehending that at ſome time or other an ill uſe might have been made of theſe, would not ſuffer them to be ſhipped till they were viſited: Nor would he take *Primeroſe*'s promiſe of ſearching for theſe carefully, and ſending them up to him. So he ordered a ſearch to be made. None of the papers he looked for were found. But ſo much time was loſt, that the ſummer was ſpent: So they were ſent down in winter: And by ſome eaſterly guſts the ſhip was caſt away near *Berwick*. So we loſt all our records. And we have nothing now but ſome fragments in private hands to rely on, having made at that time ſo great a ſhipwreck of all our authentick writings. This heightened the diſpleaſure the Nation had at the deſigns then on foot.

A Council propoſed to ſit at Court for *Scotiſh* affairs.

The main thing, upon which all other matters depended, was the method in which the affairs of *Scotland* were to be conducted. The Earl of *Clarendon* moved, that there might be a Council ſettled to ſit regularly at *Whitehall* on *Scottiſh* affairs,

to

to which every one of the *Scotch* Privy Council that happened to be on the place ſhould be admitted: But with this addition, that, as two *Scotch* Lords were called to the *Engliſh* Council, ſo ſix of the *Engliſh* were to be of the *Scotch* Council. The effect of this would have been, that whereas the *Scotch* Counſellours had no great force in *Engliſh* affairs, the *Engliſh*, as they were men of great credit with the King, and were always on the place, would have the government of the affairs of *Scotland* wholly in their hands. This probably would have ſaved that Nation from much injuſtice and violence, when there was a certain method of laying their grievances before the King: Complaints would have been heard, and matters well examined: *Engliſhmen* would not, and durſt not, have given way to crying oppreſſion, and illegal proceedings: For tho' theſe matters did not fall under the cogniſance of an *Engliſh* Parliament, yet it would have very much blaſted a man's credit who ſhould have concurred in ſuch methods of government as were put in practice afterwards in that Kingdom: Therefore all people quickly ſaw how wiſe a project this was, and how happy it would have proved, if affairs had ſtill gone in that channel. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* oppoſed this with all his ſtrength. He told the King, it would quite deſtroy the ſcheme he had laid before him, which muſt be managed ſecretly, and by men that were not in fear of the Parliament of *England*, nor obnoxious to it. He ſaid to all *Scotch-men*, this would make *Scotland* a province to *England*, and ſubject it to *Engliſh* Counſellours, who knew neither the laws nor the intereſts of *Scotland*, and yet would determine every thing relating to it: And all the wealth of *Scotland* would be employed to bribe them, who, having no concern of their own in the affairs of that Kingdom, muſt be ſuppoſed capable of being turned by private conſiderations. To the Preſbyterians he ſaid, this would infallibly bring in, not only Epiſcopacy, but every thing elſe from the *Engliſh* pattern. Men who had neither kindred nor eſtates in *Scotland* would be biaſſed chiefly by that which was moſt in vogue in *England*, without any regard to the inclinations of the *Scots*. Theſe things made great impreſſions on the *Scottiſh* Nation. The King himſelf did not much like it. But the Earl of *Clarendon* told him, *Scotland*, by a ſecret and ill management, had begun the embroilment in his father's affairs, which could never have happened, if the affairs of that Kingdom had been under a more equal inſpection: If *Scotland* ſhould again fall into new diſorders, he muſt have the help of *England* to quiet them: And that could not be expected, if the *Engliſh* had no ſhare in the 1660.

1660. the conduct of matters there. The King yielded to it: And this method was followed for two or three years; but was afterwards broke by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, when he got into the chief management. He began early to obſerve ſome uneaſineſs in the King at the Earl of *Clarendon*'s poſitive way. He ſaw the miſtriſs hated him: And he believed ſhe would in time be too hard for him: Therefore he made great applications to her. But his converſation was too coarſe: And he had not money enough to ſupport himſelf by preſents to her: So he could not be admitted into that cabal which was held in her lodgings. He ſaw, that in a Council, where men of weight, who had much at ſtake in *England*, bore the chief ſway, he durſt not have propoſed thoſe things, by which he intended to eſtabliſh his own intereſt with the King, and to govern that Kingdom which way his pride or paſſion might guide him. Among others, he took great pains to perſuade me of the great ſervice he had done his country by breaking that method of governing it; tho' we had many occaſions afterwards to ſee how fatal that proved, and how wicked his deſign in it was.

The Committee of Eſtates meet in *Scotland.*

I have thus opened with ſome copiouſneſs the beginnings of this reign; ſince, as they are little known, and I had them from the chief of both ſides, ſo they may guide the reader to obſerve the progreſs of things better in the ſequel than he could otherwiſe do. In *Auguſt* the Earl of *Glencairn* was ſent down to *Scotland*, and had orders to call together the Committee of Eſtates. This was a practice begun in the late times: When the Parliament made a receſs, they appointed ſome of every State to ſit, and to act as a Council of State in their name till the next ſeſſion; for which they were to prepare matters, and to which they gave an account of their proceedings. When the Parliament of *Sterling* was adjourned, the King being preſent, a Committee had been named: So, ſuch of theſe as were yet alive were ſummoned to meet, and to ſee to the quiet of the Nation, till the Parliament ſhould be brought together; which did not meet before *January*. On the day in which the Committee met, ten or twelve of the Proteſting Miniſters met likewiſe at *Edenburgh*, and had before them a warm paper prepared by one *Guthery*, one of the violenteſt Miniſters of the whole party. In it, after ſome cold compliment to the King upon his Reſtoration, they put him in mind of the Covenant which he had ſo ſolemnly ſworn while among them: They lamented that, inſtead of purſuing the ends of it in *England*, as he had ſworn to do, he had ſet up the Common Prayer in his Chappel, and the order of Biſhops: Upon which they made terrible denunciations

of

of heavy judgments from God on him, if he did not ſtand to the Covenant, which they called the oath of God. The Earl of *Glencairn* had notice of this meeting: And he ſent and ſeized on them together with this remonſtrance. The paper was voted ſcandalous and ſeditious: And the Miniſters were all clapt up in priſon, and were threaten'd with great ſeverities. *Guthery* was kept ſtill in priſon, who had brought the others together: Bnt the reſt after a while's impriſonment were let go. *Guthery*, being Miniſter of *Sterlin* while the King was there, had let fly at him in his Sermons in a moſt indecent manner; which at laſt became ſo intolerable, that he was cited to appear before the King to anſwer for ſome paſſages in his ſermons: He would not appear, bnt declined the King and his Council, who, he ſaid, were not proper judges of matters of doctrine, for which he was only accountable to the judicatories of the Kirk. He alſo proteſted for remedy of law againſt the King, for thus diſturbing him in the exerciſe of his Miniſtry. This perſonal affront had irritated the King more againſt him, than againſt any other of the party. And it was reſolved to ſtrike a terrour into them all, by making an example of him. He was a man of courage, and went thro' all his trouble with great firmneſs. But this way of proceeding ſtruck the whole party with ſuch a conſternation, that it had all the effect which was deſigned by it: For whereas the pnlpits had, to the great ſcandal of religion, been places where the preachers had for many years vented their ſpleen and arraigned all proceedings, they became now more decent, and there was a general ſilence every where with relation to the affairs of ſtate: Only they could not hold from many ſly and ſecret inſinuations, as if the Ark of God was ſhaking, and the Glory departing. A great many offenders were ſummoned, at the King's ſuit, before the Committee of Eſtates, and required to give bail, that they ſhould appear at the opening of the Parliament, and anſwer to what ſhould be then objected to them. Many ſaw, the deſign of this was to fright them into a compoſition, and alſo into a concurrence with the meaſures that were to be taken. For the greater part they complied, and redeemed themſelves from farther vexation by ſuch preſents as they were able to make. And in theſe tranſactions *Primeroſe* and *Fletcher* were the great dealers. 1660.

In the end of the year the Earl of *Midletoun* came down with great magnificence: His way of living was the moſt ſplendid the nation had ever ſeen: But it was likewiſe the moſt ſcandalous; for vices of all ſorts were the open practices of thoſe about him. Drinking was the moſt notorious of all, which was often A Parliament in *Scotland.*

1660. continued thro' the whole night to the next morning: And many diſorders happening after thoſe irregular heats, the people, who had never before that time ſeen any thing like it, came to look with an ill eye on every thing that was done by ſuch a ſet of lewd and vitious men. This laid in all men's minds a new prejudice againſt Epiſcopacy: For they, who could not examine into the nature of things, were apt to take an ill opinion of every change in religion that was brought about by ſuch bad inſtruments. There had been a face of gravity and piety in the former adminiſtration, which made the libertinage of the preſent time more odious.

1661. The Earl of *Midletoun* opened the Parliament on the firſt of *January* with a ſpeech ſetting forth the bleſſing of the Reſtoration: He magnified the King's perſon, and enlarged on the affection that he bore to that his ancient Kingdom: He hoped they would make ſuitable returns of zeal for the King's ſervice, that they would condemn all the invaſions that had been made on the Regal authority, and aſſert the juſt prerogative of the Crown, and give ſupplies for keeping up ſuch a force as was neceſſary to ſecure the publick peace, and to preſerve them from the return of ſuch calamities as they had ſo long felt. The Parliament writ an anſwer to the King's letter full of duty and thanks. The firſt thing propoſed was to name Lords of the Articles. In order to the apprehending the importance of this, I will give ſome account of the conſtitution of that Kingdom.

The Lords of the Articles.

The Parliament was anciently the King's Court, where all who held land of him were bound to appear. All ſate in one houſe, but were conſidered as three eſtates. The firſt was the Church, repreſented by the Biſhops, and mitred Abbots, and Priors. The ſecond was the Baronage, the Nobility and Gentry who held their Baronies of the King. And the third was the Burroughs, who held of the King by Barony, tho' in a community. So that the Parliament was truly the Baronage of the Kingdom. The leſſer Barons grew weary of this attendance: So in King *James* the firſt time (during the reign of *Henry* IV. of *England*) they were excuſed from it, and were impowered to ſend proxies, to an indefinite number, to repreſent them in Parliament. Yet they neglected to do this. And it continued ſo till King *James* the ſixth's time, in which the mitred Abbots being taken away, and few of the titular Biſhops that were then continued appearing at them, the Church Lands being generally in Lay hands, the Nobility carried matters in Parliament as they pleaſed: And as they oppreſſed the Burroughs, ſo they had the King much under them. Upon this the lower Barons got

got themſelves to be reſtored to the right which they had neglected near two hundred years. They were allowed by act of Parliament to ſend two from a county: Only ſome ſmaller counties ſent but one. This brought that conſtitution to a truer balance. The lower Barons have a right to chooſe at their county Courts after *Michaelmas* their Commiſſioners, to ſerve in any Parliament that may be called within that year. And they who chuſe them ſign a commiſſion to him who repreſents them. So the Sheriff has no ſhare of the return. And in the caſe of controverted elections the Parliament examines the commiſſions, to ſee who has the greateſt number, and judges whether every one that ſigns it had a right to do ſo. The Burroughs only chooſe their members when the ſummons goes out: And all are choſen by the men of the corporation, or, as they call them, the town council. All theſe Eſtates ſit in one houſe, and vote together. Anciently the Parliament ſate only two days, the firſt and the laſt. On the firſt they choſe thoſe who were to ſit on the articles, eight for every ſtate, to whom the King joined eight officers of ſtate. Theſe received all the heads of grievances or articles that were brought to them, and formed them into bills as they pleaſed: And on the laſt day of the Parliament, theſe were all read, and were approved or rejected by the whole body. So they were a committee that had a very extraordinary authority, ſince nothing could be brought before the Parliament but as they pleaſed. This was pretended to be done only for the ſhortening and diſpatching of Seſſions. The Crown was not contented with this limitation, but got it to be carried farther. The Nobility came to chooſe eight Biſhops, and the Biſhops to chooſe eight noble men: And theſe ſixteen chooſe the eight Barons, (ſo the repreſentative for the Shires are called,) and the eight Burgeſſes. By this means our Kings did upon the matter chooſe all the Lords of the articles. So entirely had they got the liberties of that Parliament into their hands. 1661.

During the late troubles they had ſtill kept up a diſtinction of three eſtates, the leſſer Barons making one: And then every Eſtate might meet apart, and name their own committee: But ſtill all things were brought in, and debated in full Parliament. So now the firſt thing propoſed was, the returning to the old cuſtom of naming Lords of the articles. The Earl of *Tweedale* oppoſed it, but was ſeconded only by one perſon. So it paſs'd with that ſmall oppoſition. Only, to make it go eaſier, it was promiſed, that there ſhould be frequent ſeſſions of Parliament, and that the acts ſhould not be brought in in a hurry, and carried with the haſte that had been practiſed in former times.

The

1661. The Acts pass'd in this session.

The Parliament granted the King an additional revenue for life of 40000 *l.* a year, to be raised by an excise on beer and ale, for maintaining a small force: Upon which two troops and a regiment of foot guards were to be raised. They ordered the Marquis of *Montrose*'s quarters to be brought together: And they were buried with great state. They fell next upon the acts of the former times that had limited the Prerogative: They repealed them, and asserted it with a full extent in a most extraordinary manner. *Primerose* had the drawing of these acts. He often confessed to me, that he thought he was as one bewitched while he drew them: For, not considering the ill use might be made of them afterwards, he drew them with preambles full of extravagant rhetorick, reflecting severely on the proceedings of the late times, and swelled them up with the highest phrases and fullest clauses that he could invent. In the act which asserted the King's power of the militia, the power of arming and levying the subjects was carried so far, that it would have ruined the Kingdom, if *Gilmore*, (an eminent Lawyer, and a man of great integrity, who had now the more credit, for he had always favoured the King's side,) had not observed that, as the act was worded, the King might require all the subjects to serve at their own charge, and might oblige them, in order to the redeeming themselves from serving, to pay whatever might be set on them. So he made such an opposition to this, that it could not pass till a proviso was added to it, that the Kingdom should not be obliged to maintain any force levied by the King, otherwise than as it should be agreed to in Parliament, or in a Convention of Estates. This was the only thing that was then looked to: For all the other acts pass'd in the articles as *Primerose* had penn'd them. They were brought into Parliament: And upon one hasty reading them they were put to the vote, and were always carried.

One act troubled the Presbyterians extreamly. In the act asserting the King's power in treaties of peace and war, all leagues with any other Nation, not made by the King's authority, were declared treasonable: And in consequence of this the League and Covenant made with *England* in the year 1643 was condemned, and declared of no force for the future. This was the idol of all the Presbyterians: So they were much alarmed at it. But *Sharp* restrained all those with whom he had credit: He told them, the only way to preserve their government was, to let all that related to the King's authority be separated from it, and be condemned, that so they might be no more accused as enemies to monarchy, or as leavened with the principles of rebellion.

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He told them, they must be contented to let that pass, that the jealousy which the King had of them, as enemies to his prerogative, might be extinguished in the most effectual manner. This restrained many. But some hotter zealots could not be governed. One *Macquair*, a hot man and considerably learned, did in his church at *Glasgow* openly protest against this act, as contrary to the oath of God, and so void of itself. To protest against an act of Parliament was treason by their law. And *Midletoun* was resolved to make an example of him for the terrifying others. But *Macquair* was as stiff as he was severe, and would come to no submission. Yet he was only condemned to perpetual banishment. Upon which he, and some others who were afterwards banished, went and settled at *Rotterdam*, where they formed themselves into a Presbytery, and writ many seditious books, and kept a correspondence over all *Scotland*, that being the chief seat of the *Scottish* trade: And by that means they did much more mischief to the government, than they could have done had they continued still in *Scotland*. 1661.

An act rescinding all Parliaments held since the year 1633.

The Lords of the articles grew weary of preparing so many acts as the practices of the former times gave occasion for; but did not know how to meddle with those acts that the late King had passed in the year 41, or the present King had passed while he was in *Scotland*. They saw, that, if they should proceed to repeal those by which Presbyterian government was ratified, that would raise much opposition, and bring petitions from all that were for that government over the whole Kingdom; which *Midletoun* and *Sharp* endeavoured to prevent, that the King might be confirmed in what they had affirmed, that the general bent of the Nation was now turned against Presbytery and for Bishops. So *Primerose* proposed, but half in jest as he assured me, that the better and shorter way would be to pass a general act rescissory, (as it was called,) annulling all the Parliaments that had been held since the year 1633, during the whole time of the war, as faulty and defective in their constitution. But it was not so easy to know upon what point that defect was to be fixed. The only colourable pretence in law was, that, since the ecclesiastical state was not represented in those Parliaments, they were not a full representative of the Kingdom, and so not true Parliaments. But this could not be alledged by this present Parliament, which had no Bishops in it: If that inferred a nullity, this was no Parliament. Therefore they could only fix the nullity upon the pretence of force and violence. Yet it was a great strain to insist on that, since it was visible that neither the late King nor the present were under any force when they

1661. paſſed them: They came of their own accord, and paſs'd thoſe acts. If it was inſiſted on, that the ill ſtate of their affairs was in the nature of a force, the ill conſequences of this were viſible; ſince no Prince by this means could be bound to any treaty, or be concluded by any law that limited his power, theſe being always drawn from them by the neceſſity of their affairs, which can never be called a force, as long as their perſons are free. So, upon ſome debate about it on thoſe grounds, at a private juncto the propoſition, tho' well liked, was let fall, as not capable to have good colours put upon it: Nor had the Earl of *Middletoun* any inſtruction to warrant his paſſing any ſuch act. Yet within a day or two, when they had drunk higher, they reſolved to venture on it. *Primeroſe* was then ill. So one was ſent to him to deſire him to prepare a bill to that effect. He ſet about it: But perceived it was ſo ill grounded, and ſo wild in all the frame of it, that he thought, when it came to be better conſidered, it muſt certainly be laid aſide. But it fell out otherwiſe: His draught was copied out next morning, without altering a word in it, and carried to the articles, and from thence to the Parliament, where it met indeed with great oppoſition. The Earl of *Crawford* and the Duke of *Hamilton* argued much againſt it. The Parliament in the year 41 was legally ſummoned: The late King came thither in perſon with his ordinary attendance, and without the appearance of any force: If any acts then paſs'd needed to be reviewed, that might be well done: But to annul a Parliament was a terrible precedent, which deſtroyed the whole ſecurity of government: Another Parliament might annul the preſent Parliament, as well as that which was now propoſed to be done: So no ſtop could be made, nor any ſecurity laid down for fixing things for the future: The Parliament in the year 48 proceeded upon inſtructions under the King's own hand, which was all that could be had conſidering his impriſonment: They had declared for the King, and raiſed an army for his preſervation. To this the Earl of *Midletoun*, who contrary to cuſtom managed the debate himſelf, anſwered, that tho' there was no viſible force on the late King in the year 41, yet they all knew he was under a real force by reaſon of the rebellion that had been in this Kingdom, and the apparent danger of one ready to break out in *England*, which forced him to ſettle *Scotland* on ſuch terms as he could bring them to: So that diſtreſs on his affairs was really equivalent to a force on his perſon: Yet he confeſſed, it was juſt, that ſuch an appearance of a Parliament ſhould be a full authority to all who acted under it: And care was taken to ſecure theſe by a proviſo that was put

in the act to indemnify them: He acknowledged the design of the Parliament in the year 48 was good: Yet they declared for the King in such terms, and had acted so hypocritically in order to the gaining of the Kirk party, that it was just to condemn the proceedings, tho' the intentions of many were honourable and loyal: For we went into it, he said, as knaves, and therefore no wonder if we miscarried in it as fools. This was very ill taken by all who had been concerned in it. The bill was put to the vote, and carried by a great majority: And the Earl of *Midletoun* immediately pass'd it without staying for an instruction from the King. The excuse he made for it was, that, since the King had by his letter to the Presbyterians confirmed their government as it was established by law, there was no way left to get out of that, but the annulling all those laws. 1661.

This was a most extravagant act, and only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout. It shook all possible security for the future, and laid down a most pernicious precedent. The Earl of *Lauderdale* aggravated this heavily to the King. It shewed, that the Earl of *Midletoun* understood not the first principles of government, since he had, without any warrant for it, given the King's assent to a law that must for ever take away all the security that law can give: No government was so well established, as not to be liable to a revolution: This would cut off all hopes of peace and submission, if any disorder should happen at any time thereafter. And since the Earl of *Clarendon* had set it up for a maxim never to be violated, that acts of indemnity were sacred things, he studied to possess him against the Earl of *Midletoun*, who had now annulled the very Parliaments in which two King's had pass'd acts of indemnity. This raised a great clamour. And upon that the Earl of *Midletoun* complained in Parliament, that their best services were represented to the King as blemishes on his honour, and as a prejudice to his affairs: So he desired they would send up some of the most eminent of their body to give the King a true account of their proceedings. The Earls of *Glencairn* and *Rothes* were sent: For the Earl of *Rothes* gave secret engagements to both sides, resolving to strike into that to which he saw the King most inclined. The Earl of *Midletoun*'s design was to accuse the Earl of *Lauderdale* of misrepresenting the proceedings of Parliament, and of belying the King's good subjects, called in the *Scotish* law Leasing making, which either to the King of the People or to the People of the King is capital.

It was not liked by the King.

Sharp went up with these Lords to press the speedy setting up of Episcopacy, now that the greatest enemies of that government were

The Presbyterians in great disorder.

1661. were under a general conſternation, and were upon other accounts ſo obnoxious that they durſt not make any oppoſition to it, ſince no act of indemnity was yet paſs'd. He had expreſſed a great concern to his old brethren, when the act reſciſſory paſs'd, and acted that part very ſolemnly for ſome days: Yet he ſeemed to take heart again, and perſuaded the miniſters of that party, that it would be a ſervice to them, ſince now the caſe of ratifying their government was ſeparated from the rebellion of the late times: So that hereafter it was to ſubſiſt by a law paſs'd in a Parliament that ſate and acted in full freedom. So he undertook to go again to Court, and to move for an inſtruction to ſettle Preſbytery on a new and undiſputed bottom. The poor men were ſo ſtruck with the ill ſtate of their affairs, that they either truſted him, or at leaſt ſeemed to do it; for indeed they had neither ſenſe nor courage left them. During the ſeſſion of Parliament the moſt aſpiring men of the Clergy were pickt out to preach before the Parliament. They did not ſpeak out: But they all inſinuated the neceſſity of a greater authority than was then in the Church, for keeping them in order. One or two ſpoke plainer: Upon which the Preſbytery of *Edenburgh* went to the Earl of *Midletoun*, and complained of that, as an affront to the law and to the King's letter. He diſmiſſed them with good words, but took no notice of their complaint. The Synods in ſeveral places reſolved to prepare addreſſes both to King and Parliament, for an act eſtabliſhing their government. And *Sharp* diſſembled ſo artificially, that he met with thoſe who were preparing an addreſs to be preſented to the Synod of *Fife*, that was to ſit within a week after: And heads were agreed on. *Honyman*, afterwards Biſhop of *Orkney*, drew it up with ſo much vehemence, that *Wood*, their Divinity Profeſſor, told me, he and ſome others ſate up almoſt the whole night before the Synod met, to draw it over again in a ſmoother ſtrain. But *Sharp* gave the Earl of *Midletoun* notice of this. So the Earl of *Rothes* was ſent over to ſee to their behaviour. As ſoon as the Miniſters entred upon that ſubject, he in the King's name diſſolved the Synod, and commanded the Miniſters under pain of treaſon to retire to their ſeveral habitations. Such care was taken that no publick application ſhould be made in favour of Preſbytery. Any attempt that was made on the other hand met with great encouragement. The Synod of *Aberdeen* was the only body that made an addreſs looking towards Epiſcopacy. In a long preamble they reflected on the confuſions and violence of the late times, of which they enumerated many particulars: And they concluded with a prayer, that ſince the legal

authority upon which their Courts proceeded was now annulled, 1661.
that therefore the King and Parliament would ſettle their government, conform to the Scriptures and the rules of the primitive Church. The Preſbyterians ſaw what was driven at, and how their words would be underſtood: But I heard one of them ſay, (for I was preſent at that meeting,) that no man could decently oppoſe thoſe words, ſince by that he would inſinuate that he thought Preſbytery was not conform to theſe.

In this ſeſſion of Parliament another act paſs'd, which was a new affliction to all the party: The twenty ninth of *May* was appointed to be kept as a holy day; ſince on that day an end had been put to three and twenty year's courſe of rebellion, of which the whole progreſs was reckoned up in the higheſt ſtrain of *Primeroſe*'s eloquence. The Miniſters ſaw, that by obſerving this act paſs'd with ſuch a preamble, they condemned all their former proceedings, as rebellious and hypocritical. They ſaw, that by obeying it they would loſe all their credit, and contradict all they had been building up in a courſe of ſo many years. Yet ſuch was the heat of that time, that they durſt not except to it on that account. So they laid hold on the ſubtilty of a holy day; and covered themſelves under that controverſy, denying it was in the power of any human authority to make a day holy. But withal they fell upon a poor ſhift: They enacted in their ſeveral Preſbyteries that they ſhould obſerve that day as a thankſgiving for the King's Reſtoration: So they took no notice of the act of Parliament, but obſerved it in obedience to their own act. But this, tho' it covered them from proſecution, ſince the law was obeyed, yet it laid them open to much contempt. When the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Rothes* came to Court, the King was ſoon ſatisfied with the account they gave of the proceedings of Parliament: And the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not own that he had ever miſrepreſented them. They were ordered to proceed in their charging of him, as the Earl of *Clarendon* ſhould direct them. But he told them the aſſaulting of a Miniſter, as long as he had an intereſt in the King, was a practice that never could be approved: It was one of the uneaſy things that a Houſe of Commons of *England* ſometimes ventured on, which was ungrateful to the Court: Such an attempt, inſtead of ſhaking the Earl of *Lauderdale*, would give him a faſter root with the King. They muſt therefore content themſelves with letting the King ſee how well his ſervice went on in their hands, and how unjuſtly they had been miſrepreſented to him: And thus by degrees they would gain their point, and the Earl of *Lauderdale* would become uſeleſs to the King.

1661. So this deſign was let fall. But the Earl of *Rothes* aſſured *Lauderdale*, he had diverted the ſtorm: Tho' *Primeroſe* told me, this was the true ground on which they proceeded. They became all friends, as to outward appearance.

Thus I have gone thro' the actings of the firſt ſeſſion of this Parliament with relation to publick affairs. It was a mad roaring time, full of extravagance. And no wonder it was ſo, when the men of affairs were almoſt perpetually drunk. I ſhall in the next place give an account of the attainders paſs'd in it.

Argile's attainder. The firſt and chief of theſe was of the Marquis of *Argile*. He was indicted at the King's ſuit for a great many facts, that were reduced to three heads. The firſt was of his publick actings during the wars, of which many inſtances were given; ſuch as his being concerned in the delivering up of the King to the *Engliſh* at *Newcaſtle*, his oppoſing the engagement in the year 1648, and his heading the riſing in the *Weſt* in oppoſition to the Committee of Eſtates: In this, and many other ſteps made during the war, he was eſteemed the principal actor, and ſo ought to be made the greateſt example for terrifying others. The ſecond head conſiſted of many murders, and other barbarities, committed by his officers, during the war, on many of the King's party; chiefly on thoſe who had ſerved under the Marquiſs of *Montroſe*, many of them being murdered in cold blood. The third head conſiſted of ſome articles of his concurrence with *Cromwell* and the uſurpers, in oppoſition to thoſe who appeared for the King in the *Highlands*, his being one of his Parliament, and aſſiſting in proclaiming him Protector, with a great many other particulars, into which his compliance was branched out. He had counſel aſſigned him, who performed their part very well.

The ſubſtance of his defence was, that during the late wars he was but one among a great many more: He had always acted by authority of Parliament, and according to the inſtructions that were given him, as oft as he was ſent on any expedition or negotiation. As to all things done before the year 1641, the late King had buried them in an act of oblivion then paſſed, as the preſent King had alſo done in the year 1651: So he did not think he was bound to anſwer to any particular before that time. For the ſecond head, he was at *London* when moſt of the barbarities ſet out in it were committed: Nor did it appear that he gave any orders about them. It was well known that great outrages had been committed by the *Macdonalds*: And he believed his people, when they had the better of them, had taken cruel revenges: This was to be imputed to the heat of the time, and

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to the tempers of the people, who had been much provoked by the burning of his whole countrey, and by much blood that was ſhed. And as to many ſtories laid to the charge of his men, he knew ſome of them were mere forgeries, and others were aggravated much beyond the truth: But, what truth ſoever might be in them, he could not be anſwerable but for what was done by himſelf, or by his orders. As to the third head, of his compliance with the uſurpation, he had ſtood out till the nation was quite conquered: And in that caſe it was the received opinion both of divines and lawyers, that men might lawfully ſubmit to an uſurpation, when forced to it by an inevitable neceſſity. It was the epidemical ſin of the nation. His circumſtances were ſuch, that more than a bare compliance was required of him. What he did that way was only to preſerve himſelf and his family, and was not done on deſign to oppoſe the King's intereſt. Nor did his ſervice ſuffer by any thing he did. This was the ſubſtance of his defence in a long ſpeech, which he made with ſo good a grace and ſo ſkilfully, that his character was as much raiſed as his family ſuffered by the proſecution. In one ſpeech, excuſing his compliance with *Cromwell*, he ſaid, what could he think of that matter, after a man ſo eminent in the law as his Majeſty's Advocate had taken the engagement? This inflamed the other ſo much, that he called him an impudent villain, and was not ſo much as chid for that barbarous treatment. Lord *Argile* gravely ſaid, he had learned in his affliction to bear reproaches; but if the Parliament ſaw no cauſe to condemn him, he was leſs concerned at the King's Advocate's railing. The King's Advocate put in an additional article, of charging him with acceſſion to the King's death, for which all the proof he offered lay in a preſumption: *Cromwell* had come down to *Scotland* with his army in *September* 1648, and at that time he had many and long conferences with *Argile*; and immediately upon his return to *London* the treaty with the King was broken off, and the King was brought to his trial: The advocate from thence inferred, that it was to be preſumed that *Cromwell* and *Argile* had concerted that matter between them. While this proceſs was carried on, which was the ſolemneſt that ever was in *Scotland*, the Lord *Lorn* continued at Court ſoliciting for his father; and obtained a letter to be writ by the King to the Earl of *Midletoun*, requiring him to order his Advocate not to inſiſt on any publick proceedings before the indemnity he himſelf had paſs'd in the year 1651. He alſo required him, when the trial was ended, to ſend up the whole proceſs, and lay it before the King, before the Parliament ſhould give ſentence. The Earl 1660.

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1661. of *Midletoun* ſubmitted to the firſt part of this: So all farther enquiry into thoſe matters was ſuperſeded. But as to the ſecond part of the letter, it looked ſo like a diſtruſt of the juſtice of the Parliament, that he ſaid, he durſt not let it be known, till he had a ſecond and more poſitive order, which he earneſtly deſired might not be ſent; for it would very much diſcourage this loyal and affectionate Parliament: And he begged earneſtly to have that order recalled; which was done. For ſome time there was a ſtop to the proceedings, in which Lord *Argile* was contriving an eſcape out of the Caſtle. He kept his bed for ſome days: And his Lady being of the ſame ſtature with himſelf, and coming to him in a chair, he had put on her cloaths, and was going into the chair: But he apprehended he ſhould be diſcovered, and his execution haſtened; and ſo his heart failed him. The Earl of *Midletoun* reſolved, if poſſible, to have the King's death faſtened on him. By this means, as he would die with the more infamy, ſo he reckoned this would put an end to the family, ſince no body durſt move in favour of the ſon of one judged guilty of that crime. And he, as was believed, hoped to obtain a grant of his eſtate. Search was made into all the precedents of men who had been at any time condemned upon preſumption. And the Earl of *Midletoun* reſolved to argue the matter himſelf, hoping that the weight of his authority would bear down all oppoſition. He managed it indeed with more force than decency: He was too vehement, and maintained the argument with a ſtrength that did more honour to his parts than to his juſtice or his character. But *Gilmore*, tho' newly made Preſident of the Seſſion, which is the ſupream Court of Juſtice in that Kingdom, abhorred the precedent of attainting a man upon ſo remote a preſumption; and looked upon it as leſs juſtifiable than the much decried attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*. So he undertook the argument againſt *Midletoun:* They replied upon one another thirteen or fourteen times in a debate that laſted many hours. *Gilmore* had ſo clearly the better of the argument, that, tho' the Parliament was ſo ſet againſt *Argile* that every thing was like to paſs that might blacken him, yet, when it was put to the vote, he was acquitted as to that by a great majority: At which he expreſſed ſo much joy, that he ſeemed little concerned at any thing that could happen to him after that. All that remained was to make his compliance with the uſurpers appear to be treaſon. The debate was like to have laſted long. The Earl of *Lowdun*, who had been Lord Chancellour, and was counted the eloquenteſt man of that time, for he had a copiouſneſs in ſpeaking that was never exhauſted, (he was

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come of his family and was his particular friend,) had prepared a long and learned argument on that head. He had gathered the opinions both of divines and lawyers, and had laid together a great deal out of hiſtory, more particularly out of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, to ſhew that it had never been cenſured as a crime: But that on the contrary in all their confuſions the men, who had merited the moſt of the Crown in all its ſhakings, were perſons who had got credit by compliance with the ſide that prevailed, and by that means had brought things about again. But, while it was very doubtful how it would have gone, *Monk* by an inexcuſable baſeneſs had ſearched among his letters, and found ſome that were writ by *Argile* to himſelf, that were hearty and zealous on their ſide. Theſe he ſent down to *Scotland*. And after they were read in Parliament, it could not be pretended that his compliance was feigned, or extorted from him. Every body blamed *Monk* for ſending theſe down, ſince it was a betraying the confidence that they then lived in. They were ſent by an expreſs, and came to the Earl of *Midletoun* after the Parliament was engaged in the debate. So he ordered the letters to be read. This was much blamed, as contrary to the forms of juſtice, ſince probation was cloſed on both ſides. But the reading of them ſilenced all farther debate. All his friends went out: And he was condemned as guilty of treaſon. The Marquis of *Montroſe* only refuſed to vote. He owned, he had too much reſentment to judge in that matter. It was deſigned he ſhould be hanged, as the Marquis of *Montroſe* had been: But it was carried that he ſhould be beheaded, and that his head ſhould be ſet up where Lord *Montroſe*'s had been ſet. He received his ſentence decently, and compoſed himſelf to ſuffer. 1661.

The day before his death he wrote to the King, juſtifying his intentions in all he had acted in the matter of the Covenant: He proteſted his innocence, as to the death of the late King: He ſubmitted patiently to his ſentence, and wiſhed the King a long and happy reign: He caſt his family and children upon his mercy; and prayed that they might not ſuffer for their father's fault. On the twenty ſeventh of *May*, the day appointed for his execution, he came to the ſcaffold in a very ſolemn but undaunted manner, accompanied with many of the Nobility and ſome Miniſters. He ſpoke for half an hour with a great appearance of ſerenity. *Cunningham* his phyſician told me he touched his pulſe, and that it did then beat at the uſual rate, calm and ſtrong. He did in a moſt ſolemn manner vindicate himſelf from all knowledge or acceſſion to the King's And execution.

1661. death: He pardoned all his enemies; and ſubmitted to the ſentence, as to the will of God: He ſpoke highly in juſtification of the Covenant, calling it the cauſe and work of God; and expreſſed his apprehenſion of ſad times like to follow; and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, and to reſolve to ſuffer rather than ſin againſt their conſciences. He parted with all his friends very decently. And after ſome time ſpent in his private devotions he was beheaded.

The execution of *Guthry* a Miniſter.

A few days after *Guthry* ſuffered. He was accuſed of acceſſion to the remonſtrance when the King was in *Scotland*, and for a book he had printed with the title *of the cauſes of God's wrath upon the nation*; in which the treating with the King, the tendring him the Covenant, and the admitting him to the exerciſe of the government, were highly aggravated, as great acts of apoſtacy. His declining the King's authority to judge of his ſermons, and his proteſting for remedy of law againſt him, and the late ſeditious paper that he was drawing others to concur in, were the matters objected to him. He was a reſolute and ſtiff man: So when his lawyers offered him legal defences, he would not be adviſed by them, but reſolved to take his own way. He confeſſed, and juſtified all that he had done, as agreeing to the principles and practices of the Kirk, who had aſſerted all along that the doctrine delivered in their ſermons did not fall under the cogniſance of the temporal Courts, till it was firſt judged by the Church; for which he brought much tedious proof. He ſaid, his proteſting for remedy of law againſt the King was not meant at the King's perſon, but was only with relation to coſts and damages. The Earl of *Midletoun* had a perſonal animoſity againſt him; for in the late times he had excommunicated him: So his eagerneſs in the proſecution did not look well. The defence he made ſignified nothing to juſtify himſelf, but laid a great load on Preſbytery; ſince he made it out beyond all diſpute, that he had acted upon their principles, which made them the more odious, as having among them ſome of the worſt maxims of the Church of *Rome*; that in particular, to make the pulpit a privileged place, in which a man might ſafely vent treaſon, and be ſecure in doing it, if the Church judicatory ſhould agree to acquit him. So upon this occaſion great advantage was taken, to ſhew how near the ſpirit that had reigned in Preſbytery came up to Popery. It was reſolved to make a publick example of a Preacher: So he was ſingled out. He gave no advantage to thoſe who wiſhed to have ſaved him by the leaſt ſtep towards any ſubmiſſion, but much to the contrary. Yet, tho' all people were diſguſted at the Earl of *Midletoun*'s

toun's eagerneſs in the proſecution, the Earl of *Tweedale* was the only man that moved againſt the putting him to death. He ſaid, baniſhment had been hitherto the ſevereſt cenſure that had been laid on the Preachers for their opinions: He knew *Guthry* was a man apt to give perſonal provocation: And he wiſhed that might not have too great a ſhare in carrying the matter ſo far. Yet he was condemned to die. I ſaw him ſuffer. He was ſo far from ſhewing any fear, that he rather expreſſed a contempt of death. He ſpoke an hour upon the ladder, with the compoſedneſs of a man that was delivering a ſermon rather than his laſt words. He juſtified all he had done, and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, which he magnified highly. With him one *Govan* was alſo hanged, who had deſerted the army while the King was in *Scotland*, and had gone over to *Cromwell*. The man was inconſiderable, till they made him more conſidered by putting him to death on ſuch an account at ſo great a diſtance of time. 1661.

The groſs iniquity of the Court appeared in nothing more eminently than in the favour ſhewed *Maccloud* of *Aſſin*, who had betrayed the Marquis of *Montroſe*, and was brought over upon it. He in priſon ſtruck up to a high pitch of vice and impiety, and gave great entertainments: And that, notwithſtanding the baſeneſs of the man and of his crimes, begot him ſo many friends, that he was let go without any cenſure. The proceedings againſt *Wariſton* were ſoon diſpatched, be being abſent. It was proved, that he had preſented the Remonſtrance, that he had acted under *Cromwell*'s authority, and had ſate as a Peer in his Parliament, that he had confirmed him in his Protectorſhip, and had likewiſe ſate as one of the Committee of Safety: So he was attainted. *Swintoun* had been attainted in the Parliament at *Sterlin* for going over to *Cromwell:* So he was brought before the Parliament to hear what he could ſay, why the ſentence ſhould not be executed. He was then become a Quaker; and did, with a ſort of eloquence that moved the whole houſe, lay out all his own errours, and the ill ſpirit he was in when he committed the things that were charged on him, with ſo tender a ſenſe, that he ſeemed as one indifferent what they ſhould do with him: And, without ſo much as moving for mercy, or even for a delay, he did ſo effectually prevail on them, that they recommended him to the King, as a fit object of his mercy. This was the more eaſily conſented to by the Earl of *Midletoun*, in hatred to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who had got the gift of his eſtate. He had two great pleas in law: The one was, that the record of his attainder at *Sterlin*, with all that had paſs'd in that Parliament, was loſt: The other

Some others were proceeded againſt.

1661. other was, that by the act reſciſſory that Parliament being annulled, all that was done by it was void: But he urged neither, ſince there was matter enough to attaint him anew, if the defects of that ſuppoſed attainder had been obſerved. So till the act of indemnity was paſs'd he was ſtill in danger, having been the man of all *Scotland* that had been the moſt truſted and employed by *Cromwell:* But upon paſſing the act of indemnity he was ſafe.

Midletoun gave an account of all that had paſſed in Parliament to the King.

The ſeſſion of Parliament was now brought to a concluſion, without any motion for an act of indemnity. The ſecret of this was, that ſince Epiſcopacy was to be ſet up, and that thoſe who were moſt like to oppoſe it were on other accounts obnoxious, it was thought beſt to keep them under that fear, till the change ſhould be made. The Earl of *Midletoun* went up to Court full of merit, and as full of pride. He had a mind to be Lord Treaſurer; and told the King, that, if he intended to ſet up Epiſcopacy, the Earl of *Crawford*, who was a noted Preſbyterian, muſt be put out of that poſt: It was the opinion of the King's zeal for that form of government that muſt bear down all the oppoſition that might otherwiſe be made to it: And it would not be poſſible to perſuade the nation of that, as long as they ſaw the white ſtaff in ſuch hands. Therefore, on the firſt day on which a *Scotiſh* Council was called after he came up, he gave a long account of the proceedings of Parliament, and magnified the zeal and loyalty that many had expreſſed, while others that had been not only pardoned, but were highly truſted by the King, had been often cold and backward, and ſometimes plainly againſt the ſervice. The Earl of *Lauderdale* was ill that day: So the Earl of *Crawford* undertook to anſwer this reflection, which he thought was meant of himſelf, for oppoſing the act reſciſſory. He ſaid, he had obſerved ſuch an entire unanimity in carrying on the King's ſervice, that he did not know of any that had acted otherwiſe: And therefore he moved, that the Earl of *Midletoun* might ſpeak plain, and name perſons. The Earl of *Midletoun* deſired to be excuſed: He did not intend to accuſe any: But yet he thought, he was bound to let the King know how he had been ſerved. The Earl of *Crawford* ſtill preſs'd him to ſpeak out after ſo general an accuſation: No doubt, he would inform the King in private who theſe perſons were: And ſince he had already gone ſo far in publick, he thought he ought to go farther. The Earl of *Midletoun* was in ſome confuſion; for he did not expect to be thus attack'd: So to get off he named the oppoſition that the Earl of *Tweedale* had made to the ſentence paſs'd on *Guthry*, not without making indecent reflections on it, as if his proſecution had flowed from the King's reſent-

ments of his behaviour to himſelf: And ſo he turned the matter, 1661.
that the Earl of *Tweedale*'s reflection, which was thought indeed pointed againſt himſelf, ſhould ſeem as meant againſt the King. The Earl of *Crawford* upon this ſaid, that the Earl of *Midletoun* ought to have excepted to the words when they were firſt ſpoken; and no doubt the Parliament would have done the King juſtice: But it was never thought conſiſtent with the liberty of ſpeech in Parliament, to bring men into queſtion afterwards for words ſpoken in any debate, when they were not challenged as ſoon as they were ſpoken. The Earl of *Midletoun* excuſed himſelf: He ſaid, the thing was paſs'd before he made due reflections on it; and ſo aſked pardon for that omiſſion. The Earl of *Crawford* was glad he himſelf had eſcaped, and was ſilent as to the Earl of *Tweedale*'s concern: So, no body offering to excuſe him, an order was preſently ſent down for committing him to priſon, and for examining him upon the words he had ſpoken, and on his meaning in them. That was not a time in which men durſt pretend to privilege, or the freedom of debate: So he did not inſiſt on it; but ſent up ſuch an account of his words, and ſuch an explanation of them, as fully ſatisfied the King. So after the impriſonment of ſome weeks he was ſet at liberty. But this raiſed a great outcry againſt the Earl of *Midletoun*, as a thing that was contrary to the freedom of debate, and deſtructive of the liberty of Parliament. It lay the more open to cenſure, becauſe the Earl of *Midletoun* had accepted of a great entertainment from the Earl of *Tweedale* after *Guthry*'s buſineſs was over: And it ſeemed contrary to the rules of hoſpitality, to have ſuch a deſign in his heart againſt a man in whoſe houſe he had been ſo treated: All the excuſe he made for it was, that he never intended it; but that the Earl of *Crawford* had preſs'd him ſo hard upon the complaint he had made in general, that he had no way of getting out of it without naming ſome particulars; and he had no other ready then at hand.

Another difference of greater moment fell in between him and the Earl of *Crawford*. The Earl of *Midletoun* was now raiſing the guards, that were to be paid out of the exciſe granted by the Parliament. So he moved, that the exciſe might be raiſed by collectors named by himſelf as General, that ſo he might not depend on the Treaſury for the pay of the forces. The Earl of *Crawford* oppoſed this with great advantage, ſince all revenues given the King did by the courſe of law come into the Treaſury. *Scotland* was not in a condition to maintain two Treaſurers: And, as to what was ſaid, of the neceſſity of having the pay of the army well aſcertained and ever ready, otherwiſe it would become a grievance

1661. to the Kingdom, he ſaid, the King was Maſter, and what orders ſoever he thought fit to ſend to the Treaſury, they ſhould be moſt punctually obeyed. But the Earl of *Midletoun* knew, there would be a great overplus of the exciſe beyond the pay of the troops: And he reckoned, that, if the collection was put in his hands, he would eaſily get a grant of the overplus at the year's end. The Earl of *Crawford* ſaid, no ſuch thing was ever pretended to by any General, unleſs by ſuch as ſet up to be independent, and who hoped by that means to make themſelves the maſters of the army. So he carried the point, which was thought a victory. And the Earl of *Midletoun* was much blamed for putting his intereſt at Court on ſuch an iſſue, where the pretenſion was ſo unuſual and ſo unreaſonable.

The next point was concerning Lord *Argile*'s eſtate. The King was inclined to reſtore the Lord *Lorn*; tho' much pains was taken to perſuade him, that all the zeal he had expreſſed in his ſervice was only an artifice between his father and him to preſerve the family in all adventures: It was ſaid, that had been an ordinary practice in *Scotland* for father and ſon to put themſelves in different ſides. The Marquis of *Argile* had taken very extraordinary methods to raiſe his own family to ſuch a ſuperiority in the Highlands, that he was a ſort of a King among them. The Marquis of *Huntly* had married his ſiſter: And during their friendſhip *Argile* was bound with him for ſome of his debts. After that, the Marquis of *Huntly*, as he neglected his affairs, ſo he engaged in the King's ſide, by which *Argile* ſaw he muſt be undone. So he pretended, that he only intended to ſecure himſelf, when he bought in prior mortgages and debts, which, as was believed, were compounded at very low rates. The friends of the Marquis of *Huntly*'s family preſs'd the King hard to give his heirs the confiſcation of that part of *Argile*'s eſtate, in which the Marquis of *Huntly*'s debts, and all the pretenſion on his eſtate were comprehended. And it was given to the Marquis of *Huntly*, now Duke of *Gordon*, then a young child: But no care was taken to breed him a Proteſtant. The Marquis of *Montroſe*, and all others whoſe eſtates had been ruined under *Argile*'s conduct, expected likewiſe reparation out of his eſtate; which was a very great one, but in no way able to ſatisfy all thoſe demands. And it was believed, that the Earl of *Midletoun* himſelf hoped to have carried away the main bulk of it: So that both the Lord *Lorn* and he concurred, tho' with different views, to put a ſtop to all the pretenſions made upon it.

It was reſolved to ſet up Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*.

The point of the greateſt importance then under conſideration was, whether Epiſcopacy ſhould be reſtored in *Scotland*, or not. The

The Earl of *Midletoun* aſſured the King, it was deſired by the greater and honeſter part of the nation. One Synod had as good as petitioned for it: And many others wiſhed for it, tho' the ſhare they had in the late wars made them think it was not fit or decent for them to move for it. *Sharp* aſſured the King, that none but the Proteſtors, of whom he had a very bad opinion, were againſt it; and that of the Reſolutioners there would not be found twenty that would oppoſe it. All thoſe who were for making the change agreed, that it ought to be done now, in the firſt heat of joy after the Reſtoration, and before the act of indemnity paſs'd. The Earl of *Lauderdale* and all his friends on the other hand aſſured the King, that the national prejudice againſt it was ſtill very ſtrong, that thoſe who ſeemed zealous for it ran into it only as a method to procure favour, bnt that thoſe who were againſt it would be found ſtiff and eager in their oppoſition to it, that by ſetting it np the King would loſe the affections of the nation, and that the ſnpporting it would grow a heavy load on his government. The Earl of *Lauderdale* turned all this, that looked like a zeal for Preſbytery, to a dextrous inſinuating himſelf into the King's confidence; as one that deſigned nothing but his greatneſs and his having *Scotland* ſure to him, in order to the executing of any deſign he might afterwards be engaged in. The King went very coldly into the deſign. He ſaid, he remembred well the averſion that he himſelf had obſerved in that nation to any thing that looked like a ſuperiority in the Church. Bnt to that the Earl of *Midletoun* and *Sharp* anſwered, by aſſuring him that the inſolencies committed by the Preſbyterians while they governed, and the ten years uſurpation that had followed, had made ſuch a change in peoples tempers, that they were much altered ſince he had been among them. The King naturally hated Preſbytery: And, having called a new Parliament in *England*, that did with great zeal eſpouſe the intereſts of the Church of *England*, and were now beginning to complain of the evacnating the garriſons held by the army in that Kingdom, he gave way, tho' wtih a viſible reluctancy, to the change of the Church government in *Scotland*. The averſion he ſeemed to expreſs was imputed to his own indifference as to all thoſe matters and to his unwillingneſs to involve his government in new trouble. But the view of things that the Earl of *Lauderdale* had given him was the true root of all that coldneſs. The Earl of *Clarendon* ſet it on with great zeal. And ſo did the Duke of *Ormond*; who ſaid, it would be very hard to maintain the government of the Church in *Ireland*, if Preſbytery continued in *Scotland*; ſince the northern counties, which were the beſt ſtocked of any they had, as they were

1661.

1661. were originally from *Scotland*, ſo they would ſtill follow the way of that nation. Upon all this diverſity of opinion, the thing was propoſed in a *Scotch* Council at *Whitehall*. The Earl of *Crawford* declared himſelf againſt it: But the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, were only for delaying the making any ſuch change, till the King ſhould be better ſatisfied concerning the inclinations of the nation. The reſult of the debate (all the reſt who were preſent being earneſt for the change) was, that a letter was writ to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, intimating the King's intentions for ſetting up Epiſcopacy, and demanding their advice upon it. The Earl of *Glencairn* ordered the letter to be read, having taken care that ſuch perſons ſhould be preſent who he knew would ſpeak warmly for it, that ſo others, who might intend to oppoſe it, might be frightened from doing it. None ſpoke againſt it, but the Earl of *Kincairdin*. He propoſed, that ſome certain methods might be taken, by which they might be well informed, and ſo be able to inform the King of the temper of the nation, before they offered an advice, that might have ſuch effects as might very much perplex, if not diſorder, all their affairs. Some ſmart repartees paſſed between the Earl of *Glencairn* and him. This was all the oppoſition that was made at that boatd. So a letter was writ to the King from thence, encouraging him to go on, and aſſuring him, that the change he intended to make would give a general ſatisfaction to the main body of the nation.

Men ſought out to be Biſhops.

Upon that the thing was reſolved on. It remained after this only to conſider the proper methods of doing it, and the men who ought to be employed in it. *Sheldon* and the *Engliſh* Biſhops had an averſion to all that had been engaged in the Covenant: So they were for ſeeking out all the Epiſcopal Clergy, who had been driven out of *Scotland* in the beginning of the troubles, and preferring them. There was but one of the old Biſhops left alive, *Sydſerfe*, who had been Biſhop of *Galloway*. He had come up to *London*, not doubting but that he ſhould be advanced to the Primacy of *Scotland*. It is true, he had of late done ſome very irregular things: When the act of uniformity requited all men who held any benefices in *England* to be epiſcopally ordained, he, who by obſerving the ill effects of their former violence was become very moderate, with others of the *Scotch* Clergy that gathered about him, did ſet up a very indefenſible practice of ordaining all thoſe of the *Engliſh* Clergy who came to him, and that without demanding either oaths or ſubſcriptions of them. Some believed, that this was done by him, only to ſubſiſt on the fees that aroſe from the letters of orders ſo granted; for he was very

4

very poor. This did ſo diſguſt the *Engliſh* Biſhops at him and his company, that they took no care of him or them. Yet they were much againſt a ſet of Preſbyterian Biſhops. They believed they could have no credit, and that they would have no zeal. This touched *Sharp* to the quick: So he laid the matter before the Earl of *Clarendon*. He ſaid, theſe old Epiſcopal men by their long abſence out of *Scotland* knew nothing of the preſent generation: And by the ill uſage they had met with they were ſo irritated, that they would run matters quickly to great extremities: And, if there was a faction among the Biſhops, ſome valuing themſelves upon their conſtant ſteddineſs, and looking with an ill eye on thoſe who had been carried away with the ſtream, this would divide and diſtract their counſels; whereas a ſet of men of moderate principles would be more uniform in their proceedings. This prevailed with the Earl of *Clarendon*, who ſaw the King ſo remiſs in that matter, that he reſolved to keep things in as great temper as was poſſible. And he, not doubting but that *Sharp* would purſne that in which he ſeemed to be ſo zealous and hot, and carry things with great moderation, perſuaded the Biſhops of *England* to leave the management of that matter wholly to him. And *Sharp*, being aſſured of that at which he had long aimed, laid aſide his maſk; and owned, that he was to be Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*. He ſaid to ſome, from whom I had it, that when he ſaw that the King was reſolved on the change, and that ſome hot men were like to be advanced, whoſe violence would ruin the country, he had ſubmitted to that poſt on deſign to moderate matters, and to cover ſome good men from a ſtorm that might otherwiſe break upon them. So deeply did he ſtill diſſemble: For now he talked of nothing ſo much as of love and moderation. 1661.

Sydſerfe was removed to be Biſhop of *Orkney*, one of the beſt revenues of any of the Biſhopricks in *Scotland:* But it had been almoſt in all times a *Sine-Cure*. He lived little more than a year after his tranſlation. He had died in more eſteem, if he had died a year before it. But *Sharp* was ordered to find out proper men for filling up the other Sees. That care was left entirely to him. The choice was generally very bad.

Two men were brought up to be conſecrated in *England*, *Fairfoul* deſigned for the ſee of *Glaſgow*, and *Hamilton*, brother to the Lord *Belhaven*, for *Galloway*. The former of theſe was a pleaſant and facetious man, inſinuating and crafty: But he was a better phyſician than a divine. His life was ſcarce free from ſcandal: And he was eminent in nothing that belonged to his own function. He had not only ſworn the Covenant, but had per-

1661. ſuaded others to do it. And when one objected to him, that it went againſt his conſcience, he anſwered, there were ſome very good medicines that could not be chewed, but were to be ſwallowed down; and ſince it was plain that a man could not live in *Scotland* unleſs he ſware it, therefore it muſt be ſwallowed down without any farther examination. Whatever the matter was, ſoon after the conſecration his parts ſunk ſo faſt, that in a few months he, who had paſs'd his whole life long for one of the cunningeſt men in *Scotland*, became almoſt a changling; upon which it may be eaſily collected what commentaries the Preſbyterians would make. *Sharp* lamented this to me, as one of their great misfortunes. He ſaid, it began to appear in leſs than a month after he came to *London*. *Hamilton* was a good natured man, but weak. He was always believed Epiſcopal. Yet he had ſo far complied in the time of the Covenant, that he affected a peculiar expreſſion of his counterfeit zeal for their cauſe, to ſecure himſelf from ſuſpicion: When he gave the ſacrament, he excommunicated all that were not true to the Covenant, uſing a form in the Old Teſtament of ſhaking out the lap of his gown; ſaying, ſo did he caſt out of the Church and communion all that dealt falſely in the Covenant.

Biſhop *Leighton*'s character.

With theſe there was a fourth man found out, who was then at *London* at his return from the *Bath*, where he had been for his health: And on him I will enlarge more copiouſly. He was the ſon of Doctor *Leighton*, who had in Archbiſhop *Laud*'s time writ *Zion*'s *plea againſt the Prelates*; for which he was condemned in the Star-Chamber to have his ears cut and his noſe ſlit. He was a man of a violent and ungoverned heat. He ſent his eldeſt ſon *Robert* to be bred in *Scotland*, who was accounted a Saint from his youth up. He had great quickneſs of parts, a lively apprehenſion, with a charming vivacity of thought and expreſſion. He had the greateſt command of the pureſt *Latin* that ever I knew in any man. He was a maſter both of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and of the whole compaſs of theological learning, chiefly in the ſtudy of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the reſt was, he was poſſeſſed with the higheſt and nobleſt ſenſe of divine things that I ever ſaw in any man. He had no regard to his perſon, unleſs it was to mortify it by a conſtant low diet, that was like a perpetual faſt. He had a contempt both of wealth and reputation. He ſeemed to have the loweſt thoughts of himſelf poſſible, and to deſire that all other perſons ſhould think as meanly of him as he did himſelf: He bore all ſorts of ill uſage and reproach, like a man that took pleaſure in it. He had ſo ſubdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents,

dents, and in a courſe of twenty two years intimate converſation with him, I never obſerved the leaſt ſign of paſſion, but upon one ſingle occaſion. He brought himſelf into ſo compoſed a gravity, that I never ſaw him laugh, and but ſeldom ſmile. And he kept himſelf in ſuch a conſtant recollection, that I do not remember that ever I heard him ſay one idle word. There was a viſible tendency in all he ſaid to raiſe his own mind, and thoſe he converſed with, to ſerious reflections. He ſeemed to be in a perpetual meditation. And, tho' the whole courſe of his life was ſtrict and aſcetical, yet he had nothing of the ſourneſs of temper that generally poſſeſſes men of that ſort. He was the freeſt from ſuperſtition, of cenſuring others, or of impoſing his own methods on them, poſſible. So that he did not ſo much as recommend them to others. He ſaid, there was a diverſity of tempers; and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the beſt manner he could. His thoughts were lively, oft out of the way and ſurprizing, yet juſt and genuine. And he had laid together in his memory the greateſt treaſure of the beſt and wiſeſt of all the ancient ſayings of the heathens as well as chriſtians, that I have ever known any man maſter of: And he uſed them in the apteſt manner poſſible. He had been bred up with the greateſt averſion imaginable to the whole frame of the Church of *England*. From *Scotland* his father ſent him to travel. He ſpent ſome years in *France*, and ſpoke that language like one born there. He came afterwards and ſettled in *Scotland*, and had Preſbyterian ordination. But he quickly broke thro' the prejudices of his education. His preaching had a ſublimity both of thought and expreſſion in it. The grace and gravity of his pronounciation was ſuch, that few heard him without a very ſenſible emotion: I am ſure I never did. His ſtyle was rather too fine: But there was a majeſty and beauty in it that left ſo deep an impreſſion, that I cannot yet forget the ſermons I heard him preach thirty years ago. And yet with this he ſeemed to look on himſelf as ſo ordinary a preacher, that while he had a cure he was ready to employ all others: And when he was a Biſhop he choſe to preach to ſmall auditories, and would never give notice before hand: He had indeed a very low voice, and ſo could not be heard by a great croud. He ſoon came to ſee into the follies of the Preſbyterians, and to diſlike their Covenant; particularly the impoſing it, and their fury againſt all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts: Theirs were narrow, as their tempers were ſour. So he grew weary of mixing with them. He ſcarce ever went to their meetings, and lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own pariſh at *Newbottle* near *Edenburgh*. Yet all the oppoſition

1661.

1661. on that he made to them was, that he preached up a more exact rule of life than ſeemed to them conſiſtent with human nature: But his own practice did even outſhine his doctrine.

In the year 1648 he declared himſelf for the engagement for the King. But the Earl of *Lothian*, who lived in his pariſh, had ſo high an eſteem for him, that he perſuaded the violent men not to meddle with him: Tho' he gave occaſion to great exception; for when ſome of his pariſh, who had been in the engagement, were ordered to make publick profeſſion of their repentance for it, he told them, they had been in an expedition, in which, he believed, they had neglected their duty to God, and had been guilty of injuſtice and violence, of drunkenneſs and other immoralities, and he charged them to repent of theſe very ſeriouſly, without meddling with the quarrel or the grounds of that war. He entred into a great correſpondence with many of the Epiſcopal party, and with my own father in particular; and did wholly ſeparate himſelf from the Preſbyterians. At laſt he left them, and withdrew from his cure: For he could not do the things impoſed on him any longer. And yet he hated all contention ſo much, that he choſe rather to leave them in a ſilent manner, than to engage in any diſputes with them. But he had generally the reputation of a Saint, and of ſomething above human nature in him: So the maſterſhip of the College of *Edenburgh* falling vacant ſome time after, and it being in the gift of the city, he was prevail'd with to accept of it, becauſe in it he was wholly ſeparated from all Church matters. He continued ten years in that poſt: And was a great bleſſing in it; for he talked ſo to all the youth of any capacity or diſtinction, that it had great effect on many of them. He preached often to them: And if crouds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his ſermon in *Latin*, with a purity and life that charmed all who underſtood it. Thus he had lived above twenty years in *Scotland*, in the higheſt reputation that any man in my time ever had in that Kingdom.

He had a brother well known at Court, Sir *Eliſha*, who was very like him in face and in the vivacity of his parts, but the moſt unlike him in all other things that can be imagined: For, tho' he loved to talk of great ſublimities in religion, yet he was a very immoral man. He was a Papiſt of a form of his own: But he had changed his religion to raiſe himſelf at Court; for he was at that time Secretary to the Duke of *York*, and was very intimate with the Lord *Aubigny*, a brother of the Duke of *Richmond*'s, who had changed his religion, and was a Prieſt, and had probably been a Cardinal if he had lived a little longer. He maintained

maintained an outward decency, and had more learning and better notions, than men of quality, who enter into orders in that Church, generally have. Yet he was a very vicious man: And that perhaps made him the more conſidered by the King, who loved and truſted him to a high degree. No man had more credit with the King; for he was on the ſecret as to his religion, and was more truſted with the whole deſign, that was then managed in order to eſtabliſh it, than any man whatſoever. Sir *Eliſha* brought his brother and him acquainted: For *Leightoun* loved to know men in all the varieties of religion. 1661.

In the vacation time he made excurſions, and came oft to *London*; where he obſerved all the eminent men in *Cromwell*'s Court, and in the ſeveral parties then about the city of *London*. But he told me, he could never ſee any thing among them that pleaſed him. They were men of unquiet and meddling tempers: And their diſcourſes and ſermons were dry and unſavoury, full of airy cant, or of bombaſt ſwellings. Sometimes he went over to *Flanders*, to ſee what he could find in the ſeveral orders of the Church of *Rome*. There he found ſome of *Janſenius*'s followers, who ſeemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and ſtudied to bring things, if poſſible, to the purity and ſimplicity of the primitive ages; on which all his thoughts were much ſet. He thought controverſies had been too much inſiſted on, and had been carried too far. His brother, who thought of nothing but the raiſing himſelf at Court, fancied that his being made a Biſhop might render himſelf more conſiderable. So he poſſeſſed the Lord *Aubigny* with ſuch an opinion of him, that he made the King apprehend, that a man of his piety and his notions (and his not being married was not forgot) might contribute to carry on their deſign. He fancied ſuch a monaſtick man, who had a great ſtretch of thought, and ſo many other eminent qualities, would be a mean at leaſt to prepare the nation for Popery, if he did not directly come over to them; for his brother did not ſtick to ſay, he was ſure that lay at root with him. So the King named him of his own proper motion, which gave all thoſe that began to ſuſpect the King himſelf great jealouſies of him. *Leightoun* was averſe to this promotion, as much as was poſſible. His brother had great power over him; for he took care to hide his vices from him, and to make before him a ſhew of piety. He ſeemed to be a Papiſt rather in name and ſhew than in reality, of which I will ſet down one inſtance that was then much talked of. Some of the Church of *England* loved to magnify the ſacrament in an extraordinary manner, affirming the real preſence, only blaming the Church of *Rome* for defining the manner of it; ſaying, *Chriſt*

1661. was preſent in a moſt unconceivable manner. This was ſo much the mode, that the King and all the Court went into it. So the King, upon ſome raillery about tranſubſtantiation, aſked Sir *Eliſha* if he believed it. He anſwered, he could not well tell; but he was ſure the Church of *England* believed it. And when the King ſeemed amazed at that, he replied, do not you believe that *Chriſt* is preſent in a moſt unconceivable manner? Which the King granted: Then ſaid he, that is juſt tranſubſtantiation, the moſt unconceivable thing that was ever yet invented. When *Leightoun* was prevailed on to accept a Biſhoprick, he choſe *Dunblane*, a ſmall dioceſe as well as a little revenue. But the Deanry of the Chapel Royal was annexed to that ſee. So he was willing to engage in that, that he might ſet up the Common Prayer in the King's Chapel; for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The *Engliſh* Clergy were well pleaſed with him, finding him both more learned, and more thoroughly theirsin the other points of uniformity, than the reſt of the *Scotch* Clergy, whom they conld not much value. And tho' *Sheldon* did not mnch like his great ſtrictneſs, in which he had no mind to imitate him, yet he thought ſuch a man as he was might give credit to Epiſcopacy, in its firſt introduction to a nation much prejudiced againſt it. *Sharp* did not know what to make of all this. He neither liked his ſtrictneſs of life, nor his notions. He believed, they would not take the ſame methods, and fancied he might be much obſcured by him; for he ſaw he would be well ſupported. He ſaw the Earl of *Lauderdale* began to magnify him. And ſo *Sharp* did all he could to diſcourage him, but without any effect; for he had no regard to him. I bear ſtill the greateſt veneration for the memory of that man that I do for any perſon; and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, and my long and intimate converſation with him, that continned to his death for twenty three years, among the greateſt bleſſings of my life, and for which I know I muſt give an account to God in the great day in a moſt particular manner. And yet, tho' I know this account of his promotion may ſeem a blemiſh upon him, I would not conceal it, being reſolved to write of all perſons and things with all poſſible candor. I had the relation of it from himſelf, and more particularly from his brother. But what hopes ſoever the Papiſts had of him at this time, when he knew nothing of the deſign of bringing in Popery, and had therefore talked of ſome points of Popery with the freedom of an abſtracted and ſpeculative man; yet he expreſſed another ſenſe of the matter, when he came to ſee it was really intended to be brought in among us. He then ſpoke of Popery in the complex

plex at much another rate: And he ſeemed to have more zeal againſt it, than I thought was in his nature with relation to any points in controverſy; for his abſtraction made him ſeem cold in all thoſe matters. But he gave all who converſed with him a very different view of Popery, when he ſaw we were really in danger of coming under the power of a religion, that had, as he uſed to ſay, much of the wiſedom that was earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh, but had nothing in it of the wiſedom that was from above, and was pure and peaceable. He did indeed think the corruptions and cruelties of Popery were ſuch groſs and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that Church under thoſe juſt and viſible prejudices, but the ſeveral orders among them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world, and with all the traſh that was among them maintained a face of piety and devotion. He alſo thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of thoſe houſes, and of that courſe of life, free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preſerved: So that the Proteſtant Churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers. I have dwelt long upon this man's character. But it was ſo ſingular that it ſeemed to deſerve it. And I was ſo ſingularly bleſs'd by knowing him as I did, that I am ſure he deſerved it of me, that I ſhould give ſo full aview of him; which I hope may be of ſome uſe to the world. 1661.

When the time fixed for the conſecration of the Biſhops of *Scotland* came on, the *Engliſh* Biſhops finding that *Sharp* and *Leightoun* had not Epiſcopal ordination, as Prieſts and Deacons, the other two having been ordained by Biſhops before the wars, they ſtood upon it, that they muſt be ordain'd, firſt Deacons and then Prieſts. *Sharp* was very uneaſie at this, and remembred them of what had happened when King *James* had ſet up Epiſcopacy. Biſhop *Andrews* moved at that time the ordaining them, as was now propoſed: But that was overruled by King *James*, who thought it went too far towards the unchurching of all thoſe who had no Biſhops among them. But the late war, and the diſputes during that time, had raiſed theſe controverſies higher, and brought men to ſtricter notions, and to maintain them with more fierceneſs. The *Engliſh* Biſhops did alſo ſay, that by the late act of uniformity that matter was more poſitively ſettled, than it had been before; ſo that they could not legally conſecrate any, but thoſe who were, according to that conſtitution, made firſt Prieſts and Deacons. They alſo made this difference between the preſent time and King *James*'s: For then the *Scots* were only in an imperfect ſtate, having never had Biſhops among them ſince the Refor- The *Scotiſh* Biſhops conſecrated.

1661. Reformation; ſo in ſuch a ſtate of things, in which they had been under a real neceſſity, it was reaſonable to allow of their orders, how defective ſoever: But that of late they had been in a ſtate of ſchiſm, had revolted from their Biſhops, and had thrown off that order; ſo that orders given in ſuch a wilful oppoſition to the whole conſtitution of the primitive Church was a thing of another nature. They were poſitive in the point, and would not diſpenſe with it. *Sharp* ſtuck more at it, than could have been expected from a man that had ſwallowed down greater matters. *Leightoun* did not ſtand much upon it. He did not think orders given without Biſhops were null and void. He thought, the forms of government were not ſettled by ſuch poſitive laws as were unalterable; but only by Apoſtolical practices, which, as he thought, authoriſed Epiſcopacy as the beſt form. Yet he did not think it neceſſary to the being of a Church. But he thought that every Church might make ſuch rules of ordination as they pleaſed, and that they might re-ordain all that came to them from any other Church; and that the re-ordaining a Prieſt ordained in another Church imported no more, but that they received him into orders according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received. Theſe two were upon this privately ordained Deacons and Prieſts. And then all the four were conſecrated publickly in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*. *Leightoun* told me, he was much ſtruck with the feaſting and jollity of that day: It had not ſuch an appearance of ſerioufneſs or piety, as became the new modelling of a Church. When that was over, he made ſome attempts to work up *Sharp* to the two deſigns which poſſeſſed him moſt. The one was, to try what could be done towards the uniting the Preſbyterians and them. He offered *Uſher*'s reduction, as the plan upon which they ought to form their ſchemes. The other was, to try how they could raiſe men to a truer and higher ſenſe of piety, and bring the worſhip of that Church out of their *extempore* methods into more order; and ſo to prepare them for a more regular way of worſhip, which he thought was of much more importance than a form of government. But he was amazed, when he obſerved that *Sharp* had neither formed any ſcheme, nor ſeemed ſo much as willing to talk of any. He reckoned, they would be eſtabliſhed in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, and ſo would be legally poſſeſſed of their Biſhopricks: And then every Biſhop was to do the beſt he could to get all once to ſubmit to his authority: And when that point was carried, they might proceed to other things, as ſhould be found expedient: But he did not care to lay down any ſcheme. *Fairfoul*, when he talked

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to him, had always a merry tale ready at hand to divert him: 1661.
So that he avoided all ſerious diſcourſe, and indeed did not ſeem capable of any. By theſe means *Leightoun* quickly loſt all heart and hope; and ſaid often to me upon it, that in the whole progreſs of that affair there appeared ſuch croſs characters of an angry providence, that, how fully ſoever he was ſatisfied in his own mind as to Epiſcopacy itſelf, yet it ſeemed that God was againſt them, and that they were not like to be the men that ſhould build up his Church; ſo that the ſtruggling about it ſeemed to him like a fighting againſt God. He who had the greateſt hand in it proceeded with ſo much diſſimulation; and the reſt of the order were ſo mean, and ſo ſelfiſh; and the Earl of *Midletoun*, with the other ſecular men that conducted it, were ſo openly impious and vitious, that it did caſt a reproach on every thing relating to religion to ſee it managed by ſuch inſtruments.

All the ſteps that were made afterwards were of a piece with 1662.
this melancholy beginning. Upon the conſecration of the Biſhops, the Preſbyteries of *Scotland* that were ſtill ſitting began now to declare openly againſt Epiſcopacy, and to prepare proteſtations, or other acts or inſtruments, againſt them. Some were talking of entring into new engagements againſt the ſubmitting to them. So *Sharp* moved, that, ſince the King had ſet up Epiſcopacy, a Proclamation might be iſſued out, forbiddnig Clergymen to meet together in any Preſbytery, or other judicatory, till the Biſhops ſhould ſettle a method of proceeding in them. Upon the ſetting out this Proclamation, a general obedience was given to it: Only the miniſters, to keep up a ſhew of acting on an Eccleſiaſtick authority, met once and entred into their Books a proteſtation againſt the Proclamation, as an invaſion on the liberties of the Church, to which they declared they gave obedience only for a time, and for peace ſake. *Sharp* procured this without any advice: And it proved very fatal. For when King *James* brought in the Biſhops before, they had ſtill ſuffered the inferiour judicatories to continue ſitting, till the Biſhops came, and ſate down among them: Some of them proteſted indeed againſt that: Yet they ſate on ever after: And ſo the whole Church had a face of unity, while all ſate together in the ſame judicatories, tho' upon different principles. The old Preſbyterians ſaid, they ſate ſtill as in a Court ſettled by the laws of the Church and State: And tho' they looked on the Biſhops ſitting among them, and aſſuming a negative vote, as an uſurpation, yet, they ſaid, it did not infer a nullity on the Court: Whereas now, by this ſilencing theſe Courts, the caſe was much alter-

The meetings of the Presbyteries forbidden.

1662. ed. For if they had continued ſitting, and the Biſhops had come among them, they would have ſaid, it was like the bearing with an uſurpation, when there was no remedy: And what proteſtations ſoever they might have made, or what oppoſition ſoever they might have given the Biſhops, that would have been kept within their own walls, but would not have broken out into ſuch a diſtraction, as the nation was caſt into upon this: All the oppoſition that might have been made would have died with thoſe few that were diſpoſed to make it: And, upon due care to fill the vacant places with worthy and well affected men, the nation might have been brought off from their prejudices. But theſe Courts being now once broken, and brought together afterwards by a ſort of connivance, without any legal authority, only as the Biſhops aſſiſtants and officials, to give him advice, and to act in his name, they pretended they could not ſit in them any more, unleſs they ſhould change their principles and become throughly Epiſcopal, which was too great a turn to be ſoon brought about. So fatally did *Sharp* precipitate matters. He affected to have the reins of the Church wholly put into his hands. The Earl of *Lauderdale* was not ſorry to ſee him commit errors; ſince the worſe things were managed, his advices would be thereby the more juſtified. And the Earl of *Midletoun* and his party took no care of any buſineſs, being almoſt perpetually drunk: By which they came in a great meaſure to looſe the King. For, tho', upon a frolick, the King, with a few in whoſe company he took pleaſure, would ſometimes run into exceſs, yet he did it ſeldom, and had a very bad opinion of all that got into the habit and love of drunkenneſs.

The new Biſhops came down to *Scotland*.

The Biſhops came down to *Scotland* ſoon after their conſecration, all in one coach. *Leightoun* told me, he believed they were weary of him, for he was very weary of them: But he, finding they intended to be received at *Edenburgh* with ſome pomp, left them at *Morpeth*, and came to *Edenburgh* a few days before them. He hated all the appearances of vanity. He would not have the title of Lord given him by his friends, and was not eaſy when others forced it on him. In this I always thought him too ſtiff: It provoked the other Biſhops, and looked like ſingularity and affectation, and furniſhed thoſe that were prejudiced againſt him with a ſpecious appearance, to repreſent him as a man of odd notions and practices. The Lord Chancellour, with all the Nobility and Privy Councellours, then at *Edenburgh*, went out, together with the Magiſtracy of the city, and brought the Biſhops in, as in triumph. I looked on; And tho' I was thoroughly Epiſcopal, yet I thought there was ſomewhat in the

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pomp of that entry, that did not look like the humility that became their function: Soon after their arrival, ſix other Biſhops were conſecrated, but not ordained Prieſts and Deacons. The See of *Edenburgh* was for ſome time kept vacant. *Sharp* hoped that *Douglas* might be prevailed on to accept it: But he would enter into no treaty about it. So the Earl of *Midletoun* forced upon *Sharp* one *Wiſhart*, who had been the Marquis of *Montroſe*'s chaplain, and had been taken priſoner, and uſed with ſo much cruelty in the jayl of *Edenburgh*, that it ſeem'd but juſtice to advance a man in that place, where he had ſuffer'd ſo much. 1662.

The ſeſſion of Parliament came on in *April* 1662: Where the firſt thing that was propoſed by the Earl of *Midletoun* was, that ſince the act reſciſſory had annulled all the Parliaments after that held in the year 1633, the former laws in favour of Epiſcopacy were now again in force, the King had reſtored that function which had been ſo long glorious in the Church, and for which his bleſſed father had ſuffered ſo much: And tho' the Biſhops had a right to come and take their place in Parliament, yet it was a piece of reſpect to ſend ſome of every ſtate to invite them to come, and ſit among them. This was agreed to: So upon the meſſage the Biſhops came and took their places. *Leightoun* went not with them, as indeed he never came to Parliament but when there was ſomething before them that related to religion, or to the Church. They were brought into Parliament.

The firſt act that paſſed in this ſeſſion was for reſtoring Epiſcopacy, and ſettling the government of the Church in their hands. *Sharp* had the framing of this act, as *Primeroſe* told me. The whole government and juriſdiction of the Church in the ſeveral dioceſes was declared to be lodged in the Biſhops, which they were to exerciſe with the advice and aſſiſtance of ſuch of their clergy, as were of known loyalty and prudence: All men that held any benefice in the Church were required to own and ſubmit to the government of the Church, as now by law eſtabliſhed. This was plainly the ſetting Epiſcopacy on another bottom, than it had been ever on in *Scotland* before this time: For the whole body of the Preſbyterians did formerly maintain ſuch a ſhare in the adminiſtration, that the Biſhops had never pretended to any more, than to be their ſettled Preſidents with a negative voice upon them. But now it was ſaid, that the whole power was lodged ſimply in the Biſhop, who was only bound to carry along with him in the adminiſtration ſo many Preſbyters, as he thought fit to ſingle out, as his adviſers and aſſiſtants; which was the taking all power out of the body of the Clergy: Church judicatories were now made only the Biſhop's aſſiſtants: And the few of the

1662. the Clergy that muſt aſſiſt being to be pickt out by him, that was only a matter of ſhew; nor had they any authority lodged with them, all that being veſted only in the Biſhop: Nor did it eſcape cenſure, that among the qualifications of thoſe Preſbyters that were to be the Biſhop's adviſers and aſſiſtants, loyalty and prudence were only named; and that piety and learning were forgot, which muſt always be reckoned the firſt qualifications of the Clergy. As to the obligation to own and ſubmit to the government thus eſtabliſhed by law, they ſaid, it was hard to ſubmit to ſo high an authority as was now lodged with the Biſhops; but to require them to own it, ſeemed to import an antecedent approving, or at leaſt a ſubſequent juſtifying of ſuch an authority, which carried the matter far beyond a bare obedience, even to an impoſing upon conſcience. Theſe were not only the exceptions made by the Preſbyterians, but by the Epiſcopal men themſelves, who had never carried the argument farther in *Scotland*, than for a precedency, with ſome authority in ordination, and a negative in matters of juriſdiction. They thought, the body of the Clergy ought to be a check upon the Biſhops, and that, without the conſent of the majority, they ought not to be legally impowered to act in ſo imperious a manner, as was warranted by this act. Many of them would never ſubſcribe to this form of owning and ſubmitting: And the more prudent Biſhops did not impoſe it on their Clergy. The whole frame of the act was liable to great cenſure. It was thought an unexcuſable piece of madneſs, that, when a government was brought in upon a nation ſo averſe to it, the firſt ſtep ſhould carry their power ſo high. All the Biſhops, except *Sharp*, diſowned their having any ſhare in the penning this act; which indeed was paſs'd in haſte, without due conſideration. Nor did any of the Biſhops, no not *Sharp* himſelf, ever carry their authority ſo high, as by the act they were warranted to do. But all the enemies to Epiſcopacy had this act ever in their mouths, to excuſe their not ſubmitting to it; and ſaid, it aſſerted a greater ſtretch of authority in Biſhops, than they themſelves thought fit to aſſume.

Scruples about the oath of ſupremacy.

Soon after that act paſs'd, ſome of the Preſbyterian preachers were ſummoned to anſwer before the Parliament for ſome reflections made in their ſermons againſt Epiſcopacy. But nothing could be made of it: For their words were general, and capable of different ſenſes. So it was reſolved, for a proof of their loyalty, to tender them the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy. That had been enacted in the former Parliament, and was refuſed by none, but the Earl of *Caſſilis*. He deſired, that an explanation might be made of the ſupremacy: The words of the oath

were large: And when the oath was enacted in *England*, a clear explanation was given in one of the articles of the Church of *England*, and more copiouſly afterwards in a diſcourſe by Archbiſhop *Uſher*, publiſhed by King *James*'s order. But the Parliament would not ſatisfy him ſo far. And they were well pleaſed to ſee ſcruples raiſed about the oath, that ſo a colour might be put on their ſeverities againſt ſuch as ſhould refuſe it, as being men that refuſed to ſwear allegiance to the King. Upon that the Earl of *Caſſilis* left the Parliament, and quitted all his employments: For he was a man of a moſt inflexible firmneſs. Many ſaid, there was no need of an explanation, ſince how ambiguous ſoever the words might be in themſelves, yet that oath, being brought to *Scotland* from *England*, ought to be underſtood in the ſame ſenſe in which it was impoſed in that Kingdom. On the other hand, there was juſt reaſon for ſome mens being tender in ſo ſacred a matter as an oath. The Earl of *Caſſilis* had offered to take the oath, provided he might join his explanation to it. The Earl of *Midletoun* was contented to let him ſay what he pleaſed, but he would not ſuffer him to put it in writing. The Miniſters, to whom it was now tendred, offered to take it upon the ſame terms; and in a petition to the Lords of the articles they offered their explanation. Upon that a debate aroſe, whether an act explanatory of the oath ſhould be offered to the Parliament, or not. This was the firſt time that *Leightoun* appear in Parliament. He preſſed, it might be done, with much zeal. He ſaid, the land mourned by reaſon of the many oaths that had been taken: The words of this oath were certainly capable of a bad ſenſe: In compaſſion to Papiſts a limited ſenſe had been put on them in *England:* And he thought there ſhould be a like tenderneſs ſhewed to Proteſtants, eſpecially when the ſcruple was juſt, and there was an oath in the caſe, in which the matter ought certainly to be made clear: To act otherwiſe looked like the laying ſnares for people, and the making men offenders for a word. *Sharp* took this ill from him, and replied upon him with great bitterneſs: And ſaid, it was below the dignity of government to make acts to ſatisfie the weak ſcruples of peeviſh men: It ill became them, who had impoſed their Covenant on all people without any explanation, and had forced all to take it, now to expect ſuch extraordinary favours. *Leightoun* inſiſted, that it ought to be done for that very reaſon, that all people might ſee a difference between the mild proceedings of the government now, and their ſeverity: And that it ill became the very ſame perſons, who had complained of that rigour, now to practiſe it themſelves; for thus it may be ſaid, the world goes mad by turns. This was 1662.

1662. ill taken by the Earl of *Midletoun*, and all his party: For they deſigned to keep the matter ſo, that the Preſbyterians ſhould be poſſeſſed with many ſcruples on this head; and that, when any of the party ſhould be brought before them, whom they believed in fault, but had not full proof againſt, the oath ſhould be tendred as the trial of their allegiance, and that on their refuſing it they ſhould cenſure them as they thought fit. So the Miniſters petition was rejected, and they were required to take the oath as it ſtood in the law, without putting any ſenſe upon it. They refuſed to do it, and were upon that condemned to perpetual baniſhment, as men that denied allegiance to the King. And by this an engine was found out to baniſh as many as they pleaſed: For the reſolution was taken up by the whole party to refuſe it, unleſs with an explanation. So ſoon did men forget all their former complaints of the ſeverity of impoſing oaths, and began to ſet on foot the ſame practices now, when they had it in their power to do it. But how unbecoming ſoever this rigour might be in laymen, it was certainly much more indecent when managed by Clergy-men. And the ſupremacy which was now turned againſt the Preſbyterians was, not long after this, laid much heavier on the Biſhops themſelves: And then they deſired an explanation, as much as the Preſbyterians did now, but could not obtain it.

The Parliament was not ſatisfied with this oath: For they apprehended, that many would infer, that, ſince it came from *England*, it ought to be underſtood in the publick and eſtabliſhed ſenſe of the words that was paſs'd there, both in an article of doctrine and in an act of Parliament. Therefore another oath was likewiſe taken from the *Engliſh* pattern, of abjuring the Covenant; both the League and the national Covenant. It is true, this was only impoſed on men in the magiſtracy, or in publick employments. By it all the Preſbyterians were turned out: For this oath was decried by the Miniſters as little leſs than open apoſtacy from God, and a throwing off their baptiſmal Covenant.

Debates about an act of indemnity.

The main buſineſs of this ſeſſion of Parliament, now that Epiſcopacy was ſettled, and theſe oaths were enacted, was the paſſing of the act of indemnity. The Earl of *Midletoun* had obtained of the King an inſtruction to conſent to the fining of the chief offenders, or to other puniſhments not extending to life. This was intended to enrich him and his party, ſince all the rich and great offenders would be ſtruck with the terror of this, and chooſe rather to make him a good preſent, than to be fined on record, as guilty perſons. This matter was debated at the Coun-

cil

cil in *Whitehall*. The Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Crawford* argued againſt it. They ſaid, the King had granted a full indemnity in *England*, out of which none were excepted bnt the regicides: It ſeemed therefore an unkind and an unequal way of proceeding towards *Scotland*, that had merited eminently at the King's hands ever ſince the year 1648, and ſuffered much for it, that the one Kingdom ſhould not have the ſame meaſure of grace and pardon that was granted in the other. The Earl of *Midletoun* anſwered, that all he deſired was in favour of the loyal party in *Scotland*, who were undone by their adhering to the King: The revenue of the Crown was too ſmall, and too much charged, to repair their loſſes: So the King had no other way to be jnſt to them, but to make their enemies pay for their rebellion. Some plauſible limitations were offered to the fines to which any ſhould be condemned; as that they ſhould be only for offences committed ſince the year 1650, and that no man ſhould be fined in above a year's rent of his eſtate. Theſe were agreed to. So he had an inſtruction to paſs an act of indemnity, with a power of fining reſtrain'd to theſe rules. There was one Sir *George Mackenzie*, ſince made Lord *Tarbot* and Earl of *Cromarty*, a young man of great vivacity of parts, but full of ambition, and had the art to recommend himſelf to all ſides and parties by turns, and has made a great figure in that country now above fifty years. He had great notions of vertue and religion: But they were only notions, at leaſt they have not had great effect on himſelf at all times. He became now the Earl of *Midletoun*'s chief favourite. *Primeroſe* was grown rich and cantions: And his maxim having always been, that, when he apprehended a change, he ought to lay in for it by courting the ſide that was depreſſed, that ſo in the next turn he might ſecure friends to himſelf, he began to think that the Earl of *Midletoun* went too faſt to hold out long. He had often adviſed him to manage the buſineſs of reſtoring Epiſcopacy in a ſlow progreſs. He had formed a ſcheme, by which it would have been the work of ſeven years. But the Earl of *Midletoun*'s heat, and *Sharp*'s vehemence, ſpoiled all his project. The Earl of *Midletoun* after his own diſgrace ſaid often to him, that his advices had been always wiſe and faithful: But he thought Princes were more ſenſible of ſervices, and more apt to reflect on them, and to reward them, than he found they were. 1662.

When the ſettlement of Epiſcopacy was over, the next care was to prepare the act of indemnity. Some propoſed, that, beſides the power of fining, they ſhould move the King, that he would conſent to an inſtruction, impowering them likewiſe to put ſome under an incapacity to hold any publick trnſt. This had never

It was deſired that ſome might be incapacitated.

1662. been propoſed in publick. But the Earl of *Midletoun* pretended, that many of the beſt affected of the Parliament had propoſed it in private to himſelf. So he ſent the Lord *Tarbot* up to the King with two draughts of an act of indemnity, the one containing an exception of ſome perſons to be fined, and the other containing likewiſe a clauſe for the incapacitating of ſome, not exceeding twelve, from all publick truſt. He was ordered to lay both before the King: The one was penned according to the Earl of *Midletoun*'s inſtructions: The other was drawn at the deſire of the Parliament, for which he prayed an inſtruction, if the King thought fit to approve of it. The Earl of *Lauderdale* had no apprehenſion of any deſign againſt himſelf in the motion. So he made no objection to it. And an inſtruction was drawn, impowering the Earl of *Midletoun* to paſs an act with that clauſe. *Tarbot* was then much conſidered at Court, as one of the moſt extraordinary men that *Scotland* had produced, and was the better liked, becauſe he was looked on as the perſon that the Earl of *Midletoun* intended to ſet up in the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s room, who was then ſo much hated, that nothing could have preſerved him but the courſe that was taken to ruine him. So Lord *Tarbot* went back to *Scotland*. And the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Newburgh* went down with him, by whoſe wild and ungoverned extravagancies the Earl of *Midletoun*'s whole conduct fell under ſuch an univerſal odium, and ſo much contempt, that, as his own ill management forced the King to put an end to his miniſtry, ſo he could not have ſerved there much longer with any reputation.

One inſtance of unuſual ſeverity was, that a letter of the Lord *Lorn*'s to the Lord *Duffus* was intercepted, in which he did a little too plainly, but very truly, complain of the practices of his enemies in endeavouring to poſſeſs the King againſt him by many lies: But he ſaid, he had now diſcovered them, and had defeated them, and had gained the perſon upon whom the chief among them depended. This was the Earl of *Clarendon*, upon whom the Earl of *Berkſhire* had wrought ſo much, that he reſolved to oppoſe his reſtoration no more: And for this the Earl of *Berkſhire* was to have a thouſand pounds. This letter was carried into the Parliament, and complained of as leaſing-making; ſince Lord *Lorn* pretended, he had diſcovered the lies of his enemies to the King, which was a ſowing diſſenſion between the King and his ſubjects, and the creating in the King an ill opinion of them. So the Parliament deſired, the King would ſend him down to be tried upon it. The King thought the letter very indiſcreetly writ, but could not ſee any thing in it that was criminal. Yet, in compliance with the deſire

deſire of ſo zealous a Parliament, Lord *Lorn* was ſent down upon his parole: But the King writ poſitively to the Earl of *Midletoun*, not to proceed to the execution of any ſentence that might paſs upon him. Lord *Lorn* upon his appearance was made a priſoner: And an indictment was brought againſt him for leaſing-making. He made no defence: But in a long ſpeech he ſet out the great provocation he had been under, the many libels that had been printed againſt him: Some of theſe had been put in the King's own hands, to repreſent him as unworthy of his grace and favour: So, after all that hard uſage, it was no wonder, if he had writ with ſome ſharpneſs: But he proteſted, he meant no harm to any perſon; his deſign being only to preſerve and ſave himſelf from the malice and lies of others, and not to make lies of any. In concluſion, he ſubmitted to the juſtice of the Parliament, and caſt himſelf on the King's mercy. He was upon this condemned to die, as guilty of leaſing-making: And the day of his execution was left to the Earl of *Midletoun* by the Parliament. 1662. *Lorn* condemned.

I never knew any thing more generally cried out on than this was, unleſs it was the ſecond ſentence paſs'd on him twenty years after this, which had more fatal effects, and a more tragical concluſion. He was certainly born to be the ſignaleſt inſtance in this age of the rigour, or rather of the mockery, of juſtice. All that was ſaid at this time to excuſe the proceeding was, that it was certain his life was in no danger. But ſince that depended on the King, it did not excuſe thoſe who paſs'd ſo baſe a ſentence, and left to poſterity the precedent of a Parliamentary judgment, by which any man may be condemned for a letter of common news. This was not all the fury with which this matter was driven: For an act was paſs'd againſt all perſons, who ſhould move the King for reſtoring the children of thoſe who were attainted by Parliament; which was an unheard-of reſtraint on applications to the King for his grace and mercy. This the Earl of *Midletoun* alſo paſs'd, tho' he had no inſtruction for it. There was no penalty put in the act: For it was a maxim of the pleaders for prerogative, that the fixing a puniſhment was a limitation on the Crown: Whereas an act forbidding any thing, tho' without a penalty, made the offenders criminal: And in that caſe they did reckon, that the puniſhment was arbitrary; only that it could not extend to life. A Committee was next appointed for ſetting the fines. They proceeded without any regard to the rules the King had ſet them. The moſt obnoxious compounded ſecretly. No conſideration was had either of mens crimes, or of their eſtates: No proofs were brought. Enquiries were not ſo much as made: But as men were delated, they were marked down

1662. for ſuch a fine: And all was tranſacted in a ſecret Committee. When the liſt of the men and of their fines was read in Parliament, exceptions were made to divers; particularly ſome who had been under age all the time of tranſgreſſion, and others abroad. But to every thing of that kind an anſwer was made, that there would come a proper time in which every man was to be heard in his own defence: For the meaning of ſetting the fine was only this, that ſuch perſons ſhould have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unleſs they paid the fine: Therefore every one that could ſtand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, was thereby free from the fine, which was only his compoſition for the grace and pardon of the act. So all paſs'd in that great hurry.

Some incapacitated by ballot

The other point, concerning the incapacity, was carried farther than was perhaps intended at firſt; tho' the Lord *Tarbot* aſſured me, he had from the beginning deſigned it. It was infuſed into all people, that the King was weary of the Earl of *Lauderdale*, but that he could not decently throw him off, and that therefore the Parliament muſt help him with a fair pretence for doing it. Yet others were very apprehenſive, that the King could not approve of a Parliament's falling upon a Miniſter. So Lord *Tarbot* propoſed two expedients. The one was, that no perſon ſhould be named, but that every member ſhould do it by ballot, and ſhould bring twelve names in a paper; and that a ſecret Committee of three of every Eſtate ſhould make the ſcrutiny; and that they, without making any report to the Parliament, ſhould put thoſe twelve names on whom the greater number fell in the act of incapacity; which was to be an act apart, and not made a clauſe of the act of indemnity. This was taken from the oſtraciſm in *Athens*, and ſeemed the beſt method in an act of oblivion, in which all that was paſs'd was to be forgotten: And no ſeeds of feuds would remain, when it was not ſo much as known againſt whom any one had voted. The other expedient was, that a clauſe ſhould be put in the act, that it ſhould have no force, and that the names in it ſhould never be publiſhed, unleſs the King ſhould approve of it. By this means it was hoped, that, if the King ſhould diſlike the whole thing, yet it would be eaſy to ſoften that, by letting him ſee how entirely the act was in his power. Emiſſaries were ſent to every Parliament man, directing him how to make his liſt, that ſo the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Crawford*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, might be three of the number. This was managed ſo carefully, that by a great majority they were three of the incapacitated perſons. The Earl of *Midletoun* paſs'd the act, tho' he had no inſtruction about it in this form.

The matter was ſo ſecretly carried, that it was not let out till the day before it was done: For they reckoned their ſucceſs in it was to depend on the ſecrecy of it, and in their carrying it to the King, before he ſhould be poſſeſſed againſt it by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, or his party. So they took great care to viſit the packet, and to ſtop any that ſhould go to Court poſt: And all people were under ſuch terror, that no courage was left. Only Lord *Lorn* ſent one on his own horſes, who was to go on in croſs roads, till he got into *Yorkſhire*; for they had ſecured every ſtage to *Durham*. By this means the Earl of *Lauderdale* had the news three days before the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* got to Court. He carried it preſently to the King, who could ſcarce believe it. But when he ſaw by the letters that it was certainly true, he aſſured the Earl of *Lauderdale*, that he would preſerve him, and never ſuffer ſuch a deſtructive precedent to paſs. He ſaid, he looked for no better upon the Duke of *Richmond*'s going to *Scotland*, and his being perpetually drunk there. This mortified the Earl of *Lauderdale*; for it looked like the laying in an excuſe for the Earl of *Midletoun*. From the King, by his orders, he went to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and told all to him. He was amazed at it; and ſaid, that certainly he had ſome ſecret friend that had got into their confidence, and had perſuaded them to do as they had done on deſign to ruine them. But growing more ſerious, he added, he was ſure the King on his own account would take care not to ſuffer ſuch a thing to paſs: Otherwiſe no man could ſerve him: If way was given to ſuch a method of proceeding, he himſelf would go out of his dominions as faſt as his gout would ſuffer him. 1662. The King was diſpleaſed with this.

Two days after this the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* came to Court. They brought the act of incapacity ſealed up, together with a letter from the Parliament, magnifying the Earl of *Midletoun*'s ſervices, and another letter ſigned by ten of the Biſhops, ſetting forth his zeal for the Church, and his care of them all: And in particular they ſet out the deſign he was then on, of going round ſome of the worſt affected counties to ſee the Church eſtabliſhed in them, as a work that was highly meritorious. At the ſame time he ſent over the Earl of *Newburgh* to *Ireland*, to engage the Duke of *Ormond* to repreſent to the King the good effects that they began to feel in that Kingdom from the Earl of *Midletoun*'s adminiſtration in *Scotland*, hoping the King would not diſcourage, much leſs change ſo faithful a miniſter. The King received the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* very coldly. When they delivered the act of incapacity to him, he aſſured them, it ſhould never be open'd by him; and ſaid, their laſt

1662. laſt actings were like madmen, or like men that were perpetually drunk. Lord *Tarbot* ſaid, all was yet entire, and in his hands, the act being to live or to die as he pleaſed: He magnified the Earl of *Midletoun*'s zeal in his ſervice, and the loyal affections of his Parliament, who had on this occaſion conſulted both the King's ſafety, and his honour: The incapacity act was only intended, to put it out of the power of men, who had been formerly bad inſtruments, to be ſo any more: And even that was ſubmitted by them to the King's judgment. The King heard them patiently, and, without any farther diſcourſe on the ſubject, diſmiſſed them: So they hoped they had mollified him. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* turned the matter upon the Earl of *Midletoun* and Lord *Tarbot*, who had made the King believe that the Parliament deſired leave to incapacitate ſome, whereas no ſuch deſire had ever been made in Parliament: And then, after that the King upon that miſrepreſentation had given way to it, the Parliament was made believe that the King deſired that ſome might be put under that cenſure: So that the abuſe had been equally put on both: Honours went by ballot at *Venice*: But puniſhments had never gone ſo, ſince the oſtraciſm at *Athens*, which was the factious practice of a jealous Commonwealth, never to be ſet up as a precedent under a Monarchy: Even the *Athenians* were aſhamed of it, when *Ariſtides*, the juſteſt man among them, fell under the cenſure: And they laid it aſide not long after.

Great pains taken to excuſe *Midletoun*.

The Earl of *Clarendon* gave up the thing as inexcuſable: But he ſtudied to preſerve the Earl of *Midletoun*. The change newly made in the Church of *Scotland* had been managed by him with zeal and ſucceſs: But tho' it was well begun, yet if theſe laws were not maintained by a vigorous execution, the Preſbyterians, who were quite diſpirited by the ſteddineſs of his conduct, would take heart again; eſpecially if they ſaw the Earl of *Lauderdale* grow upon him, whom they looked on as theirs in his heart: So he prayed the King to forgive one ſingle fault, that came after ſo much merit. He alſo ſent advices to the Earl of *Midletoun* to go on in his care of eſtabliſhing the Church, and to get the Biſhops to ſend up copious accounts of all that he had done. The King ordered him to come up, and to give him an account of the affairs in *Scotland*. But he repreſented the abſolute neceſſity of ſeeing ſome of the laws lately made put in execution: For it was hoped, the King's diſpleaſure would be allayed, and go off, if ſome time could be but gained.

The Presbyterian Miniſters ſilenced.

One act paſs'd in the laſt Parliament that reſtored the rights of patronage, the taking away of which even Preſbytery could not carry till the year 1649, in which they had the Parliament entirely

tirely in their hands. Then the election of Miniſters was put in the Church ſeſſion and the lay elders: So that, from that time all that had been admitted to Churches came in without preſentations. One clauſe in the act declared all theſe incumbents to be unlawful poſſeſſors: Only it indemnified them for what was paſt, and required them before *Michaelmaſs* to take preſentations from the patrons, who were obliged to give them being demanded, and to get themſelves to be inſtituted by the Biſhops; otherwiſe their Churches were declared vacant on *Michaelmaſs* day. This took in all the young and hot men: So the Preſbyterians had many meetings about it, in which they all reſolved not to obey the act. They reckoned, the taking inſtitution from a Biſhop was ſuch an owning of his authority, that it was a renouncing of all their former principles: Whereas ſome few that had a mind to hold their benefices, thonght that was only a ſecular law for a legal right to their tithes and benefices, and had no relation to their ſpiritual concerns; and therefore they thought they might ſubmit to it, eſpecially where Biſhops were ſo moderate as to impoſe no ſubſcription npon them, as the greater part were. But the reſolution taken by the main body of the Preſbyterians was, to pay no obedience to any of the acts made in this ſeſſion, and to look on, and ſee what the State would do. The Earl of *Midletoun* was naturally fierce, and that was heightened by the ill ſtate of his affairs at Court: So he reſolved on a punctual execution of the law. He and all about him were at this time ſo conſtantly diſordered by high entertainments and other exceſſes, that, even in the ſhort intervals between their drunken bonts, they were not cool nor calm enough to conſider what they were doing. He had alſo ſo mean an opinion of the party, that he believed they would comply with any thing rather than looſe their benefices. And therefore he declared, he would execute the law in its ntmoſt rigour. On the other hand, the heads of the Preſbyterians reckoned, that if great numbers were turned out all at once, it would not be poſſible to fill their places on the ſudden; and that the government would be forced to take them in again, if there were ſuch a vacancy made, that a great part of the nation were caſt deſtitute, and had no divine ſervice in it. For that which all the wiſer of the party apprehended moſt was, that the Biſhops would go on ſlowly, and ſingle out ſome that were more factious upon particular provocations, and turn them out by degrees, as they had men ready to put in their room; which would have been more inſenſible, and more excuſable, if indiſcreet zealots had, as it were, forced cenſures from them. The advice ſent over all the countrey, from their leaders who 1662.

1662. had ſettled meaſures at *Edenburgh*, was, that they ſhould do and ſay nothing that might give a particular diſtaſte, but ſhould look on, and do their duty as long as they were connived at; and that if any proclamation ſhould be iſſued out, commanding them to be ſilent, they ſhould all obey at once. In theſe meaſures both ſides were deceived in their expectations. The Biſhops went to their ſeveral dioceſes: And according as the people ſtood affected they were well or ill received: And they held their ſynods every where in *October*. In the northern parts very few ſtood out: But in the weſtern parts ſcarce any came to them. The Earl of *Midletoun* went to *Glaſcow* before *Michaelmaſs*. So when the time fixed by the act was paſs'd, and that ſcarce any one in all thoſe Counties had paid any regard to it, he called a meeting of the Privy Council, that they might conſider what was fit to be done. Duke *Hamilton* told me, they were all ſo drunk that day, that they were not capable of conſidering any thing that was laid before them, and would hear of nothing but the executing the law without any relenting or delay. So a proclamation was iſſued out, requiring all who had their livings without preſentations, and who had not obeyed the late act, to give over all farther preaching, or ſerving the cure, and to withdraw from their pariſhes immediately: And the military men that lay in the countrey were ordered to pull them out of their pulpits, if they ſhould preſume to go on in their functions. This was oppoſed only by Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *James Lockhart*, father to Sir *William Lockhart*. They repreſented, that the much greater part of the preachers in theſe Counties had come into their Churches ſince the year 1649; that they were very popular men, both eſteemed and beloved of their people: It would be a great ſcandal, if they ſhould be turned out, and none be ready to be put in their places: And it would not be poſſible to find a competent number of well qualified men, to fill the many vacancies that this proclamation would make. The Earl of *Midletoun* would hear of nothing, but the immediate execution of the law. So the proclamation was iſſued out: And upon it above two hundred Churches were ſhut up in one day: And above one hundred fifty more were to be turned out for not obeying, and ſubmitting to the Biſhops ſummons to their ſynods. All this was done without conſidering the conſequence of it, or communicating it to the other Biſhops. *Sharp* ſaid to my ſelf, that he knew nothing of it; nor did he imagine, that ſo raſh a thing could have been done, till he ſaw it in print. He was glad that this was done without his having any ſhare in it: For by it he was furniſhed with ſomewhat, in which he was no way concerned, upon which he

he might caſt all the blame of all that followed. Yet this was ſuitable enough to a maxim that he and all that ſort of people ſet up, that the execution of laws was that by which all governments maintained their ſtrength, as well as their honour. The Earl of *Midletoun* was ſurprized at this extraordinary ſubmiſſion of the Preſbyterians. He had fancied, that the greateſt part would have complied, and that ſome of the more intractable would have done ſome extraordinary thing, to have juſtified the ſeverities he would have exerciſed in that caſe; and was diſappointed both ways. Yet this obedience of a party, ſo little accuſtomed to it, was much magnified at Court. It was ſaid, that all plied before him: They knew he was ſteddy: So they ſaw how neceſſary it was not to change the management, if it was really intended to preſerve the Church. Lord *Tarbot* told me, that the King had expreſſed to himſelf the eſteem he had for *Sheldon*, upon the account of the courage that he ſhewed in the debate concerning the execution of the act of Uniformity at the day prefixed, which was St. *Bartholomew*'s: For ſome ſuggeſted the danger that might ariſe, if the act were vigorouſly executed. From thence it ſeems the Earl of *Midletoun* concluded, the zeal he ſhewed now would be ſo acceptable, that all former errours would be forgiven, if he went through with it; as indeed he ſtuck at nothing. Yet the clamour of putting ſeveral Counties, as it were, under an interdict, was very great. So all endeavours were uſed to get as many as could be had to fill thoſe vacancies. And among others I was much preſſed, both by the Earl of *Glencairn* and the Lord *Tarbot*, to go into any of the vacant Churches that I liked. I was then but nineteen: Yet there is no law in *Scotland* limiting the age of a prieſt. And it was upon this account that I was let ſo far into the ſecret of all affairs: For they had ſuch an imagination of ſome ſervice I might do them, that they treated me with a very particular freedom and confidence. But I had drunk in the principles of moderation ſo early, that, tho' I was entirely Epiſcopal, yet I would not engage with a body of men, that ſeemed to have the principles and tempers of Inquiſitors in them, and to have no regard to religion in any of their proceedings. So I ſtood upon my youth, and could not be wrought on to go to the weſt; tho' the Earl of *Glencairn* offered to carry me with him under his protection. 1661.

There was a ſort of an invitation ſent over the Kingdom, like a huy and cry, to all perſons to accept of benefices in the weſt. The livings were generally well endowed, and the parſonage houſes were well built, and in good repair: And this drew many very worthleſs

1662. leſs perſons thither, who had little learning, leſs piety, and no ſort of diſcretion. They came thither with great prejudices againſt them, and had many difficulties to wreſtle with. The former incumbents, who were for the moſt part Proteſtors, were a grave ſolemn ſort of people. Their ſpirits were eager, and their tempers ſour: But they had an appearance that created reſpect. They were related to the chief families in the countrey, either by blood or marriage; and had lived in ſo decent a manner, that the Gentry paid great reſpect to them. They uſed to viſit their pariſhes much, and were ſo full of the ſcriptures, and ſo ready at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practice extempore ſermons: For the cuſtom in *Scotland* was after dinner or ſupper to read a chapter in the ſcripture: And where they happened to come, if it was acceptable, they on the ſudden exponnded the chapter. They had brought the people to ſuch a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and ſervants would have prayed extempore. I have often over heard them at it: And, tho' there was a large mixture of odd ſtuff, yet I have been aſtoniſhed to hear how copious and ready they were in it. Their Miniſters generally brought them about them on the ſunday nights, where the ſermons were talked over; and every one, women as well as men, were deſired to ſpeak their ſenſe and their experience: And by theſe means they had a comprehenſion of matters of religion, greater than I have ſeen among people of that ſort any where. The preachers went all in one track, of raiſing obſervations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving theſe by reaſons, and then of applying thoſe, and ſhewing the uſe that was to be made of ſuch a point of doctrine, both for inſtruction and terrour, for exhortation and comfort, for trial of themſelves upon it, and for furniſhing them with proper directions and helps: And this was ſo methodical, that the people grew to follow a ſermon quite through every branch of it. To this ſome added, the reſolving of doubts concerning the ſtate they were in, or their progreſs or decay in it; which they called caſes of conſcience: And theſe were taken from what their people ſaid to them at any time, very oft being under fits of melancholy, or vapours, or obſtructions, which, tho' they flowed from natural cauſes, were looked on as the work of the ſpirit of God, and a particular exerciſe to them and they fed this diſeaſe of weak minds too much. Thus they had laboured very diligently, tho' with a wrong method and wrong notions. But as they lived in great familiarity with their people, and uſed to pray and to talk oft with them in private, ſo it can hardly be imagined to what a degree they were loved and reverenced by them.

A general character of them.

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them. They kept ſcandalous perſons under a ſevere diſcipline: 1662.
For breach of ſabbath, for an oath, or the leaſt diſorder in drunkenneſs, perſons were cited before the Church ſeſſion, that conſiſted of ten or twelve of the chief of the pariſh, who with the Miniſter had this care upon them, and were ſolemnly reproved for it: For fornication they were not only reproved before theſe; but there was a high place in the church called the ſtool or pillar of repentance, where they ſate at the times of worſhip for three Lords-day's, receiving admonitions, and making profeſſion of repentance on all thoſe days; which ſome did with many tears, and ſerious exhortations to all the reſt, to take warning by their fall: For adultery they were to ſit ſix months in that place, covered with ſackcloth. Theſe things had a grave appearance. Their faults and defects were not ſo conſpicuous. They had a very ſcanty meaſure of learning, and a narrow compaſs in it. They were little men, of a very indifferent ſize of capacity, and apt to fly out into great exceſs of paſſion and indiſcretion. They were ſervile, and too apt to fawn upon, and flatter their admirers. They were affected in their deportment, and very apt to cenſure all who differed from them, and to believe and report whatſoever they heard to their prejudice. And they were ſuperſtitious and haughty. In their ſermons they were apt to enlarge on the ſtate of the preſent time, and to preach againſt the ſins of Princes and Courts: A topick that naturally makes men popular. It has an appearance of courage: And the people are glad to hear thoſe ſins inſiſted on, in which they perceive they have no ſhare, and to believe that all the judgments of God come down by the means and procurement of other mens ſins. But their opinions about the independence of the Church and Clergy on the Civil power, and their readineſs to ſtir up the people to tumults and wars, was that which begot ſo ill an opinion of them at this time in all men, that very few, who were not deeply engaged with them in theſe conceits, pitied them much under all the ill uſage they now met with. I hope this is no impertinent nor ungrateful digreſſion. It is a juſt and true account of theſe men and thoſe times, from which a judicious reader will make good inferences. I will conclude this with a judicious anſwer that one of the wiſeſt and beſt of them, *Colvil*, who ſucceeded *Leightoun* in the Headſhip of the College of *Edenburgh*, made to the Earl of *Midletoun*, when he preſs'd him in the point of defenſive arms to tell plainly his opinion, whether they were lawful or not. He ſaid, the queſtion had been often put to him, and he had always declined to anſwer it: But to him he plainly ſaid, he wiſhed that Kings and their Miniſters would believe them lawful, and ſo go-

1662. vern as men that expect to be resisted; but he wished, that all their subjects would believe them to be unlawful, and so the world would be at quiet.

Prejudices infused against Episcopacy.

I do now return to end the account of the state of that country at this time. The people were much troubled, when so many of their Ministers were turned out. Their Ministers had, for some months before they were thus silenced, been infusing this into their people, both in publick and private; that all that was designed in this change of Church government was to destroy the power of godliness, and to give an impunity to vice; that Prelacy was a tyranny in the Church, set on by ambitious and covetous men, who aimed at nothing but authority and wealth, luxury and idleness; and that they intended to encourage vice, that they might procure to themselves a great party among the impious and immoral. The people, thus prepossessed, seeing the Earl of *Midletoun*, and all the train that followed him thro' those Counties, running into excesses of all sorts, and railing at the very appearance of vertue and sobriety, were confirmed in the belief of all that their Ministers had told them. What they had heard concerning *Sharp*'s betraying those that had employed him, and the other Bishops, who had taken the Covenant, and had forced it on others, and now preach'd against it, openly owning that they had in so doing gone against the express dictate of their own conscience, did very much heighten all their prejudices, and fixed them so in them, that it was scarce possible to conquer them afterwards. All this was out of measure increased by the new incumbents, who were put in the places of the ejected preachers, and were generally very mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers I ever heard: They were ignorant to a reproach: And many of them were openly vitious. They were a disgrace to their orders, and the sacred functions; and were indeed the dreg and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them, who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated, as the others were despised. This was the fatal beginning of restoring Episcopacy in *Scotland*, of which few of the Bishops seemed to have any sense. *Fairfoul*, the most concerned, had none at all: For he fell into a paralytick state, in which he languished a year before he died. I have thus opened the first settlement in *Scotland:* Of which I my self observed what was visible, and understood the more secret transactions from those, who had such a share in them, that it was not possible for them, to mistake them: And I had no reason to think they intended to deceive, or misinform me.

I will

I will in the next place change the climate, and give as particular an account as I can of the ſettlement of *England* both in Church and State: Which, tho' it will be perhaps imperfect, and will in ſome parts be out of order, yet I am well aſſured it will be found true; having picked it up at ſeveral times, from the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Sir *Robert Murray*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Earl of *Clarendon* the ſon of the Lord Chancellour, the Lord *Hollis*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, who was the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, under whoſe protection I lived nine years when I was preacher at the Rolls, he being then Maſter of the Rolls. From ſuch hands I could not be miſled, when I laid all together, and conſidered what reaſon I had to make allowances for the different accounts that diverſity of parties and intereſts may lead men to give, they too eaſily believing ſome things, and as eaſily rejecting others, as they ſtood affected. 1660. The affairs of *England*.

After the King came over, no perſon in the Houſe of Commons had the courage to move the offering propoſitions for any limitation of prerogative, or the defining of any doubtful points. All was joy and rapture. If the King had applyed himſelf to buſineſs, and had purſued thoſe deſigns which he ſtudied to retrieve all the reſt of his reign, when it was too late, he had probably in thoſe firſt tranſports carried every thing that he would have deſired, either as to revenue or power. But he was ſo given up to pleaſure, that he devolved the management of all his affairs on the Earl of *Clarendon*; who, as he had his breeding in the law, ſo he had all along declared himſelf for the ancient liberties of *England*, as well as for the rights of the Crown. A domeſtick accident had happened to him, which heightened his zeal for the former. He, when he began to grow eminent in his profeſſion, came down to ſee his aged father, a gentleman of *Wiltſhire:* Who, one day, as they were walking in the field together, told him, that men of his profeſſion did often ſtretch law and prerogative, to the prejudice of the liberty of the ſubject, to recommend and advance themſelves: So he charged him, if ever he grew to any eminence in his profeſſion, that he ſhould never ſacrifice the laws and liberties of his countrey to his own intereſts, or to the will of a Prince. He repeated this twice: And immediately he fell into a fit of an apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours. This the Earl of *Clarendon* told the Lady *Ranelagh*, who put him often in mind of it: And from her I had it.

He reſolved not to ſtretch the prerogative beyond what it was before the wars, and would neither ſet aſide the Petition of Right, nor *Clarendon's* juſt and moderate notions.

1660. nor endeavour to raiſe the Courts of the Star Chamber or the High Commiſſion again, which could have been eaſily done, if he had ſet about it: Nor did he think fit to move for the repeal of the act for triennial Parliaments, till other matters were well ſettled. He took care indeed to have all the things that were extorted by the long Parliament from King *Charles* I. to be repealed. And ſince the diſpute of the power of the Militia was the moſt important, and the moſt inſiſted on, he was very earneſt to have that clearly determined for the future. But as to all the acts relating to property, or the juſt limitation of the prerogative, ſuch as the matter of the ſhip-money, the tonnage and poundage, and the *Habeas Corpus* act, he did not touch on theſe. And as for the ſtanding revenue, 1200000 *l.* a year was all that was aſked: And, tho' it was much more than any of our Kings had formerly, yet it was readily granted. This was to anſwer all the ordinary expence of the government. It was believed, that if two millions had been aſked, he could have carried it. But he had no mind to put the King out of the neceſſity of having recourſe to his Parliament. The King came afterwards to believe, that he could have raiſed both his authority and revenue much higher, but that he had no mind to carry it farther, or to truſt him too much. Whether all theſe things could have been got at that time, or not, is above my conjecture. But this I know, that all the Earl of *Clarendon*'s enemies after his fall ſaid, theſe things had been eaſily obtained, if he had taken any pains in the matter, but that he himſelf had no mind to it: And they infuſed this into the King, ſo that he believed it, and hated him mortally on that account. And in his difficulties afterwards he ſaid often, all thoſe things might have been prevented, if the Earl of *Clarendon* had been true to him.

Venner's fury. The King had not been many days at *Whitehall*, when one *Venner*, a violent fifth-monarchy man, who thought it was not enough to believe that *Chriſt* was to reign on earth, and to put the ſaints in the poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, (an opinion that they were all unſpeakably fond of,) but added to this, that the ſaints were to take the Kingdom themſelves. He gathered ſome of the moſt furious of the party to a meeting in *Coleman* ſtreet. There they concerted the day and the manner of their riſing to ſet *Chriſt* on his Throne, as they called it. But withal they meant to manage the government in his name; and were ſo formal, that they had prepared ſtandards and colours with their devices on them, and furniſhed themſelves with very good arms. But when the day came, there was but a ſmall appearance, not exceeding twenty. However they reſolved to venture out into

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the ſtreets, and cry out, No King but *Chriſt*. Some of them ſeemed perſuaded that *Chriſt* would come down, and head them. They ſcoured the ſtreets before them, and made a great progreſs. Some were afraid, and all were amazed at this piece of extravagance. They killed a great many, but were at laſt maſtered by numbers: And were all either killed, or taken and executed. Upon this ſome troops of guards were raiſed. And there was a great talk of a deſign, as ſoon as the Army was diſbanded, to raiſe a force that ſhould be ſo choſen and modelled that the King might depend upon it; and that it ſhould be ſo conſiderable, that there might be no reaſon to apprehend new tumults any more. The Earl of *Southampton* looked on a while: And, when he ſaw how this deſign ſeemed to be entertained and magnified, he entred into a very free expoſtulation with the Earl of *Clarendon* about it. He ſaid, they had felt the effects of a military government, tho' ſober and religious, in *Cromwell*'s army: He believed vitious and diſſolute troops would be much worſe: The King would grow fond of them: And they would quickly become inſolent and ungovernable: And then ſuch men as he was muſt be only inſtruments to ſerve their ends. He ſaid, he would not look on, and ſee the ruin of his countrey begun, and be ſilent: A white ſtaff ſhould not bribe him. The Earl of *Clarendon* was perſuaded he was in the right, and promiſed he would divert the King from any other force than what might be decent to make a ſhew with, and what might ſerve to diſperſe unruly multitudes. The Earl of *Southampton* ſaid, if it went no farther he could bear it; but it would not be eaſy to fix ſuch a number, as would pleaſe our Princes, and not give jealouſy. The Earl of *Clarendon* perſuaded the King, that it was neceſſary for him to carry himſelf with great caution, till the old Army ſhould be diſbanded: For, if an ill humour got among them, they knew both their courage and their principles, which the preſent times had for a while a little ſuppreſſed: Yet upon any juſt jealouſy there might be great cauſe to fear new and more violent diſorders. By theſe means the King was ſo wrought on, that there was no great occaſion given for jealouſy. The Army was to be diſbanded, but in ſuch a manner, with ſo much reſpect, and ſo exact an account of arrears, and ſuch gratuities, that it looked rather to be the diſmiſſing them to the next opportunity, and a reſerving them till there ſhould be occaſion for their ſervice, than a breaking of them. They were certainly the braveſt, the beſt diſciplined, and the ſobereſt Army that had been known in theſe latter ages: Every ſoldier was able to do the functions of an officer. The Court was at great quiet, when they got rid of ſuch a burden, as lay on 1660.

1660. them from the fear of ſuch a body of men. The guards, and the new troops that were raiſed, were made up of ſuch of the Army as *Monk* recommended, and anſwered for. And with that his great intereſt at Court came to a ſtand. He was little conſidered afterwards.

The trial and execution of the Regicides.

In one thing the temper of the nation appeared to be contrary to ſevere proceedings: For, tho' the Regicides were at that time odious beyond all expreſſion, and the trials and executions of the firſt that ſuffered were run to by vaſt crouds, and all people ſeemed pleaſed with the ſight, yet the odiouſneſs of the crime grew at laſt to be ſo much flatten'd by the frequent executions, and moſt of thoſe who ſuffered dying with much firmneſs and ſhew of piety, juſtifying all they had done, not without a ſeeming joy for their ſuffering on that account, that the King was adviſed not to proceed farther, at leaſt not to have the ſcene ſo near the Court as *Charing-croſs*. It was indeed remarkable that *Peters*, a ſort of an enthuſiaſtical buffoon preacher, tho' a very vitious man, who had been of great uſe to *Cromwell*, and had been outrageous in preſſing the King's death with the cruelty and rudeneſs of an Inquiſitor, was the man of them all that was the moſt ſunk in his ſpirit, and could not in any ſort bear his puniſhment. He had neither the honeſty to repent of it, nor the ſtrength of mind to ſuffer for it as all the reſt of them did. He was obſerved all the while to be drinking ſome cordial liquors to keep him from fainting. *Harriſon* was the firſt that ſuffered. He was a fierce and bloody enthuſiaſt. And it was believed, that while the army was in doubt, whether it was fitter to kill the King privately, or to bring him to an open trial, that he offered, if a private way was ſettled on, to be the man that ſhould do it. So he was begun with. But, however reaſonable this might be in it ſelf, it had a very ill effect: For he was a man of great heat and reſolution, fixed in his principles, and ſo perſuaded of them, that he had never looked after any intereſts of his own, but had oppoſed *Cromwell* when he ſet up for himſelf. He went thro' all the indignities and ſeverities of his execution, in which the letter of the law in caſes of treaſon was punctually obſerved, with a calmneſs, or rather a chearfulneſs, that aſtoniſhed the ſpectators. He ſpoke very poſitively, that what they had done was the cauſe and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raiſe up again, how much ſoever it ſuffered at that time. Upon this a report was ſpread, and generally believed, that he ſaid, he himſelf ſhould riſe again: Tho' the party denied that, and reported the words as I have ſet them down. One perſon eſcaped, as was reported, merely by his vices: *Henry Martin*, who had been a moſt violent enemy to Monarchy.

Monarchy. But all that he moved for, was upon *Roman* or *Greek* principles. He never entered into matters of Religion, but on deſign to laugh both at them and all morality; for he was both an impious and vitious man. And now in his impriſonment he deliver'd himſelf up to vice and blaſphemy. It was ſaid, that this helped him to ſo many friends, that upon that very account he was ſpared. *John Goodwin* and *Milton* did alſo eſcape all cenſure, to the ſurpriſe of all people. *Goodwin* had ſo often not only juſtified, but magnified the putting the King to death, both in his ſermons and books, that few thought he could have been either forgot or excuſed; for *Peters* and he were the only preachers that ſpoke of it in that ſtrain. But *Goodwin* had been ſo zealous an Arminian, and had ſown ſuch diviſion among all the ſectaries upon theſe heads, that it was ſaid this procured him friends. Upon what account ſoever it was, he was not cenſured. *Milton* had appeared ſo boldly, tho' with much wit and great purity and elegancy of ſtyle, againſt *Salmaſius* and others, upon that argument of the putting the King to death, and had diſcovered ſuch violence againſt the late King and all the Royal family, and againſt Monarchy, that it was thought a ſtrange omiſſion if he was forgot, and an odd ſtrain of clemency, if it was intended he ſhould be forgiven. He was not excepted out of the act of indemnity. And afterwards he came out of his concealment, and lived many years much viſited by all ſtrangers, and much admired by all at home for the poems he writ, tho' he was then blind; chiefly that of *Paradiſe Loſt*, in which there is a nobleneſs both of contrivance and execution, that, tho' he affected to write in blank verſe without rhyme, and made many new and rough words, yet it was eſteemed the beautifulleſt and perfecteſt poem that ever was writ, at leaſt in our language. 1660.

But as the ſparing theſe perſons was much cenſured, ſo on the other hand the putting Sir *Henry Vane* to death was as much blamed: For the declaration from *Breda* being full for an indemnity to all, except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that; ſince, tho' he was for changing the government, and depoſing the King, yet he did not approve of the putting him to death, nor of the force put on the Parliament, but did for ſome time, while theſe things were acted, withdraw from the ſcene. This was ſo repreſented by his friends, that an addreſs was made by both Houſes on his behalf, to which the King gave a favourable anſwer, tho' in general words. So he reckoned that he was ſafe, that being equivalent to an act of Parliament, tho' it wanted the neceſſary forms. Yet the great ſhare he had in the attainder 1661. *Vane's character.*

1661. tainder of the Earl *Strafford*, and in the whole turn of affairs to the total change of government, but above all the great opinion that was had of his parts and capacity to embroil matters again, made the Court think it was neceſſary to put him out of the way. He was naturally a very fearful man: This one who knew him well told me, and gave me eminent inſtances of it. He had a head as darkened in his notions of religion, as his mind was clouded with fear: For tho' he ſet up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it conſiſted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular opinions or forms; from which he and his party were called Seekers, and ſeemed to wait for ſome new and clearer manifeſtations. In theſe meetings he preached and prayed often himſelf, but with ſo peculiar a darkneſs, that tho' I have ſometimes taken pains to ſee if I could find out his meaning in his works, yet I could never reach it. And ſince many others have ſaid the ſame, it may be reaſonable to believe he hid ſomewhat that was a neceſſary key to the reſt. His friends told me, he leaned to *Origen*'s notion of an univerſal ſalvation of all, both of devils and the damned, and to the doctrine of pre-exiſtence. When he ſaw his death was deſigned, he compoſed himſelf to it, with a reſolution that ſurpriſed all who knew how little of that was natural to him. Some inſtances of this were very extraordinary, tho' they cannot be mentioned with decency. He was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, where a new and very indecent practice was begun. It was obſerved, that the dying ſpeeches of the Regicides had left impreſſions on the hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the government. So ſtrains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, to prevent that, drummers were placed under the ſcaffold, who as ſoon as he began to ſpeak of the publick, upon a ſign given, ſtruck up with their drums. This put him in no diſorder. He deſired they might be ſtopped, for he underſtood what was meant by it. Then he went thro' his devotions. And, as he was taking leave of thoſe about him, he happening to ſay ſomewhat with relation to the times, the drums ſtruck up a ſecond time: So he gave over, and died with ſo much compoſedneſs, that it was generally thought, the government had loſt more than it had gained by his death.

And execution.

The King gave himſelf up to his pleaſures.

The act of indemnity paſs'd with very few exceptions; at which the Cavaliers were highly diſſatisfied, and made great complaints of it. In the diſpoſal of offices and places, as it was not poſſible to gratify all, ſo there was little regard had to mens merits or ſervices. The King was determined to moſt of theſe by the cabal that met at Miſtreſs *Palmer*'s lodgings. And tho' the Earl of

Clarendon

Clarendon did often prevail with the King to alter the reſoluti- 1661.
ons taken there, yet he was forced to let a great deal go that he did not like. He would never make applications to Miſtreſs *Palmer*, nor let any thing paſs the ſeal in which ſhe was named, as the Earl of *Southampton* would never ſuffer her name to be in the Treaſury books. Thoſe vertuous Miniſters thought it became them, to let the world ſee that they did not comply with the King in his vices. But whether the Earl of *Clarendon* ſpoke ſo freely to the King about his courſe of life, as was given out, I cannot tell. When the Cavaliers ſaw, they had not that ſhare in places that they expected, they complained of it ſo highly, that the Earl of *Clarendon*, to excuſe the King's paſſing them by, was apt to beat down the value they ſet on their ſervices. This laid the foundation of an implacable hatred in many of them, that was compleated by the extent and comprehenſiveneſs of the act of indemnity, which cut off their hopes of being re-imburſed out of the fines, if not the confiſcations of thoſe, who had during the courſe of the wars been on the Parliament's ſide. It is true, the firſt Parliament, called, by way of derogation, the Convention, had been too much on that ſide not to ſecure themſelves and their friends. So they took care to have the moſt comprehenſive words put in it, that could be thought of. But when the new Parliament was called a year after, in which there was a deſign to ſet aſide the act of indemnity, and to have brought in a new one, the King did ſo poſitively inſiſt on his adhering to the act of indemnity, that the deſign of breaking into it was laid aſide. The Earl of *Clarendon* owned it was his counſel. Acts or promiſes of indemnity, he thought, ought to be held ſacred: A fidelity in the obſervation of them was the only foundation, upon which any government could hope to quiet ſeditions or civil wars: And if people once thought, that thoſe promiſes were only made to deceive them, without an intention to obſerve them religiouſly, they would never for the future hearken to any treaty. He often ſaid, it was the making thoſe promiſes had brought the King home, and it was the keeping them muſt keep him at home. So that whole work from beginning to the end was entirely his. The angry men, that were thus diſappointed of all their hopes, made a jeſt of the title of it, *An act of oblivion and of indemnity*; and ſaid, the King had paſs'd an act of oblivion for his friends, and of indemnity for his enemies. To load the Earl of *Clarendon* the more, it was given out that he adviſed the King to gain his enemies, ſince he was ſure of his friends by their principles. With this he was often charged, tho' he always denied it. Whether the King faſtened it upon him

The act of indemnity maintained.

1661. after he had diſgraced him, to make him the more odious, I cannot tell. It is certain, the King ſaid many very hard things of him, for which he was much blamed: And in moſt of them he was but little believed.

1662. The King's marriage. It was natural for the King upon his Reſtoration to look out for a proper marriage. And it was ſoon obſerved, that he was reſolved not to marry a Proteſtant. He pretended a contempt of the *Germans*, and of the northern Crowns. *France* had no ſiſter. He had ſeen the Duke of *Orleans*'s daughters, and liked none of them. *Spain* had only two Infantas: And as the eldeſt was married to the King of *France*, the ſecond was to go to *Vienna*. So the Houſe of *Portugal* only remained, to furniſh him a wife, among the crowned heads. *Monk* began to hearken to a motion made him for this by a *Jew*, that managed the concerns of *Portugal*, which were now given for loſt, ſince they were abandoned by *France* by the treaty of the *Pyrenees*; in which it appears by Cardinal *Mazarin*'s letters, that he did entirely deliver up their concerns; which was imputed to his deſire to pleaſe the Queen-mother of *France*, who, being a daughter of *Spain*, owned herſelf ſtill to be in the intereſts of *Spain* in every thing in which *France* was not concerned, for in that caſe ſhe pretended ſhe was true to the Crown of *France*. And this was the true ſecret of Cardinal *Mazarin*'s carrying on that war ſo feebly as he did, to gratify the Queen-mother on the one hand, and his own covetouſneſs on the other: For the leſs publick expence was made, he had the greater occaſions of enriching himſelf, which was all he thought on. The *Portugueze* being thus, as they thought, caſt off by *France*, were very apprehenſive of falling under the *Caſtillians*, who, how weak ſoever they were in oppoſition to *France*, yet were like to be too hard for them, when they had nothing elſe on their hands. So, vaſt offers were made, if the King would marry their Infanta, and take them under his protection. *Monk* was the more encouraged to entertain the propoſition, becauſe ſome pretended, that, in the beginning of the war of *Portugal*, King *Charles* had entred into a negotiation for a a marriage between his ſon and this Infanta. And the veneration paid his memory was then ſo high, that every thing he had projected was eſteemed ſacred. *Monk* promiſed to ſerve the intereſts of *Portugal:* And that was, as Sir *Robert Southwell* told me, the firſt ſtep made in that matter. Soon after the King came into *England*, an embaſſy of congratulation came from thence, with orders to negotiate that buſineſs. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, who had a pretenſion of merit from the King in behalf

half of that Crown, ſince they had received and entertained him at *Bruſſels*, when *France* had thrown him off, ſet himſelf much againſt this match: And among other things affirmed, that the Infanta was incapable of having children. But this was little conſidered. The *Spaniards* are not very ſcrupulous in affirming any thing that ſerves their ends: And this marriage was like to ſecure the Kingdom of *Portugal*. So it was no wonder that he oppoſed it: And little regard was had to all that he ſaid to break it. 1662.

At this time Monſieur *Fouquet* was gaining an aſcendant in the counſels of *France*, Cardinal *Mazarin* falling then into a languiſhing, of which he died a year after. He ſent one over to the King with a project of an alliance between *France* and *England*. He was addreſſed firſt to the Earl of *Clarendon*, to whom he enlarged on all the heads of the ſcheme he had brought, of which the match with *Portugal* was a main article. And, to make all go down the better, *Fouquet* deſired to enter into a particular friendſhip with the Earl of *Clarendon*; and ſent him the offer of 10000 *l*, and aſſured him of the renewing the ſame preſent every year. The Lord *Clarendon* told him, he would lay all that related to the King faithfully before him, and give him his anſwer in a little time: But for what related to himſelf, he ſaid, he ſerved a great and bountiful maſter, who knew well how to ſupport and reward his ſervants: He would ever ſerve him faithfully; and, becauſe he knew he muſt ſerve thoſe from whom he accepted the hire, therefore he rejected the offer with great indignation. He laid before the King the heads of the propoſed alliance, which required much conſultation. But in the next place he told both the King and his brother what had been offered to himſelf. They both adviſed him to accept of it. Why, ſaid he, have you a mind that I ſhould betray you? The King anſwered, he knew nothing could corrupt him. Then, ſaid he, you know me better than I do my ſelf: For if I take the money I ſhall find the ſweet of it, and ſtudy to have it continued to me by deſerving it. He told them, how he had rejected the offer; and very ſeriouſly warned the King of the danger he ſaw he might fall into, if he ſuffered any of thoſe, who ſerved him, to be once penſioners to other Princes: Thoſe preſents were made only to biaſs them in their counſels, and to diſcover ſecrets by their means: And if the King gave way to it, the taking money would ſoon grow to a habit, and ſpread like an infection thro' the whole Court.

An alliance propoſed from *France*.

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1662. The Duke of *York*'s marriage. As the motion for the match with *Portugal* was carried on, an incident of an extraordinary nature happened in the Court. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s daughter, being with child, and near her time, called upon the Duke of *York* to own his marriage with her. She had been maid of honour to the Princeſs Royal: And the Duke, who was even to his old age of an amorous diſpoſition, tried to gain her to comply with his deſires. She managed the matter with ſo much addreſs, that in concluſion he married her. Her father did very ſolemnly proteſt, that he knew nothing of the matter, till now that it broke out. The Duke thought to have ſhaken her from claiming it by great promiſes, and as great threatnings. But ſhe was a woman of a great ſpirit. She ſaid, ſhe was his wife, and would have it known that ſhe was ſo, let him uſe her afterwards as he pleaſed. Many diſcourſes were ſet about upon this occaſion. But the King ordered ſome Biſhops and Judges to peruſe the proofs ſhe had to produce: And they reported that, according to the doctrine of the Goſpel, and the law of *England*, it was a good marriage. So it was not poſſible to break it, but by trying how far the matter could be carried againſt her, for marrying a perſon ſo near the King without his leave. The King would not break with the Earl of *Clarendon*: And ſo he told his brother, he muſt drink as he brewed, and live with her whom he had made his wife. All the Earl of *Clarendon*'s enemies rejoyced at this: For they reckoned, how much ſoever it ſeemed to raiſe him at preſent, yet it would raiſe envy ſo high againſt him, and make the King ſo jealous of him, as being more in his brother's intereſts than in his own, that they looked on it as that which would end in his ruine. And he himſelf thought ſo, as his ſon told me: For, as ſoon as he knew of it, and when he ſaw his ſon lifted up with it, he proteſted to him, that he knew nothing of the matter, till it broke out; but added, that he looked on it, as that which muſt be all their ruine ſooner or later.

The Duke's character. Upon this I will digreſs a little to give an account of the Duke's character, whom I knew for ſome years ſo particularly, that I can ſay much upon my own knowledge. He was very brave in his youth, and ſo much magnified by Monſieur *Turenne*, that, till his marriage leſſened him he really clouded the King, and paſs'd for the ſuperior genius. He was naturally candid and ſincere, and a firm friend, till affairs and his religion wore out all his firſt principles and inclinations. He had a great deſire to underſtand affairs: And in order to that he kept a conſtant journal of all that paſs'd, of which he ſhewed me a great deal.

The Duke of *Buckingham* gave me once a ſhort but ſevere cha- 1660.
racter of the two brothers. It was the more ſevere, becauſe it was true: The King (he ſaid) could ſee things if he would, and the Duke would ſee things if he could. He had no true judgment, and was ſoon determined by thoſe whom he truſted: But he was obſtinate againſt all other advices. He was bred with high notions of the Kingly authority, and laid it down for a maxim, that all who oppoſed the King were rebels in their hearts. He was perpetually in one amour or other, without being very nice in his choice: Upon which the King ſaid once, he believed his brother had his miſtreſſes given him by his Prieſts for penance. He gave me this account of his changing his religion: When he eſcaped out of the hands of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had the charge of his education truſted to him by the Parliament, and had uſed him with great reſpect, all due care was taken, as ſoon as he got beyond ſea, to form him to a ſtrict adherence to the Church of *England:* Among other things much was ſaid of the authority of the Church, and of the tradition from the Apoſtles in ſupport of Epiſcopacy: So that, when he came to obſerve that there was more reaſon to ſubmit to the Catholick Church than to one particular Church, and that other traditions might be taken on her word, as well as Epiſcopacy was received among us, he thought the ſtep was not great, but that it was very reaſonable to go over to the Church of *Rome:* And Doctor *Steward* having taught him to believe a real but unconceivable preſence of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament, he thought this went more than half way to tranſubſtantiation. He ſaid, that a Nun's advice to him to pray every day, that, if he was not in the right way, God would ſet him right, did make a great impreſſion on him. But he never told me when or where he was reconciled. He ſuffered me to ſay a great deal to him on all theſe heads. I ſhewed the difference between ſubmiſſion and obedience in matters of order and indifferent things, and an implicite ſubmiſſion from the belief of infallibility. I alſo ſhewed him the difference between a ſpeculation of a mode of *Chriſt*'s preſence, when it reſted in an opinion, and an adoration founded on it: Tho' the opinion of ſuch a preſence was wrong, there was no great harm in that alone: But the adoration of an undue object was idolatry. He ſuffered me to talk much and often to him on theſe heads. But I plainly ſaw, it made no impreſſion: And all that he ſeemed to intend by it was, to make uſe of me as an inſtrument to ſoften the averſion that people began to be poſſeſſed with to him. He was naturally eager and revengeful: And was againſt the taking off any that ſet up in an oppoſition

1660. to the meaſures of the Court, and who by that means grew popular in the Houſe of Commons. He was for rougher methods. He continued for many years diſſembling his religion, and ſeemed zealous for the Church of *England:* But it was chiefly on deſign to hinder all propoſitions that tended to unite us among our ſelves. He was a frugal Prince, and brought his Court into method and magnificence: For he had 100000 *l.* a year allowed him. He was made High Admiral: And he came to underſtand all the concerns of the ſea very particularly. He had a very able Secretary about him, Sir *William Coventry*; a man of great notions and eminent vertues, the beſt Speaker in the Houſe of Commons, and capable of bearing the chief miniſtry, as it was once thought he was very near it. The Duke found, all the great ſeamen had a deep tincture from their education: They both hated Popery, and loved liberty: They were men of ſevere tempers, and kept good diſcipline. But in order to the putting the fleet into more confident hands, the Duke began a method of ſending pages of honour, and other young perſons of quality, to be bred to the ſea. And theſe were put in command, as ſoon as they were capable of it, if not ſooner. This diſcouraged many of the old ſeamen, when they ſaw in what a channel advancement was like to go; who upon that left the ſervice, and went and commanded merchantmen. By this means the vertue and diſcipline of the navy is much loſt. It is true, we have a breed of many gallant men, who do diſtinguiſh themſelves in action. But it is thought, the Nation has ſuffered much by the vices and diſorders of thoſe Captains, who have riſen by their quality, more than by merit or ſervice.

The Ducheſs's character.

The Ducheſs of *York* was a very extraordinary woman. She had great knowledge, and a lively ſenſe of things. She ſoon underſtood what belonged to a Princeſs; and took ſtate on her rather too much. She writ well; and had begun the Duke's life, of which ſhe ſhewed me a volume. It was all drawn from his journal: And he intended to have employed me in carrying it on. She was bred to great ſtrictneſs in religion, and practiſed ſecret confeſſion. *Morley* told me, he was her confeſſor. She began at twelve years old, and continued under his direction, till, upon her father's diſgrace, he was put from the Court. She was generous and friendly; but was too ſevere an enemy.

The Duke of *Glocester*'s character.

The King's third brother, the Duke of *Glocester*, was of a temper different from his two brothers. He was active, and loved buſineſs, was apt to have particular friendſhips; and had an inſinuating temper, which was generally very acceptable. The King loved him much better than the Duke of *York*.

But he was uneaſy, when he ſaw there was no poſt left for him, 1660.
ſince *Monk* was General. So he ſpoke to the Earl of *Clarendon*, that he might be made Lord Treaſurer. But he told him, it was a poſt below his dignity. He would not be put off with that: For he could not bear an idle life, nor to ſee his brother at the head of the Fleet, when he himſelf had neither buſineſs nor dependence. But the mirth and entertainments of that time raiſed his blood ſo high, that he took the ſmall pox; of which he died, much lamented by all, but moſt particularly by the King, who was never in his whole life ſeen ſo much troubled, as he was on that occaſion. Thoſe, who would not believe he had much tenderneſs in his nature, imputed this rather to his jealouſy of the brother that ſurvived, ſince he had now loſt the only perſon that could ballance him. Not long after him the Princeſs Royal died likewiſe of the ſmall pox; but was not much lamented. She had lived in her widowhood for ſome years with great reputation, kept a decent Court, and ſupported her brothers very liberally; and lived within bounds. But her mother, who had the art of making herſelf believe any thing ſhe had a mind to, upon a converſation with the Queen Mother of *France*, fancied the King of *France* might be inclined to marry her. So ſhe writ to her to come to *Paris*. In order to that, ſhe made an equipage far above what ſhe could ſupport. So ſhe ran herſelf into debt, ſold all her jewels, and ſome eſtates that were in her power as her ſon's guardian; and was not only diſappointed of that vain expectation, but fell into ſome misfortunes, that leſſened the reputation ſhe had formerly lived in. Upon her death it might have been expected, both in juſtice and gratitude, that the King would in a moſt particular manner have taken her ſon, the young Prince of *Orange*, into his protection. But he fell into better hands: For his grandmother became his guardian, and took care both of his eſtate and his education.

The proſpect of the Royal family much changed.

Thus two of the branches of the Royal family were cut off ſoon after the Reſtoration. And ſo little do the events of things anſwer the firſt appearances, that a Royal family of three Princes and two Princeſſes, all young and graceful perſons, that promiſed a numerous iſſue, did moulder away ſo faſt, that now, while I am writing, all is reduced to the perſon of the Queen, and the Ducheſs of *Savoy*. The King had a very numerous iſſue, tho' none by his Queen. The Duke had by both his wives, and ſome irregular amours, a very numerous iſſue. And the preſent Queen has had a moſt fruitful marriage as to iſſue, tho' none of them ſurvive. The Princeſs *Henriette* was ſo pleaſed with the diver-

1660. diverſion of the *French* Court, that ſhe was glad to go thither again to be married to the King's Brother.

Schomberg went thro' England to Portugal.

As the treaty with *Portugal* went on, *France* did engage in the concerns of that Crown, tho' they had by treaty promiſed the contrary to the *Spaniards*. To excuſe their perfidy, Count *Schomberg*, a *German* by birth, and a Calviniſt by his religion, was ordered to go thither, as one prevailed with by the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, and not as ſent over by the orders of the Court of *France*. He paſs'd thro' *England* to concert with the King the matters of *Portugal*, and the ſupply that was to be ſent thither from *England*. He told me, the King had admitted him into great familiarities with him at *Paris*. He had known him firſt at the *Hague:* For he was the Prince of *Orange*'s particular favourite; but had ſo great a ſhare in the laſt violent actions of his life, ſeizing the States, and in the attempt upon *Amſterdam*, that he left the ſervice upon his death; and gained ſo great a reputation in *France*, that, after the Prince of *Conde* and *Turenne*, he was thought the beſt General they had. He had much free diſcourſe with the King, tho' he found his mind was ſo turned to mirth and pleaſure, that he ſeemed ſcarce capable of laying any thing to heart. He adviſed him to ſet up for the head of the Proteſtant religion: For tho', he ſaid to him, he knew he had not much religion, yet his intereſts led him to that. It would keep the Princes of *Germany* in a great dependence on him, and make him the umpire of all their affairs; and would procure him great credit with the Huguenots of *France*, and keep that Crown in perpetual fear of him. He adviſed the King to employ the military men that had ſerved under *Cromwell*, whom he thought the beſt officers he had ever ſeen: And he was ſorry to ſee, they were diſmiſs'd, and that a company of wild young men were thoſe the King relied on. But what he preſs'd moſt on the King, as the buſineſs then in agitation, was concerning the ſale of *Dunkirk*. The *Spaniards* pretended it ought to be reſtored to them, ſince it was taken from them by *Cromwell*, when they had the King and his brothers in their armies: But that was not much regarded. The *French* pretended, that, by their agreement with *Cromwell*, he was only to hold it, till they had repayed the charge of the war: Therefore they, offering to lay that down, ought to have the place delivered to them. The King was in no ſort bound by this. So the matter under debate was, whether it ought to be kept or ſold? The military men, who were believed to be corrupted by *France*, ſaid, the place was not tenable; that in time of peace it would put the King to a great charge, and in time of war it would not quit the coſt of keeping

Dunkirk ſold to the *French.*

ing it. The Earl of *Clarendon* ſaid, he underſtood not thoſe matters; but appealed to *Monk*'s judgment, who did poſitively adviſe the letting it go for the ſum that *France* offered. To make the buſineſs go the eaſier, the King promiſed, that he would lay up all the money in the Tower; and that it ſhould not be touched, but upon extraordinary occaſions. *Schomberg* adviſed, in oppoſition to all this, that the King ſhould keep it; for, conſidering the naval power of *England*, it could not be taken. He knew, that, tho' *France* ſpoke big, as if they would break with *England* unleſs that was delivered up, yet they were far from the thoughts of it. He had conſidered the place well; and he was ſure it could never be taken, as long as *England* was maſter of the ſea. The holding it would keep both *France* and *Spain* in a dependence upon the King. But he was ſingular in that opinion. So it was ſold: And all the money, that was paid for it, was immediately ſquandred away among the miſtriſs's creatures. 1661.

Tangier a part of the Queen's portion.

By this the King loſt his reputation abroad. The Court was believed venal. And becauſe the Earl of *Clarendon* was in greateſt credit, the blame was caſt chiefly on him; tho' his ſon aſſured me, he kept himſelf out of that affair entirely. The coſt beſtowed on that place ſince that time, and the great prejudice we have ſuffered by it, has made that ſale to be often reflected on very ſeverely. But it was pretended, that *Tangier*, which was offered as a part of the portion that the Infanta of *Portugal* was to bring with her, was a place of much greater conſequence. Its ſituation in the map is indeed very eminent. And if *Spain* had been then in a condition to put any reſtraint on our trade, it had been of great uſe to us; eſpecially, if the making a mole there had been more practicable, than it proved to be. It was then ſpoken of in the Court in the higheſt ſtrains of flattery. It was ſaid, this would not only give us the entire command of the *Mediterranean* trade, but it would be a place of ſafety for a ſquadron to be always kept there, for ſecuring our *Weſt* and *Eaſt India* trade. And ſuch mighty things were ſaid of it, as if it had been reſerved for the King's reign, to make it as glorious abroad, as it was happy at home: Tho' ſince that time we have never been able, neither by force nor treaty, to get ground enough round the town from the *Moors* to maintain the garriſon. But every man that was employed there ſtudied only his own intereſt, and how to rob the King. If the money, that was laid out in the mole at different times, had been raiſed all in a ſucceſſion, as faſt as the work could be carried on, it might have been made a very very valuable place. But there were ſo many diſcontinuings, and ſo many new undertakings, that after an immenſe charge

1661. the Court grew weary of it: And in the year 1638 they ſent a ſquadron of ſhips to bring away the garriſon, and to deſtroy all the works.

To end this matter of the King's marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal* all at once: It was at laſt concluded. The Earl of *Sandwich* went for her, and was the King's proxy in the nuptial ceremony. The King communicated the matter both to the Parliament of *England*, and *Scotland*. And ſo ſtrangely were people changed, that tho' they all had ſeen the miſchievous effects of a Popiſh Queen in the former reign, yet not one perſon moved againſt it in either Parliament, except the Earl of *Caſſilis* in *Scotland*; who moved for an addreſs to the King to marry a Proteſtant. He had but one to ſecond him: So entirely were men run from one extream to another.

1662. When the Queen was brought over, the King met her at *Wincheſter* in ſummer 1662. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* came to perform the ceremony: But the Queen was bigotted to ſuch a degree, that ſhe would not ſay the words of matrimony, nor bear the ſight of the Archbiſhop. The King ſaid the words haſtily: And the Archbiſhop pronounced them married perſons. Upon this ſome thought afterwards to have diſſolved the marriage, as a marriage only *de facto*, in which no conſent had been given. But the Duke of *York* told me, they were married by the Lord *Aubigny* according to the *Roman* ritual, and that he himſelf was one of the witneſſes: And he added, that, a few days before he told me this, the Queen had ſaid to him, that ſhe heard ſome intended to call her marriage in queſtion; and that, if that was done, ſhe muſt call on him as one of her witneſſes to prove it. I ſaw the letter that the King writ to the Earl of *Clarendon* the day after their marriage, by which it appeared very plainly that the marriage was conſummated, and that the King was well pleaſed with her. The King himſelf told me, ſhe had been with child: And *Willis* the great Phyſician told Doctor *Lloyd*, from whom I had it, that ſhe had once miſcarried of a child, which was ſo far advanced, that, if it had been carefully look'd to, the ſex might have been diſtinguiſhed. But ſhe proved a barren wife, and was a woman of a mean appearance, and of no agreeable temper: So that the King never conſidered her much. And ſhe made ever after but a very mean figure. For ſome time the King carried things decently, and did not viſit his miſtriſs openly. But he grew weary of that reſtraint; and ſhook it off ſo entirely, that he had ever after that miſtriſſes to the end of his life, to the great ſcandal of the world, and

The manner of the King's marriage.

The King lived in an avowed courſe of leudneſs.

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and to the particular reproach of all that ſerved about him in the Church. He uſually came from his miſtriſſes lodgings to Church, even on Sacrament days. He held as it were a Court in them: And all his Miniſters made applications to them. Only the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Southampton* would never ſo much as make a viſit to any of them, which was maintaining the decencies of vertue in a very ſolemn manner. The Lord *Clarendon* put the juſtice of the Nation in very good hands; and employed ſome who had been on the bench in *Cromwell*'s time, the famous Sir *Matthew Hale* in particular. 1662.

The buſineſs of *Ireland* was a harder province. The *Iriſh* that had been in the rebellion had made a treaty with the Duke of *Ormond*, then acting in the King's name, tho' he had no legal power under the Great Seal, the King being then a priſoner. But the Queen-mother got, as they give out, the Crown of *France* to become the guarantee for the performance. By the treaty they were to furniſh him with an army, to adhere to the King's intereſts, and ſerve under the Duke of *Ormond:* And for this they were to be pardoned all that was paſs'd, to have the open exerciſe of their religion, and a free admittance into all employments, and to have a free Parliament without the curb of *Poyning*'s law. But after the misfortune at *Dublin*, they ſet up a ſupream council again, and refuſed to obey the Duke of *Ormond*; in which the Pope's Nuncio conducted them. After ſome diſputes, and that the Duke of *Ormond* ſaw he could not prevail with them to be commanded by him any more, he left *Ireland*. And *Cromwell* came over, and reduced the whole countrey, and made a ſettlement of the confiſcated eſtates, for the pay of the undertakers for the *Iriſh* war, and of the officers that had ſerved in it. The King had in his Declaration from *Breda* promiſed to confirm the ſettlement of *Ireland*. So now a great debate aroſe between the native *Iriſh* and the *Engliſh* ſettled in *Ireland*. The former claimed the articles that the Duke of *Ormond* had granted them. He in anſwer to this ſaid, they had broken firſt on their part, and ſo had forfeited their claim to them. They ſeemed to rely much on the Court of *France*, and on the whole Popiſh party abroad, of which they were the moſt conſiderable branch at home. But *England* did naturally incline to ſupport the *Engliſh* Intereſts. And, as that intereſt in *Ireland* had gone in very unanimouſly to the deſign of the King's Reſtoration, and had merited much on that account, ſo they drew over the Duke of *Ormond* to join with them, in order to an act confirming *Cromwell*'s ſettlement. Only a Court of claims was ſet up, to examine the pretenſions of ſome of the *Iriſh*, who had ſpecial 1660. The ſettlement of *Ireland*.

1660. ſpecial excuſes for themſelves, why they ſhould not be included in the general forfeiture of the Nation. Some were under age: Others were travelling, or ſerving abroad: And many had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the King's ſervice, when he was in *Flanders*; chiefly under the Duke of *York*, who pleaded much for them, and was always depended on by them, as their chief patron. It was thought moſt equitable, to ſend over men from *England*, who were not concerned in the intereſts or paſſions of the parties of that Kingdom, to try thoſe claims. Their proceedings were much cried out on: For it was ſaid, that every man's claim, who could ſupport it with a good preſent, was found good, and that all the members of that Court came back very rich. So that, tho' the *Iriſh* thought they had not juſtice enough done them, the *Engliſh* ſaid they had too much. When any thing was to be proved by witneſſes, ſets of them were hired, to depoſe according to the inſtructions given them. This was then cried out on, as a new ſcene of wickedneſs, that was then opened, and which muſt in the end ſubvert all juſtice and good government. The infection has ſpread ſince that time, and croſſed the ſea. And the danger of being ruined by falſe witneſſes has become ſo terrible, that there is no ſecurity againſt it, but from the ſincerity of juries. And if theſe come to be packt, then all men may be ſoon at mercy, if a wicked government ſhould ſet on a violent proſecution, as has happened oftner than once. I am not inſtructed enough in the affairs of *Ireland*, to carry this matter into more particulars. The *Engliſh* intereſt was managed chiefly by two men of a very indifferent reputation: The Earls of *Angleſey*, and *Orrery*. The chief manager of the *Iriſh* intereſt was *Richard Talbot*, one of the Duke's bedchamber men, who had much cunning, and had the ſecret both of his maſter's pleaſures, and of his religion, for ſome years, and was afterwards raiſed by him to be Earl and Duke of *Tirconnel*. Thus I have gone over the ſeveral branches of the ſettlement of matters after the Reſtoration. I have reſerved the affairs of the Church laſt, as thoſe about which I have taken the moſt pains to be well informed; and which I do therefore offer to the reader with ſome aſſurance, and on which I hope due reflection will be made.

The Biſhops who had then the greateſt credit.

At the Reſtoration, *Juxon*, the ancienteſt and moſt eminent of the former Biſhops, who had aſſiſted the late King in his laſt hours, was promoted to *Canterbury*, more out of decency, than that he was then capable to fill that poſt; for as he was never a great divine, ſo he was now ſuperannuated. Tho' others have aſſured me, that after ſome diſcourſes with the King he was ſo much

much ſtruck with what he obſerved in him, that upon that he loſt both heart and hope. The King treated him with outward reſpect, but had no great regard to him. *Sheldon* and *Morley* were the men that had the greateſt credit. *Sheldon* was eſteemed a learned man before the wars: But he was now engaged ſo deep in politicks, that ſcarce any prints of what he had been remained. He was a very dextrous man in buſineſs, had a great quickneſs of apprehenſion, and a very true judgment. He was a generous and charitable man. He had a great pleaſantneſs of converſation, perhaps too great. He had an art, that was peculiar to him, of treating all that came to him in a moſt obliging manner: But few depended much on his profeſſions of friendſhip. He ſeemed not to have a deep ſenſe of religion, if any at all: And ſpoke of it moſt commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy. By this means the King came to look on him as a wiſe and honeſt Clergy man. *Sheldon* was at firſt made Biſhop of *London*, and was upon *Juxon*'s death promoted to *Canterbury*. *Morley* had been firſt known to the world as a friend of the Lord *Falkland*'s: And that was enough to raiſe a man's character. He had continued for many years in the Lord *Clarendon*'s family, and was his particular friend. He was a Calviniſt with relation to the Arminian points, and was thought a friend to the Puritans before the wars: But he took care after his promotion to free himſelf from all ſuſpicions of that kind. He was a pious and charitable man, of a very exemplary life, but extream paſſionate, and very obſtinate. He was firſt made Biſhop of *Worceſter*. Doctor *Hammond*, for whom that See was deſigned, died a little before the Reſtoration, which was an unſpeakable loſs to the Church: For, as he was a man of great learning, and of moſt eminent merit, he having been the perſon that during the bad times had maintained the cauſe of the Church in a very ſingular manner, ſo he was a very moderate man in his temper, tho' with a high principle; and probably he would have fallen into healing counſels. He was alſo much ſet on reforming abuſes, and for raiſing in the Clergy a due ſenſe of the obligations they lay under. But by his death *Morley* was advanced to *Worceſter:* And not long after he was removed to *Wincheſter*, void by *Duppa*'s death, who had been the King's tutor, tho' no way fit for that poſt; but he was a meek and humble man, and much loved for the ſweetneſs of his temper; and would have been more eſteemed, if he had died before the Reſtoration; for he made not that uſe of the great wealth that flowed in upon him that was expected. *Morley* was thought always the honeſter man of the two, as *Sheldon* was certainly the abler man.

1660.

1660. The firſt point in debate was, whether conceſſions ſhould be made, and pains taken to gain the Diſſenters, or not; eſpecially the Preſbyterians. The Earl of *Clarendon* was much for it; and got the King to publiſh a declaration ſoon after his Reſtoration concerning Eccleſiaſtical affairs, to which if he had ſtood, very probably the greateſt part of them might have been gained. But the Biſhops did not approve of this: And after the ſervice they did that Lord in the Duke of *York*'s marriage, he would not put any hardſhip on thoſe who had ſo ſignally obliged him. This diſguſted the Lord *Southampton*, who was for carrying on the deſign that had been much talked of during the wars, of moderating matters both with relation to the government of the Church, and the worſhip and ceremonies: Which created ſome coldneſs between him and the Earl of *Clarendon*, when the Lord Chancellour went off from thoſe deſigns. The conſideration that thoſe Biſhops and their party had in the matter was this: The Preſbyterians were poſſeſſed of moſt of the great benefices in the Church, chiefly in the City of *London*, and in the two Univerſities. It is true, all that had come into the room of thoſe who were turned out by the Parliament, or the viſitors ſent by them, were removed by the courſe of law, as men that were illegally poſſeſſed of other mens rights: And that even where the former incumbents were dead, becauſe a title originally wrong was ſtill wrong in law. But there were a great many of them in very eminent poſts, who were legally poſſeſſed of them. Many of theſe, chiefly in the city of *London*, had gone into the deſign of the Reſtoration in ſo ſignal a manner, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that they had great merit, and a juſt title to very high preferment. Now, as there remained a great deal of the old animoſity againſt them for what they had done during the wars, ſo it was ſaid, it was better to have a ſchiſm out of the Church than within it; and that the half conformity of the Puritans before the war had ſet up a faction in every city and town between the lecturers and the incumbents, that the former took all methods to render themſelves popular, and to raiſe the benevolence of their people, which was their chief ſubſiſtence, by diſparaging the government both in Church and State. They had alſo many ſtories among them, of the credit they had in the elections of Parliament men, which they infuſed in the King, to poſſeſs him with the neceſſity of having none to ſerve in the Church, but perſons that ſhould be firmly tied to his intereſt, both by principle, and by ſubſcriptions and oaths. It is true, the joy then ſpread thro' the Nation had got at this time a new Parliament to be elected of men ſo high and ſo

Debates concerning the uniting with the Presbyterians.

ſo hot, that, unleſs the Court had reſtrained them, they would have carried things much farther than they did, againſt all that had been concerned in the late wars: But they were not to expect ſuch ſucceſs at all times: Therefore they thought it was neceſſary to make ſure work at this time: And, inſtead of uſing methods to bring in the ſectaries, they reſolved rather to ſeek the moſt effectual ones for caſting them out, and bringing a new ſet of men into the Church. This took with the King, at leaſt it ſeemed to do ſo. But, tho' he put on an outward appearance of moderation, yet he was in another and deeper laid deſign, to which the heat of theſe men proved ſubſervient, for bringing in of Popery. A Popiſh Queen was a great ſtep to keep it in countenance at Court, and to have a great many Prieſts going about the Court making converts. It was thought, a toleration was the only method for ſetting it a going all the Nation over. And nothing could make a toleration for Popery paſs, but the having great bodies of men put out of the Church, and put under ſevere laws, which ſhould force them to move for a toleration, and ſhould make it reaſonable to grant it to them. And it was reſolved, that whatever ſhould be granted of that ſort ſhould go in ſo large a manner, that Papiſts ſhould be comprehended within it. So the Papiſts had this generally ſpread among them, that they ſhould oppoſe all propoſitions for comprehenſion, and ſhould animate the Church party to maintain their ground againſt all the ſectaries. And in that point they ſeemed zealous for the Church. But at the ſame time they ſpoke of toleration, as neceſſary both for the peace and quiet of the Nation, and for the encouragement of trade. And with this the Duke was ſo poſſeſſed, that he declared himſelf a moſt violent enemy to comprehenſion, and as zealous for toleration. The King being thus reſolved on fixing the terms of conformity to what they had been before the war, without making the leaſt abatement or alteration, they carried on ſtill an appearance of moderation, till the ſtrength of the parties ſhould appear in the new Parliament. 1660.

A treaty in the *Savoy*.

So, after the declaration was ſet out, a commiſſion was granted to twelve of a ſide, with nine aſſiſtants to each ſide, who were appointed to meet at the *Savoy*, and to conſider on the ways of uniting both ſides. At their firſt meeting, *Sheldon* told them, that thoſe of the Church had not deſired this meeting, as being ſatisfied with the legal eſtabliſhment; and therefore they had nothing to offer; but it belonged to the other ſide, who moved for alterations, to offer both their exceptions to the laws in being, and the alterations that they propoſed. He told them, they

1660. they were to lay all they had to offer before them at once; for they would not engage to treat about any one particular, till they ſaw how far their demands went: And he ſaid, that all was to be tranſacted in writing, tho' the others inſiſted on an amicable conference; which was at firſt denied: Yet ſome hopes were given of allowing it at laſt. Papers were upon this given in. The Preſbyterians moved, that Biſhop *Uſher*'s Reduction ſhould be laid down as a ground-work to treat on; that Biſhops ſhould not govern their dioceſe by their ſingle authority, nor depute it to Lay officers in their Courts, but ſhould in matters of ordination and juriſdiction take along with them the counſel and concurrence of the Preſbyters. They did offer ſeveral exceptions to the Liturgy, againſt the many reſponſes by the people; and they deſired, all might be made one continued prayer. They deſired that no leſſons ſhould be taken out of the Apocryphal books; that the Pſalms uſed in the daily ſervice ſhould be according to the new tranſlation. They excepted to many parts of the office of baptiſm, that import the inward regeneration of all that were baptized. But as they propoſed theſe amendments, ſo they did alſo offer a Liturgy new drawn by Mr. *Baxter*. They inſiſted mainly againſt kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, chiefly againſt the impoſing it; and moved that the poſture might be left free, and that the uſe of the ſurplice, of the croſs in baptiſm, of God-fathers being the ſponſors in baptiſm, and of the holy days, might be aboliſhed. *Sheldon* ſaw well what the effect would be of putting them to make all their demands at once. The number of them raiſed a mighty outcry againſt them, as people that could never be ſatisfied. But nothing gave ſo great an advantage againſt them, as their offering a new Liturgy. In this they were divided among themſelves. Some were for inſiſting only on a few important things, reckoning that, if they were gained, and a union followed upon that, it would be eaſier to gain other things afterwards. But all this was overthrown by Mr. *Baxter*, who was a man of great piety; and, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been eſteemed one of the learned men of the age: He writ near two hundred books: Of theſe, three are large folios: He had a very moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and much ſimplicity; but was moſt unhappily ſubtle and metaphyſical in every thing. There was a great ſubmiſſion paid to him by the whole party. So he perſuaded them, that from the words of the commiſſion they were bound to offer every thing that they thought might conduce to the good or peace of the Church, without conſidering

ing what was like to be obtained, or what effect their demanding ſo much might have, in irritating the minds of thoſe who were then the ſuperiour body in ſtrength and number. All the whole matter was at laſt reduced to one ſingle point, whether it was lawful to determine the certain uſe of things indifferent in the worſhip of God? The Biſhops held them to that point, and preſſed them to ſhew that any of the things impoſed were of themſelves unlawful. The Preſbyterians declined this; but affirmed, that other circumſtances might make it become unlawful to ſettle a peremptory law about things indifferent; which they applied chiefly to kneeling in the Sacrament, and ſtood upon it that a law, which exclnded all that did not kneel from the Sacrament, was unlawful, as a limitation in the point of commnnion put on the laws of *Chriſt*, which onght to be the only condition of thoſe who had a right to it. Upon this point there was a free conference that laſted ſome days. The two men, that had the chief management of the debate, were the moſt unfit to heal matters, and the fitteſt to widen them, that could have been found out. *Baxter* was the opponent, and *Gunning* was the reſpondent; who was afterwards advanced, firſt to *Chicheſter*, and then to *Ely*: He was a man of great reading, and noted for a ſpecial ſubtilty of arguing: All the arts of ſophiſtry were made uſe of by him on all occaſions, in as confident a manner, as if they had been ſound reaſoning: He was a man of an innocent life, unweariedly active to very little purpoſe: He was much ſet on the reconciling us with Popery in ſome points: And, becauſe the charge of idolatry ſeemed a bar to all thoughts of reconciliation with them, he ſet himſelf with very great zeal to clear the Church of *Rome* of idolatry: This made many ſuſpect him as inclining to go over to them: But he was far from it; and was a very honeſt, ſincere man, but of no ſound judgment, and of no prudence in affairs: He was for our conforming in all things to the rules of the Primitive Church, particularly in praying for the dead, in the uſe of oil, with many other rituals: He formed many in *Cambridge* upon his own notions, who have carried them perhaps farther than he intended. *Baxter* and he ſpent ſome days in mnch logical arguing, to the diverſion of the town, who thought here were a couple of fencers engaged in diſputes, that could never be brought to an end, nor have any good effect. In concluſion, this commiſſion, being limited to ſuch a number of days, came to an end, before any one thing was agreed on. The Biſhops inſiſted on the laws that were ſtill in force, to which they would admit of no exception, unleſs it was proved that the matter of thoſe laws was ſinful. They charged 1660.

1660. the Preſbyterians with having made a ſchiſm, upon a charge againſt the Church for things, which now they themſelves could not call ſinful. They ſaid, there was no reaſon to gratify ſuch a ſort of men in any thing: One demand granted would draw on many more: All authority both in Church and State was ſtruck at by the poſition they had inſiſted on, that it was not lawful to impoſe things indifferent, ſince they ſeemed to be the only proper matter in which human authority could interpoſe. So this furniſhed an occaſion to expoſe them as enemies to all order. Things had been carried at the *Savoy* with great ſharpneſs, and many reflections. *Baxter* ſaid once, ſuch things would offend many good men in the Nation. *Stearn*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, upon that took notice that he would not ſay Kingdom, but Nation, becauſe he would not acknowledge a King. Of this great complaints were made, as an indecent return for the zeal they had ſhewn in the Reſtoration.

1661. The terms of conformity made harder.

The conference broke up without doing any good. It did rather hurt, and heightened the ſharpneſs that was then on peoples minds to ſuch a degree, that it needed no addition to raiſe it higher. The Preſbyterians laid their complaints before the King: But little regard was had to them. And now all the concern that ſeemed to employ the Biſhops thoughts was, not only to make no alteration on their account, but to make the terms of conformity much ſtricter than they had been before the war. So it was reſolved to maintain conformity to the height, and to put lecturers in the ſame condition with the incumbents, as to oaths and ſubſcriptions; and to oblige all perſons to ſubſcribe an unfeigned aſſent and conſent to all and every particular contained and preſcribed in the book of Common Prayer. Many, who thought it lawful to conform in ſubmiſſion, yet ſcrupled at this, as importing a particular approbation of every thing: And great diſtinction was made between a conformity in practice, and ſo full and diſtinct an aſſent. Yet men got over that, as importing no more but a conſent of obedience: For tho' the words of the ſubſcription, which were alſo to be publickly pronounced before the congregation, declaring the perſon's unfeigned aſſent and conſent, ſeemed to import this, yet the clauſe of the act that enjoined this carried a clear explanation of it; for it enacted this declaration as an aſſent and Conſent to the uſe of all things contained in the book. Another ſubſcription was enacted, with relation to theLeague and Covenant; by which they were required to declare it unlawful upon any pretence whatſoever to take arms againſt the King, renouncing the traiterous poſition of taking

taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or thoſe commiſſioned by him, together with a declaration, that no obligation lay on them or any other perſon from the League or Covenant to endeavour any change or alteration of government in Church and State, and that the Covenant was in it ſelf an unlawful oath. This was contriv'd againſt all the old men, who had both taken the Covenant themſelves, and had preſs'd it upon others. So they were now to own themſelves very guilty in that matter. And thoſe, who thought it might be lawful upon great and illegal provocation to reſiſt unjuſt invaſions on the laws and liberties of the ſubjects, excepted to the ſubſcription, tho' it was ſcarce ſafe for any at that time to have inſiſted on that point. Some thought, that ſince the King had taken the Covenant, he at leaſt was bound to ſtand to it. 1661.

Another point was fixed by the Act of Uniformity, which was more at large formerly: Thoſe, who came to *England* from the foreign Churches, had not been required to be ordained among us: But now all, that had not Epiſcopal ordination, were made incapable of holding any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice. Some few alterations were made in the Liturgy by the Biſhops themſelves: A few new collects were made, as the prayer for all conditions of men, and the general thankſgiving. A collect was alſo drawn for the Parliament, in which a new epithet was added to the King's title, that gave great offence, and occaſioned much indecent raillery: He was ſtyled our moſt religious King. It was not eaſy to give a proper ſenſe to this, and to make it go well down; ſince, whatever the ſignification of religion might be in the *Latin* word, as importing the ſacredneſs of the King's perſon, yet in the *Engliſh* language it bore a ſignification that was no way applicable to the King. And thoſe who took great liberties with him have often aſked him, what muſt all his people think, when they heard him prayed for as their moſt religious King? Some other leſſer additions were made. But care was taken, that nothing ſhould be altered, ſo as it had been moved by the Preſbyterians; for it was reſolved to gratify them in nothing. One important addition was made, chiefly by *Gawden*'s means: He preſſed that a declaration, explaining the reaſons of their kneeling at the Sacrament, which had been in King *Edward*'s Liturgy, but was left out in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, ſhould be again ſet where it had once been. The Papiſts were highly offended, when they ſaw ſuch an expreſs declaration made againſt the real preſence, and the Duke told me, that when he aſked *Sheldon* how they came to declare againſt a doctrine, which he had been inſtructed was the doctrine of the Church, *Sheldon* anſwered

The Act of Uniformity.

1661. anſwered, aſk *Gawden* about it, who is a Biſhop of your own making: For the King had ordered his promotion for the ſervice he had done. The Convocation that prepared thoſe alterations, as they added ſome new holy days, St. *Barnabas*, and the Converſion of St. *Paul*, ſo they took in more leſſons out of the Apocrypha, in particular the ſtory of *Bell* and the *Dragon:* New offices were alſo drawn for two new days, the thirtieth of *January*, called King *Charles* the Martyr, and the twenty ninth of *May*, the day of the King's birth and return. *Sancroft* drew for theſe ſome offices of a very high ſtrain. Yet others of a more moderate ſtrain were preferred to them. But he, coming to be advanced to the See of *Canterbury*, got his offices to be publiſhed by the King's authority, in a time when ſo high a ſtyle as was in them did not ſound well in the Nation. Such care was taken in the choice and returns of the members of the Convocation, that every thing went among them as was directed by *Sheldon* and *Morley*. When they had prepared all their alterations, they offered them to the King, who ſent them to the Houſe of Commons, upon which the Act of Uniformity was prepared by *Keeling*, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice.

When it was brought into the Houſe, many did apprehend that ſo ſevere an act might have ill effects, and began to abate of their firſt heat: Upon which reports were ſpread, and much aggravated as they were reported to the Houſe of Commons, of the Plots of the Preſbyterians in ſeveral Counties. Many were taken up on thoſe reports: But none were ever tried for them. So, the thing being let fall, it has been given out ſince, that theſe were forged by the direction of ſome hot ſpirits, who might think ſuch arts were neceſſary to give an alarm, and by rendring the party odious to carry ſo ſevere an act againſt them. The Lord *Clarendon* himſelf was charged as having directed this piece of artifice: But I could never ſee any ground for faſtening it on him: Tho' there were great appearances of foul dealing among ſome of the fiercer ſort. The Act paſs'd by no great majority: And by it all who did not conform to the Liturgy by the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, St. *Bartholomew*'s day, in the year 1662, were deprived of all Eccleſiaſtical benefices, without leaving any diſcretional power with the King in the execution of it, and without making proviſion for the maintenance of thoſe who ſhould be ſo deprived: A ſeverity neither practiſed by Queen *Elizabeth* in the enacting her Liturgy, nor by *Cromwell* in ejecting the Royaliſts, in both which a fifth part of the benefice was reſerved for their ſubſiſtence. St. *Bartholomew*'s day was pitched on, that, if they were then deprived, they ſhould looſe the

the profits of the whole year, ſince the tithes are commonly due at *Michaelmas*. The Preſbyterians remembred what a St. *Bartholomew*'s had been held at *Paris* ninety years before, which was the day of that maſſacre, and did not ſtick to compare the one to the other. The Book of Common-prayer with the new corrections was that to which they were to ſubſcribe. But the corrections were ſo long a preparing, and the vaſt number of copies, above two thouſand, that were to be wrought off for all the pariſh Churches of *England*, made the impreſſion go on ſo ſlowly, that there were few Books ſet out to ſale when the day came. So, many that were well affected to the Church, but that made conſcience of ſubſcribing to a book that they had not ſeen, left their benefices on that very account. Some made a journey to *London* on purpoſe to ſee it. With ſo much precipitation was that matter driven on, that it ſeemed expected, that the Clergy ſhould ſubſcribe implicitely to a book they had never ſeen. This was done by too many, as I was informed by ſome of the Biſhops. But the Preſbyterians were now in great difficulties. They had many meetings, and much diſputing about conformity. *Reynolds* accepted of the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*. But *Calamy* and *Baxter* refuſed the Sees of *Litchfield* and *Hereford*. And about two thouſand of them fell under the Parliamentary deprivation, as they gave out. The numbers have been much controverted. This raiſed a grievous outcry over the Nation; tho' it was leſs conſidered at that time, than it would have been at any other. *Baxter* told me, that had the terms of the King's Declaration been ſtood to, he did not believe that above three hundred of theſe would have been ſo deprived. Some few, and but few, of the Epiſcopal party were troubled at this ſeverity, or apprehenſive of the very ill effects it was like to have. Here were many men, much valued, ſome on better grounds, and others on worſe, who were now caſt out ignominiouſly, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much ſpiteful uſage, and caſt upon thoſe popular practices that both their principles and their circumſtances ſeemed to juſtify, of forming ſeparate congregations, and of diverting men from the publick worſhip, and from conſidering their ſucceſſors as the lawful paſtors of thoſe Churches in which they had ſerved. The blame of all this fell heavieſt on *Sheldon*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was charged with his having entertained the Preſbyterians with hopes and good words, while he was all the while carrying on, or at leaſt giving way to the Biſhop's project. When the Convocation had gone thro' the book of Common-prayer; it was in the next place propoſed, that, according to a clauſe in the King's licence, they ſhould conſider the Ca-

1661.

1661. nons of the Church. They had it then in their power to have reformed many abuſes, and particularly to have provided an effectual remedy to the root of all thoſe, which ariſe from the poor maintenance that is reſerved to the incumbents. Almoſt all the leaſes of the Church eſtates over *England* were fallen in, there having been no renewal for twenty years. The leaſes for years were determined: And the wars had carried off ſo many men, that moſt of the leaſes for lives were fallen into the incumbents hands So that the Church eſtates were in them: And the fines raiſed by the renewing the leaſes roſe to about a million and a half. It was an unreaſonable thing to let thoſe who were now promoted carry off ſo great a treaſure. If the half had been applied to the buying of tithes or glebes for ſmall Vicarages, here a foundation had been laid down for a great and effectual reformation. In ſome ſees forty or fifty thouſand pound was raiſed, and applied to the enriching the Biſhops families. Something was done to Churches and Colleges, in particular to St. *Paul*'s in *London:* And a noble collection was made for redeeming all the *Engliſh* ſlaves that were in any part of *Barbary*. But this fell far ſhort of what might have been expected. In this the Lord *Clarendon* was heavily charged, as having ſhown that he was more the Biſhop's friend than the Church's. It is true, the law made thoſe fines belong to the incumbents. But ſuch an extraordinary occaſion deſerved, that a law ſhould have been made on purpoſe. What the Biſhops did with thoſe great fines was a pattern to all the lower Dignitaries, who generally took more care of themſelves than of the Church. The men of merit and ſervice were loaded with many livings and many dignities. With this great acceſſion of wealth there broke in upon the Church a great deal of luxury and high living, on the pretence of hoſpitality; while others made purchaſes, and left great eſtates, moſt of which we have ſeen melt away. And with this overſet of wealth and pomp, that came on men in the decline of their parts and age, they, who were now growing into old age, became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the Church: They left preaching and writing to others, while they gave themſelves up to eaſe and ſloth. In all which ſad repreſentation ſome few exceptions are to be made; but ſo few, that, if a new ſet of men had not appeared of another ſtamp, the Church had quite loſt her eſteem over the Nation.

The great fines then raiſed on the Church eſtates ill applied.

Theſe were generally of *Cambridge*, formed under ſome divines, the chief of whom were Drs. *Whitchcot*, *Cudworth*, *Wilkins*, *More*, and *Worthington*. *Whitchcot* was a man of a rare temper, very mild and obliging. He had great credit with ſome that

Divines called Latitudinarians.

that had been eminent in the late times; but made all the uſe he could of it to protect good men of all perſuaſions. He was much for liberty of conſcience: And being diſguſted with the dry ſyſtematical way of thoſe times, he ſtudied to raiſe thoſe who converſed with him to a nobler ſet of thoughts, and to conſider religion as a ſeed of a deiform nature, (to uſe one of his own phraſes.) In order to this, he ſet young ſtudents much on reading the ancient Philoſophers, chiefly *Plato*, *Tully*, and *Plotin*, and on conſidering the Chriſtian religion as a doctrine ſent from God, both to elevate and ſweeten humane nature, in which he was a great example, as well as a wiſe and kind inſtructer. *Cudworth* carried this on with a great ſtrength of genius, and a vaſt compaſs of learning. He was a man of great conduct and prudence: Upon which his enemies did very falſly accuſe him of craft and diſſimulation. *Wilkins* was of *Oxford*, but removed to *Cambridge*. His firſt riſe was in the Elector Palatine's family, when he was in *England*. Afterwards he married *Cromwell*'s ſiſter; but made no other uſe of that alliance, but to do good offices, and to cover the Univerſity from the fourneſs of *Owen* and *Goodwin*. At *Cambridge* he joined with thoſe who ſtudied to propagate better thoughts, to take men off from being in parties, or from narrow notions, from ſuperſtitious conceits, and a fierceneſs about opinions. He was alſo a great obſerver and a promoter of experimental philoſophy, which was then a new thing, and much looked after. He was naturally ambitious, but was the wiſeſt Clergy-man I ever knew. He was a lover of mankind, and had a delight in doing good. *More* was an open hearted, and ſincere chriſtian philoſopher, who ſtudied to eſtabliſh men in the great principles of religion againſt atheiſm, that was then beginning to gain ground, chiefly by reaſon of the hypocriſy of ſome, and the fantaſtical conceits of the more ſincere enthuſiaſts. 1661.

Hobbs, who had long followed the Court, and paſſed there for a mathematical man, tho' he really knew little that way, being diſguſted by the Court, came into *England* in *Cromwell*'s time, and publiſhed a very wicked book, with a very ſtrange title, *The Leviathan*. His main principles were, that all men acted under an abſolute neceſſity, in which he ſeemed protected by the then received doctrine of abſolute decrees. He ſeemed to think that the univerſe was God, and that ſouls were material, Thought being only ſubtil and unperceptible motion. He thought intereſt and fear were the chief principles of ſociety: And he put all morality in the following that which was our own private will or advantage. He thought religion had no other foundation than the laws *Hobbs*'s Leviathan.

1661. laws of the land. And he put all the law in the will of the Prince, or of the people: For he writ his book at firſt in favour of abſolute monarchy, but turned it afterwards to gratify the republican party. Theſe were his true principles, tho' he had diſguiſed them, for deceiving unwary readers. And this ſet of notions came to ſpread much. The novelty and boldneſs of them ſet many on reading them. The impiety of them was acceptable to men of corrupt minds, which were but too much prepared to receive them by the extravagancies of the late times. So this ſet of men at *Cambridge* ſtudied to aſſert, and examine the principles of religion and morality on clear grounds, and in a philoſophical method. In this *More* led the way to many that came after him. *Worthington* was a man of eminent piety and great humility, and practiſed a moſt ſublime way of ſelf-denial and devotion. All theſe, and thoſe who were formed under them, ſtudied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared againſt ſuperſtition on the one hand, and enthuſiaſm on the other. They loved the conſtitution of the Church, and the Liturgy, and could well live under them: But they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wiſhed that things might have been carried with more moderation. And they continued to keep a good correſpondence with thoſe who had differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom both in philoſophy and in divinity: From whence they were called men of Latitude. And upon this men of narrower thoughts and fiercer tempers faſtened upon them the name of Latitudinarians. They read *Epiſcopius* much. And the making out the reaſons of things being a main part of their ſtudies, their enemies called them Socinians. They were all very zealous againſt popery. And ſo, they becoming ſoon very conſiderable, the Papiſts ſet themſelves againſt them to decry them as Atheiſts, Deiſts, or at beſt Socinians. And now that the main principle of religion was ſtruck at by *Hobbs* and his followers, the Papiſts acted upon this a very ſtrange part. They went in ſo far even into the argument for Atheiſm, as to publiſh many books, in which they affirmed, that there was no certain proofs of the Chriſtian religion, unleſs we took it from the authority of the Church as infallible. This was ſuch a delivering up of the cauſe to them, that it raiſed in all good men a very high indignation at Popery; that party ſhewing, that they choſe to make men, who would not turn Papiſts, become Atheiſts, rather than believe Chriſtianity upon any other ground than infallibility.

The

The moſt eminent of thoſe, who were formed under thoſe great men I have mention'd, were *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, and *Patrick*. The firſt of theſe was a man of a clear head, and a ſweet temper. He had the brighteſt thoughts, and the moſt correct ſtyle of all our divines; and was eſteemed the beſt preacher of the age. He was a very prudent man; and had ſuch a management with it, that I never knew any Clergy-man ſo univerſally eſteemed and beloved, as he was for above twenty years. He was eminent for his oppoſition to Popery. He was no friend to perſecution, and ſtood up much againſt Atheiſm. Nor did any man contribute more to bring the City to love our worſhip, than he did. But there was ſo little ſuperſtition, and ſo much reaſon and gentleneſs in his way of explaining things, that malice was long levelled at him, and in concluſion broke out fiercely on him. *Stillingfleet* was a man of much more learning, but of a more reſerved, and a haughtier temper. He in his youth writ an *Irenicum* for healing our diviſions, with ſo much learning and moderation, that it was eſteemed a maſter-piece. His notion was, that the Apoſtles had ſettled the Church in a conſtitution of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, but had made no perpetual law about it, having only taken it in, as they did many other things, from the cuſtoms and practice of the ſynagogue; from which he inferred, that certainly the conſtitution was lawful ſince authoriſed by them, but not neceſſary, ſince they had made no ſettled law about it. This took with many; but was cried out upon by others as an attempt againſt the Church. Yet the argument was managed with ſo much learning and ſkill, that none of either ſide ever undertook to anſwer it. After that, he wrote againſt infidelity, beyond any that had gone before him. And then he engaged to write againſt Popery, which he did with ſuch an exactneſs and livelineſs, that no books of controverſy were ſo much read and valued, as his were. He was a great man in many reſpects. He knew the world well, and was eſteemed a very wiſe man. The writing of his *Irenicum* was a great ſnare to him: For, to avoid the imputations which that brought upon him, he not only retracted the book, but he went into the humours of that high ſort of people beyond what became him, perhaps beyond his own ſenſe of things. He applied himſelf much to the ſtudy of the law and records, and the original of our conſtitution, and was a very extraordinary man. *Patrick* was a great preacher. He wrote much, and well, and chiefly on the Scriptures. He was a laborious man in his function, of great ſtrictneſs of life, but a little too ſevere againſt thoſe who differed from him. But that was, when he thought their doctrines ſtruck

1661. A character of ſome divines.

1661. at the fundamentals of religion. He became afterwards more moderate. To theſe I ſhall add another divine, who, tho' of *Oxford*, yet as he was formed by Biſhop *Wilkins*, ſo he went into moſt of their principles; but went far beyond them in learning. *Lloyd* was a great critick in the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, but chiefly in the Scriptures; of the words and phraſes of which he carried the moſt perfect concordance in his memory, and had it the readieſt about him, of all men that ever I knew. He was an exact hiſtorian, and the moſt punctual in chronology of all our divines. He had read the moſt books, and with the beſt judgment, and had made the moſt copious abſtracts out of them, of any in this age: So that *Wilkins* uſed to ſay, he had the moſt learning in ready caſh of any he ever knew. He was ſo exact in every thing he ſet about, that he never gave over any part of ſtudy, till he had quite maſtered it. But when that was done, he went to another ſubject, and did not lay out his learning with the diligence with which he laid it in. He had many volumes of materials upon all ſubjects laid together in ſo diſtinct a method, that he could with very little labour write on any of them. He had more life in his imagination, and a truer judgment, than may ſeem conſiſtent with ſuch a laborious courſe of ſtudy. Yet, as much as he was ſet on learning, he had never neglected his paſtoral care. For ſeveral years he had the greateſt cure in *England*, St. *Martins*, which he took care of with an application and diligence beyond any about him; to whom he was an example, or rather a reproach, ſo few following his example. He was a holy, humble, and patient man, ever ready to do good when he ſaw a proper opportunity: Even his love of ſtudy did not divert him from that. He did upon his promotion find a very worthy ſucceſſor in his cure, *Teniſon*, who carried on and advanced all thoſe good methods that he had begun in the management of that great cure. He endowed ſchools, ſet up a publick library, and kept many Curates to aſſiſt him in his indefatigable labours among them. He was a very learned man, and took much pains to ſtate the notions and practices of heatheniſh idolatry, and ſo to faſten that charge on the Church of *Rome*. And, *Whitehall* lying within that pariſh, he ſtood as in the front of the battel all King *James*'s reign; and maintained, as well as managed, that dangerous poſt with great courage and much judgment, and was held in very high eſteem for his whole deportment, which was ever grave and moderate. Theſe have been the greateſt divines we have had theſe forty years: And may we ever have a ſucceſſion of ſuch men to fill the room of thoſe who have already gone off the ſtage, and of thoſe who, being

being now very old, cannot hold their poſts long. Of theſe I have writ the more fully, becauſe I knew them well, and have lived long in great friendſhip with them; but moſt particularly with *Tillotſon* and *Lloyd*. And, as I am ſenſible I owe a great deal of the conſideration that has been had for me to my being known to be their friend, ſo I have really learned the beſt part of what I know from them. But I owed them much more on the account of thoſe excellent principles and notions, of which they were in a particular manner communicative to me. This ſet of men contributed more than can be well imagined to reform the way of preaching; which among the divines of *England* before them was over-run with pedantry, a great mixture of quotations from fathers and ancient writers, a long opening of a text with the concordance of every word in it, and a giving all the different expoſitions with the grounds of them, and the entring into ſome parts of controverſy, and all concluding in ſome, but very ſhort, practical applications, according to the ſubject or the occaſion. This was both long and heavy, when all was pye-balled, full of many ſayings of different languages. The common ſtyle of ſermons was either very flat and low, or ſwelled up with rhetorick to a falſe pitch of a wrong ſublime. The King had little or no literature, but true and good ſenſe; and had got a right notion of ſtyle; for he was in *France* at a time when they were much ſet on reforming their language. It ſoon appear'd that he had a true taſte. So this help'd to raiſe the value of theſe men, when the King approved of the ſtyle their diſcourſes generally ran in; which was clear, plain, and ſhort. They gave a ſhort paraphraſe of their text, unleſs where great difficulties required a more copious enlargement: But even then they cut off unneceſſary ſhews of learning, and applied themſelves to the matter, in which they opened the nature and reaſons of things ſo fully, and with that ſimplicity, that their hearers felt an inſtruction of another ſort than had commonly been obſerved before. So they became very much followed: And a ſet of theſe men brought off the City in a great meaſure from the prejudices they had formerly to the Church.

1661.

The way of preaching which then prevailed.

There was a great debate in Council, a little before St. *Bartholomew*'s day; whether the Act of Uniformity ſhould be punctually executed, or not. Some moved to have the execution of it delayed to the next ſeſſion of Parliament. Others were for executing it in the main, but to connive at ſome eminent men, and to put Curates into their Churches to read and officiate according to the Common-prayer, but to leave them to preach on, till

1662.

The Act of Uniformity executed with rigor.

1662. till they ſhould die out. The Earl of *Mancheſter* laid all theſe things before the King with much zeal, but with no great force. *Sheldon* on the other hand preſs'd the execution of the law: *England* was accuſtomed to obey laws: So while they ſtood on that ground, they were ſafe, and needed fear none of the dangers that ſeemed to be threatened: He alſo undertook to fill all the vacant pulpits, that ſhould be forſaken in *London*, better and more to the ſatisfaction of the people, than they had been before: And he ſeemed to apprehend, that a very ſmall number would fall under the deprivation, and that the groſs of the party would conform. On the other hand, thoſe who led the party took great pains to have them all ſtick together: They infuſed it into them, that if great numbers ſtood out, that would ſhew their ſtrength, and produce new laws in their favour; whereas they would be deſpiſed, if, after ſo much noiſe made, the greater part of them ſhould conform. So it was thought, that many went out in the croud to keep their friends company. Many of theſe were diſtinguiſhed by their abilities and zeal. They caſt themſelves upon the providence of God, and the charity of their friends, which had a fair appearance, as of men that were ready to ſuffer perſecution for their conſciences. This begot eſteem, and raiſed compaſſion: Whereas the old Clergy, now much enriched, were as much deſpiſed. But the young Clergy that came from the Univerſities did good ſervice. Learning was then high at *Oxford*; chiefly the ſtudy of the oriental tongues, which was much raiſed by the *Polyglot* Bible, then lately ſet forth. They read the fathers much there. mathematicks and the new philoſophy were in great eſteem. And the meetings that *Wilkins* had begun at *Oxford* were now held in *London* too, in ſo publick manner, that the King himſelf encouraged them much, and had many experiments made before him.

The Royal ſociety.

The men that formed the Royal Society in *London* were Sir *Robert Murray*, the Lord *Brounker*, a profound mathematician, and Doctor *Ward*, ſoon after promoted to *Exeter*, and afterwards removed to *Salisbury*. *Ward* was a man of great reach, went deep in mathematical ſtudies, and was a very dextrous man, if not too dextrous; for his ſincerity was much queſtioned. He had complied during the late times, and held in by taking the Covenant: So he was hated by the high men as a time-ſerver. But the Lord *Clarendon* ſaw, that moſt of the Biſhops were men of merit by their ſufferings, but of no great capacity for buſineſs. He brought *Ward* in, as a man fit to govern the Church: For *Ward*, to get his former errors to be forgot, went into the high notions of a ſevere conformity, and became the moſt conſidera-

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ble man on the Biſhops bench. He was a profound States man, 1662.
but a very indifferent Clergy-man. Many Phyſicians, and other ingenious men went into the Society for natural Philoſophy. But he who laboured moſt, at the greateſt charge, and with the moſt ſucceſs at experiments, was *Robert Boyle*, the Earl of *Cork*'s youngeſt ſon. He was looked on by all who knew him, as a very perfect pattern. He was a very devout Chriſtian, humble and modeſt, almoſt to a fault, of a moſt ſpotleſs and exemplary life in all reſpects. He was highly charitable; and was a mortified and ſelf-denied man, that delighted in nothing ſo much as in the doing good. He neglected his perſon, deſpiſed the world, and lived abſtracted from all pleaſures, deſigns, and intereſts. I preached his funeral ſermon, in which I gave his character ſo truly, that I do not think it neceſſary now to enlarge more upon it. The Society for Philoſophy grew ſo conſiderable, that they thought fit to take out a patent, which conſtituted them a body, by the name of the Royal Society; of which Sir *Robert Murray* was the firſt Preſident, Biſhop *Ward* the ſecond, and the Lord *Brounker* the third. Their hiſtory is writ ſo well by Doctor *Sprat*, that I will inſiſt no more on them, but go on to other matters.

Conſultations among the Papiſts.

After St. *Bartholomew*'s day, the Diſſenters, ſeeing both Court and Parliament was ſo much ſet againſt them, had much conſultation together what to do. Many were for going over to *Holland*, and ſettling there with their Miniſters. Others propoſed *New-England*, and the other Plantations. Upon this the Earl of *Briſtol* drew to his houſe a meeting of the chief Papiſts in Town: And after an oath of ſecrecy he told them, now was the proper time for them to make ſome ſteps towards the bringing in of their religion: In order to that it ſeemed adviſable for them to take pains to procure favour to the Nonconformiſts; (for that became the common name to them all, as Puritan had been before the war:) They were the rather to beſtir themſelves to procure a toleration for them in general terms, that they themſelves might be comprehended within it. The Lord *Aubigny* ſeconded the motion. He ſaid, it was ſo viſibly the intereſt of *England* to make a great body of the trading men ſtay within the Kingdom, and be made eaſy in it, that it would have a good grace in them to ſeem zealous for it: And, to draw in ſo great a number of thoſe, who had been hitherto the hotteſt againſt them, to feel their care, and to ſee their zeal to ſerve them, he recommended to them to make this the ſubject of all their diſcourſes, and to engage all their friends in the deſign. *Bennet* did not meet with them, but was known to be of the ſecret; as the Lord *Stafford* told me in the Tower a little before his death. But that

1662. Lord ſoon withdrew from thoſe meetings: For he apprehended the Earl of *Briſtol*'s heat, and that he might raiſe a ſtorm againſt them by his indiſcreet meddling.

A Declaration for toleration.

The King was ſo far prevailed on by them, that in *December* 1662 he ſet out a Declaration, that was generally thought to be procured by the Lord *Briſtol:* But it had a deeper root, and was deſigned by the King himſelf. In it the King expreſſed his averſion to all ſeverities on the account of religion, but more particularly to all ſanguinary laws; and gave hopes both to Papiſts and Nonconformiſts, that he would find out ſuch ways for tempering the ſeverities of the laws, that all his ſubjects ſhould be eaſy under them. The wiſer of the Nonconformiſts ſaw at what all this was aimed, and ſo received it coldly. But the Papiſts went on more warmly, and were preparing a ſcheme for a toleration for them. And one part of it raiſed great diſputes among themſelves. Some were for their taking the oath of allegiance, which renonnced the Popes depoſing power. But all thoſe that were under a management from *Rome* refuſed this. And the Internnntio at *Bruſſells* proceeded to cenſure thoſe that were for it, as enemies to the Papal authority. A propoſition was alſo made for having none but ſecular Prieſts tolerated in *England*, who ſhould be under a Biſhop, and under an eſtabliſhed government. But that all the regulars, in particular all Jeſuits, ſhould be under the ſtricteſt penalties forbid the Kingdom.

Deſigned for the Papiſts.

The Earl of *Clarendon* ſet this on; for he knew well it would divide the Papiſts among themſelves. But, tho' a few honeſt Prieſts, ſuch as *Blacklow*, *Serjeant*, *Caron*, and *Walſh* were for it, yet they could not make a party among the leading men of their own ſide. It was pretended, that this was ſet on foot with a deſign to divide them, and ſo to break their ſtrength. The Earl of *Clarendon* knew, that Cardinal *de Retz*, for whom he ſaw the King had a particular eſteem, had come over incognito, and had been with the King in private. So, to let the King ſee how odious a thing his being ſuſpected of Popery would be, and what a load it would lay on his government if it came to be believed, he got ſome of his party, as Sir *Allain Brodrick* told me, to move in the Houſe of Commons for an Act rendring it capital to ſay the King was a Papiſt. And, whereas the King was made to believe that the old Cavaliers were become milder with relation to Popery, the Lord *Clarendon* upon this new Act inferred, that it ſtill appeared that the opinion of his being a Papiſt would ſo certainly make him odious, that for that reaſon the Parliament had made the ſpreading thoſe reports ſo penal. But this was

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taken by another handle, while ſome ſaid, that this Act was made on purpoſe, that, tho' the deſign of bringing in Popery ſhould become ever ſo viſible, none ſhould dare to ſpeak of it. The Earl of *Clarendon* had a quite contrary deſign in it, to let the King ſee how fatal the effects of any ſuch ſuſpicions were like to be. When the Earl of *Briſtoll*'s declaration was propoſed in Council, Lord *Clarendon* and the Biſhops oppoſed it. But there was nothing in it directly againſt law, hopes being only given of endeavours to make all men eaſy under the King's government: So it paſs'd. The Earl of *Briſtoll* carried it as a great victory. And he, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and all Lord *Clarendon*'s enemies, declared openly againſt him. But the poor Prieſts, who had made thoſe honeſt motions, were very ill looked on by all their own party, as men gained on deſign to betray them. I knew all this from *Peter Walſh* himſelf, who was the honeſteſt and learneded man I ever knew among them. He was of *Iriſh* extraction, and of the Franciſcan order: And was indeed in all points of controverſy almoſt wholly Proteſtant: But he had ſenſes of his own, by which he excuſed his adhering to the Church of *Rome:* And he maintained, that with theſe he could continue in the communion of that Church without ſin: And he ſaid, that he was ſure he did ſome good ſtaying ſtill on that ſide, but that he could do none at all if he ſhould come over: He thought, no man ought to forſake that religion in which he was born and bred, unleſs he was clearly convinced, that he muſt certainly be damned if he continued in it. He was an honeſt and able man, much practiſed in intrigues, and knew well the methods of the Jeſuits, and other Miſſionaries. He told me often, there was nothing which the whole Popiſh party feared more than an union of thoſe of the Church of *England* with the Preſbyterians: They knew, we grew the weaker, the more our breaches were widened; and that, the more we were ſet againſt one another, we would mind them the leſs. The Papiſts had two maxims, from which they never departed: The one was to divide us: And the other was to keep themſelves united, and either to ſet on an indiſcriminated toleration, or a general proſecution; for ſo we loved to ſoften the harſh word of perſecution. And he obſerved, not without great indignation at us for our folly, that we, inſtead of uniting among our ſelves, and dividing them, according to their maxims, did all we could to keep them united, and to disjoint our own body: For he was perſuaded, if the government had held an heavy hand on the Regulars and the Jeſuits, and had been gentle to the Seculars, and had ſet up a diſtinguiſhing teſt, renouncing all

1663.

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1662. ſort of power in the Pope over the temporal rights of Princes, to which the Regulars and the Jeſuits could never ſubmit, that this would have engaged them into ſuch violent quarrels among themſelves, that cenſures would have been thundred at *Rome* againſt all that ſhould take any ſuch teſt; which would have procured much diſputing, and might have probably ended in the revolt of the ſoberer part of that Church. But he found, that, tho' the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Duke of *Ormond* liked the project, little regard was had to it by the governing party in the Court.

1663. *Briſtol's deſigns.* The Church party was allarmed at all this. And tho' they were unwilling to ſuſpect the King or the Duke, yet the management for Popery was ſo viſible, that in the next ſeſſion of Parliament the King's declaration was ſeverely arraigned, and the authors of it were plainly enough pointed at. This was done chiefly by the Lord *Clarendon*'s Friends. And at this the Earl of *Briſtol* was highly diſpleaſed, and reſolved to take all poſſible methods to ruine the Earl of *Clarendon*. He had a great ſkill in aſtrology, and had poſſeſſed the King with an high opinion of it: And told the Duke of *Buckingham*, as he ſaid to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, *Wilmot*, from whom I had it, that he was confident that he would lay that before the King, which would totally alienate him both from his brother and from the Lord *Clarendon*: For he could demonſtrate by the principles of that art, that he was to fall by his brother's means, if not by his hand: And he was ſure this would work on the King. It would ſo, ſaid the Duke of *Buckingham*, but in another way than he expected: For it would make the King be ſo afraid of offending him, that he would do any thing rather than provoke him. Yet the Lord *Briſtol* would lay this before the King. And the Duke of *Buckingham* believed, that it had the effect ever after, that he had apprehended: For tho' the King never loved nor eſteemed the Duke, yet he ſeemed to ſtand in ſome ſort of awe of him.

He accuſed *Clarendon* in the Houſe of Lords. But this was not all: The Lord *Briſtol* reſolved to offer articles of impeachment againſt the Earl of *Clarendon* to the Houſe of Lords, tho' it was plainly provided againſt by the ſtatute againſt appeals in the reign of *Henry* the fourth. Yet both the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Briſtol*, the fathers of theſe two Lords, had broken thro' that in the former reign. So the Lord *Briſtol* drew his impeachment, and carried it to the King, who took much pains on him in a ſoft and gentle manner to diſſuade him from it. But he would not be wrought on. And he told the King plainly, that, if he forſook him, he would raiſe ſuch

diſorders that all *England* ſhould feel them, and the King him- 1663.
ſelf ſhould not be without a large ſhare in them. The King, as the Earl of *Lauderdale* told me, who ſaid he had it from himſelf, ſaid, he was ſo provoked at this, that he durſt not truſt himſelf in anſwering it, but went out of the room, and ſent the Lord *Aubigny* to ſoften him: But all was in vain. It is very probable, that the Lord *Briſtol* knew the ſecret of the King's religion, which both made him ſo bold, and the King ſo fearful. The next day he carried the charge to the Houſe of Lords. It was of a very mixed nature: In one part he charged the Lord *Clarendon* with raiſing jealouſies, and ſpreading reports of the King's being a Papiſt: And yet in the other articles he charged him with correſpondence with the Court of *Rome*, in order to the making the Lord *Aubigny* a Cardinal, and ſeveral other things of a very ſtrange nature. As ſoon as he put it in, he, it ſeems, either repented of it, or at leaſt was prevailed with to abſcond. He was ever after that looked on, as a man capable of the higheſt extravagances poſſible. He made the matter worſe by a letter that he wrote to the Lords, in which he expreſſed his fear of the danger the King was in by the Duke's having of guards. Proclamations went out for diſcovering him. But he kept ont of the way till the ſtorm was over. The Parliament expreſſed a firm reſolution to maintain the Act of Uniformity. And the King being run much in debt, they gave him four ſubſidies, being willing to return to the ancient way of taxes by ſubſidies. But theſe were ſo evaded, and brought in ſo little money, that the Court reſolved never to have recourſe to that method of raiſing money any more, but to betake themſelves for the future to the aſſeſſment begun in the war. The Convocation gave at the ſame time four ſubſidies, which proved as heavy on them, as they were light on the temporalty. This was the laſt aid that the ſpiritualty gave: For the whole proving ſo inconſiderable, and yet ſo unequally heavy on the Clergy, it was reſolved on hereafter to tax Church benefices as temporal eſtates were taxed; which proved indeed a lighter burden, but was not ſo honorable as when it was given by themſelves. Yet intereſt prevailing above the point of honour, they acquieſced in it. So the Convocations being no more neceſſary to the Crown, this made that there was leſs regard had to them afterwards. They were often diſcontinued, and prorogued: And when they met, it was only for form. The Parliament did paſs another Act, that was very acceptable to the Court, and that ſhewed a confidence in the King, repealing the Act of triennial Parliaments, which had been obtained with ſo much difficulty, and was clogged with ſo many

1663. clauſes, which ſeemed to transfer the power from the Crown to the people, that, when it was carried, it was thought the greateſt ſecurity that the people had for all their other liberties. But it was now given up without a ſtruggle, or any clauſes for a certainty of Parliaments, beſides a general one, that there ſhould be a Parliament called within three years after the diſſolution of the preſent Parliament, and ſo ever afterwards; but without any ſevere clauſes, in caſe the Act was not obſerved.

As for our foreign negotiations I know nothing in particular concerning them. Secretary *Bennet* had them all in his hands: And I had no confidence with any about him. Our concerns with *Portugal* were publick: And I knew no ſecrets about theſe.

A Plot diſcovered. By a melancholy inſtance to our private family it appeared, that *France* was taking all poſſible methods to do every thing that the King deſired. The Common-wealths-men were now thinking, that they ſaw the ſtream of the Nation beginning to turn againſt the Court: And upon that they were meeting, and laying plots to retrieve their loſt game. One of theſe being taken, and apprehending he was in danger, begg'd his life of the King, and ſaid, if he might be aſſured of his pardon, he would tell where my uncle *Wariſton* was, who was then in *Rouen:* For the air of *Hamborough* agreed ſo ill with him, that he was adviſed to go to *France*; and this man was on the ſecret. The King ſent one to the Court of *France*, deſiring he might be put in his hands: And this was immediately done: And no notice was ſent to my uncle to go out of the way, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, when a perſon is not charged with aſſaſſinations or any infamous action, but only with crimes of State. He was ſent over, and kept ſome months in the Tower of *London*; and from that was ſent to *Scotland*, as ſhall be told afterwards.

The deſign of a war with the States. The deſign of a war with *Holland* was now working. I have been very poſitively aſſured by States-men of both ſides, that the *French* ſet it on in a very artificial manner: For while they encouraged us to inſiſt on ſome extravagant demands, they at the ſame time preſſed the *Dutch* not to yield to them: And as they put them in hopes, that, if a rupture ſhould follow, they would aſſiſt them according to their alliance, ſo they aſſured us that they would do us no hurt. *Downing* was then employed in *Holland*, a crafty fawning man, who was ready to turn to every ſide that was uppermoſt, and to betray thoſe who by their former friendſhip and ſervices thought they might depend on him; as he did ſome of the Regicides, whom he got in his hands under truſt, and then delivered them up. He had been *Cromwell*'s Ambaſſadour in *Holland*, where he had offered perſonal affronts

fronts both to the King and the Duke: Yet he had by ſome baſe practices got himſelf to be ſo effectually recommended by the Duke of *Albermarle*, that all his former offences were forgiven, and he was ſent into *Holland* as the King's Ambaſſadour, whoſe behaviour towards the King himſelf the States had obſerved. So they had reaſon to conclude he was ſent over with no good intent, and that he was capable of managing a bad deſign, and very ready to undertake it. There was no viſible cauſe of war. A complaint of a ſhip taken was ready to have been ſatisfied. But *Downing* hindred it. So it was plain, the King hated them; and fancied they were ſo feeble, and the *Engliſh* were ſo much ſuperiour to them, that a war would humble them to an entire ſubmiſſion and dependence on him in all things. The States had treated, and preſented the King with great magnificence, and at a vaſt charge, during the time that he had ſtaid among them, after *England* had declared for him. And, as far as appearances could go, the King ſeem'd ſenſible of it: Inſomuch that the party for the Prince of *Orange* were not pleaſed, becauſe their applications to him could not prevail to make him interpoſe, either in the behalf of himſelf, or of his friends, to get the reſolutions taken againſt him to be repealed, or his party again put in places of truſt and command. The King put that off as not proper to be preſſed by him at that time. But neither then nor afterwards did he beſtir himſelf in that matter. Tho', if either gratitude or intereſt had been of force, and if theſe had not been overruled by ſome more prevalent conſiderations, he muſt have been inclined to make ſome returns for the ſervices the late Prince did him: And he muſt have ſeen, what a figure he muſt make by having the Prince of *Orange* tied to him in intereſt, as much as he was by blood. *France* and Popery were the true ſprings of all theſe counſels. It was the intereſt of the King of *France*, that the Armies of the States might fall under ſuch a feebleneſs, that they ſhould be in no condition to make a vigorous reſiſtance, when he ſhould be ready either to invade them, or to fall into *Flanders*; which he was reſolved to do, whenſoever the King of *Spain* ſhould die. The *French* did thus ſet on the war between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, hoping that our Fleets ſhould mutually weaken one another ſo much, that the naval force of *France*, which was increaſing very conſiderably, ſhould be near an equality to them, when they ſhould be ſhattered by a war. The States were likewiſe the greateſt ſtrength of the Proteſtant intereſt, and were therefore to be humbled. So, in order to make the King more conſiderable both at home and abroad, the Court reſolved to prepare for a war, and to ſeek for ſuch

1663.

1663. ſuch colours as might ſerve to juſtify it. The Earl of *Clarendon* was not let into the ſecret of this deſign, and was always againſt it. But his intereſt was now ſunk low: And he began to feel the power of an imperious miſtriſs over an amorous King, who was ſo diſguſted at the Queen, that he abandoned himſelf wholly to amour and luxury.

This was, as far as I could penetrate into it, the ſtate of the Court for the firſt four years after the Reſtoration. I was in the Court a great part of the years 1662, 1663, and 1664; and was as inquiſitive as I could poſſibly be, and had more than ordinary occaſions to hear and ſee a great deal.

The affairs of Scotland.

But now I return to the affairs of *Scotland:* The Earl of *Middletoun* after a delay of ſome months came up to *London*, and was very coldly received by the King. The Earl of *Lauderdale* moved that a *Scottiſh* Council might be called. The Lord *Clarendon* got this to be delayed a fortnight. When it met, the Lord *Lauderdale* accuſed the Earl of *Middletoun* of many malverſations in the great truſt he had been in, which he aggravated ſeverely. The Lord *Middletoun* deſired he might have what was objected to him in writing. And when he had it, he ſent it to *Scotland*; ſo that it was ſix weeks before he had his anſwer ready; all on deſign to gain time. He excuſed ſome errours in point of form, by ſaying, that, having ſerved in a military way, he underſtood not ſo exactly what belonged to law and form: But inſiſted on this, that he deſigned nothing, but that the King's ſervice might go on, and that his friends might be taken care of, and his enemies be humbled, and that ſo loyal a Parliament might be encouraged, who were full of zeal and affection to his ſervice; that, in complying with them, he had kept every thing ſo entirely in his Majeſty's power, that the King was under no difficulties by any thing they had done. In the mean while *Sheldon* was very earneſt with the King to forgive the Lord *Middletoun*'s crime, otherwiſe he concluded the change ſo newly made in the Church would be ſo ill ſupported, that it muſt fall to the ground. The Duke of *Albermarle*, who knew *Scotland*, and had more credit on that head than on any other, pretended that the Lord *Middletoun*'s party was that on which the King could only rely: He magnified both their power and their zeal; and repreſented the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s friends, as cold and hollow in the King's ſervice: And, to ſupport all this, the letters that came from *Scotland* were full of the inſolencies of the Preſbyterians, and of the dejection the Biſhops and their friends were under. *Sharp* was prevailed on to go up. He promiſed to all the Earl of *Middletoun*'s friends, that he would ſtick firm to him; and that he would lay before the King, that his ſtanding or falling muſt be

Middletoun was accuſed by Lauderdale.

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the ſtanding or falling of the Church. Of this the Earl of *Lauderdale* had advice ſent him. Yet when he came to *London*, and ſaw that the King was alienated from the Lord *Midletoun*, he reſolved to make great ſubmiſſions to the Lord *Lauderdale*. When he reproached him for his engagements with the Earl of *Midletoun*, he denied all; and ſaid, he had never gone farther than what was decent, conſidering his poſt. He alſo denied, he had writ to the King in his favour. But the King had given the original letter to the Lord *Lauderdale*, who upon that ſhewed it to *Sharp*; with which he was ſo ſtruck, that he fell a crying in a moſt abject manner. He begged pardon for it; and ſaid, what could a company of poor men refuſe to the Earl of *Midletoun*, who had done ſo much for them, and had them ſo entirely in his power. The Lord *Lauderdale* upon this comforted him; and ſaid, he would forgive them all that was paſt, and would ſerve them and the Church at another rate than Lord *Midletoun* was capable of doing. So *Sharp* became wholly his. Of all this Lord *Lauderdale* gave me a full relation the next day; and ſhewed me the papers that paſs'd between Lord *Midletoun* and him. *Sharp* thought he had eſcaped well. The Earl of *Midletoun* treated the Biſhops too much as his creatures, and aſſumed a great deal to himſelf, and expreſſed a ſort of authority over them; which *Sharp* was uneaſy under, tho' he durſt not complain of it, or reſiſt it: Whereas he reckoned, that Lord *Lauderdale*, knowing the ſuſpicions that lay on him, as favouring the Preſbyterians, would have leſs credit and courage in oppoſing any thing that ſhould be neceſſary for their ſupport. It proved that in this he judged right: For the Lord *Lauderdale*, that he might maintain himſelf at Court, and with the Church of *England*, was really more compliant and eaſy to every propoſition that the Biſhops made, than he would otherwiſe have been, if he had been always of the Epiſcopal party. But all he did that way was againſt his heart, except when his paſſions were vehemently ſtirred, which a very ſlight occaſion would readily do. 1663.

When the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Midletoun* had been writing papers and anſwers for above three months, an accident happened which haſtened Lord *Midletoun*'s diſgrace. The Earl of *Lauderdale* laid before the King the unjuſt proceedings in the laying on of the fines. And, to make all that party ſure to himſelf, he procured a letter from the King to the Council in *Scotland*, ordering them to iſſue out a proclamation, for ſuperſeding the execution of the Act of fining till farther order. The Privy Council being then for the greater part compoſed of Lord *Midletoun*'s

1663. friends, it was pretended by ſome of them, that, as long as he was the King's Commiſſioner, they could receive and execute no orders from the King, but thro' his hands. So they writ to him, deſiring him to repreſent to the King, that this would be an affront put on the proceedings of Parliament, and would raiſe the ſpirits of a party that ought to be kept down. Lord *Midletoun* writ back, that he had laid the matter before the King; and that he, conſidering better of it, ordered, that no proceeding ſhould be made upon his former letter. This occaſioned a hot debate in Council. It was ſaid, a letter under the King's hand could not be countermanded, but from the ſame hand. So the Council wrote to know the King's mind in the matter. The King proteſted he knew nothing of it, and that Lord *Midletoun* had not ſpoke one word on the ſubject to him. He upon that ſent for him, and chid him ſo ſeverely, that Lord *Midletoun* concluded from it that he was ruined. Yet he always ſtood upon it, that he had the King's order by word of mouth for what he had done, tho' he was not ſo cautious as to procure an inſtruction under his hand for his warrant. It is very probable, that he ſpoke of it to the King, when his head was full of ſomewhat elſe, ſo that he did not mind it; and that, to get rid of the Earl of *Midletoun*, he bid him do whatſoever he propoſed, without reflecting much on it. For the King was at that time often ſo diſtracted in his thoughts, that he was not at all times maſter of himſelf. The Queen-mother had brought over from *France* one Mrs. *Steward*, reckoned a very great beauty, who was afterwards married to the Duke of *Richmond*. The King was believed to be deeply in love with her. Yet his former Miſtriſs kept her ground ſtill. And, what with her humours and jealouſy, and what with this new amour, the King had very little quiet, between both their paſſions and his own.

Towards the end of *May* the King called many of the *Engliſh* Counſellours together, and did order all the papers that had paſſed between the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Midletoun* to be read to them. When that was done, many of them who were *Midletoun*'s friends ſaid much in excuſe of his errors, and of the neceſſity of continuing him ſtill in that high truſt. But the King ſaid, his errors were ſo great and ſo many, that the credit of his affairs muſt ſuffer, if he continued them any longer in ſuch hands. Yet he promiſed them, he would be ſtill kind to him; for he looked on him as a very honeſt man. Few days after that, Secretary *Morrice* was ſent to him, with a warrant under the King's hand, requiring him to deliver up his commiſſion, which he did. And ſo his Miniſtry came to an end, after a ſort of a reign of much violence and injuſtice: For he was become very imperious. He

And turned out of all.

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and his company were delivered up to ſo much exceſs, and to ſuch a madneſs of frolick and intemperance, that as *Scotland* had never ſeen any thing like it, ſo upon this diſgrace there was a general joy over the Kingdom: Tho' that laſted not long; for thoſe that came after him grew worſe than ever he was like to be. He had lived in great magnificence, which made him acceptable to many: And he was a firm friend, tho' a violent enemy. The Earl of *Rothes* was declared the King's Commiſſioner. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not truſt him. So he went down with him, and kept him too viſibly in a dependence on him, for all his high character. 1663.

Warriſton's execution.

One of the firſt things that was done in this ſeſſion of Parliament, was the execution of my unfortunate uncle, *Warriſton*. He was ſo diſordered both in body and mind, that it was a reproach to a government to proceed againſt him: His memory was ſo gone, that he did not know his own children. He was brought before the Parliament, to hear what he had to ſay, why his execution ſhould not be awarded. He ſpoke long, but in a broken and diſordered ſtrain, which his enemies fancied was put on to create pity. He was ſentenced to die. His deportment was unequal, as might be expected from a man in his condition. Yet when the day of his execution came, he was very ſerene. He was chearful, and ſeemed fully ſatisfied with his death. He read a ſpeech twice over on the ſcaffold, that to my knowledge he compoſed himſelf, in which he juſtified all the proceedings in the Covenant, and aſſerted his own ſincerity; but condemned his joyning with *Cromwell* and the Sectaries, tho' even in that his intentions had been ſincere, for the good of his Country, and the ſecurity of religion. Lord *Lauderdale* had lived in great friendſhip with him: But he ſaw the King was ſo ſet againſt him, that he, who at all times took more care of himſelf than of his friends, would not in ſo critical a time ſeem to favour a man, whom the Preſbyterians had ſet up as a ſort of an idol among them, and on whom they did depend more than on any other man then alive.

The buſineſs of the Parliament went on as the Lord *Lauderdale* directed. The whole proceeding in the matter of the balloting was laid open. It appeared, that the Parliament had not deſired it, but had been led into it by being made believe that the King had a mind to it. And of all the members of Parliament not above twelve could be prevailed on to own, that they had adviſed the Earl of *Midletoun* to aſk leave of the King for it, whoſe private ſuggeſtions he had repreſented to the King as the deſire of the Parliament. This finiſhed his diſgrace, as well

1663. well as it occaſioned the putting all his party out of employments.

An Act againſt Conventicles.

While they were going on with their affairs, they underſtood that an Act had paſs'd in the Parliament of *England* againſt all Conventicles, impowering Juſtices of Peace to convict offenders without Juries; which was thought a great breach on the ſecurity of the *Engliſh* conſtitution, and a raiſing the power of Juſtices to a very arbitrary pitch. Any meeting for religious worſhip, at which five were preſent more than the family, was declared a Conventicle. And every perſon above ſixteen, that was preſent at it, was to lye three months in priſon, or to pay 5 *l.* for the firſt offence; ſix months for the ſecond offence, or to pay 20 *l.* fine; and for the third offence, being convict by a Jury, was to be baniſhed to any plantation, except *New England* or *Virginia*, or to pay an 100 *l.* All people were amazed at this ſeverity. But the Biſhops in *Scotland* took heart upon it, and reſolved to copy from it. So an Act paſs'd there, almoſt in the ſame terms. And, at the paſſing it, Lord *Lauderdale* in a long ſpeech expreſſed great zeal for the Church. There was ſome little oppoſition made to it by the Earl of *Kincardin*, who was an enemy to all perſecution. But, tho' ſome few voted againſt it, it was carried by a great majority.

The conſtitution of a National Synod.

Another Act paſs'd, declaring the conſtitution of a National Synod. It was to be compoſed of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, of all Deans, and of two to be deputed from every Preſbytery; of which the Moderator of the Preſbytery named by the Biſhop was to be one: All things were to be propoſed to this Court by the King or his Commiſſioner. And whatſoever ſhould be agreed to by the majority and the Preſident, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, was to have the force of an Eccleſiaſtical law, when it ſhould be confirmed by the King. Great exceptions were taken to this Act. The Church was reſtrained from meddling with any thing, but as it ſhould be laid before them by the King; which was thought a ſevere reſtraint, like that of the *Proponentibus Legatis* ſo much complained of at *Trent*. The putting the negative, not in the whole bench of the Biſhops, but ſingly in the Preſident, was thought very irregular. But it paſs'd with ſo little obſervation, that the Lord *Lauderdale* could ſcarce believe it was penned as he found it to be, when I told him of it. *Primeroſe* told me, *Sharp* put that clauſe in with his own hand. The inferiour Clergy complained, that the power was wholly taken from them; ſince as one of their deputies was to be a perſon named by the Biſhops, ſo, the Moderators claiming a negative vote in their Preſbyteries as the Biſhops delegates, the other half were only

to

to conſiſt of Perſons to whom they conſented. The Act was indeed ſo penned, that no body moved for a National Synod, when they ſaw how it was to be conſtituted. 1663.

Two other Acts paſs'd in favour of the Crown. The Parliament of *England* had laid great impoſitions on all things imported from *Scotland:* So the Parliament, being ſpeedily to be diſſolved, and not having time to regulate ſuch impoſitions on *Engliſh* goods, as might force the *Engliſh* to bring that matter to a juſt balance, they put that confidence in the King, that they left the laying of impoſitions on all foreign merchandize wholly to him.

An Act offering an Army to the King.

Another Act was looked on as a pompous complement: And ſo it paſs'd without obſervation, or any oppoſition. In it they made an offer to the King of an Army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, to be ready upon ſummons to march with forty days proviſion into any part of his Majeſty's dominions, to oppoſe invaſions, to ſuppreſs inſurrections, or for any other cauſe in which his authority, power, or greatneſs was concerned. No body dreamt, that any uſe was ever to be made of this. Yet the Earl of *Lauderdale* had his end in it, to let the King ſee what uſe he might make of *Scotland*, if he ſhould intend to ſet up arbitrary government in *England*. He told the King, that the Earl of *Midletoun* and his party underſtood not, what was the greateſt ſervice that *Scotland* could do him: They had not much treaſure to offer him: The only thing they were capable of doing was, to furniſh him with a good Army, when his affairs in *England* ſhould require it. And of this he made great uſe afterwards to advance himſelf, tho' it could never have ſignified any thing to the advancing the King's ends. Yet ſo eaſy was it to draw the Parliament of *Scotland* to paſs Acts of the greateſt conſequence in a hurry, without conſidering the effects they might have. After theſe Acts were paſs'd, the Parliament was diſſolved; which gave a general ſatisfaction to the countrey, for they were a furious ſet of people. The government was left in the Earl of *Glencairn*'s hands, who began, now that he had little favour at Court, to ſet himſelf on all occaſions to oppoſe *Sharp*'s violent notions. The Earl of *Rothes* ſtuck firm to *Sharp*; and was recommended by him to the Biſhops of *England*, as the only man that ſupported their intereſts. The King at this time reſtored Lord *Lorn* to his Grand-father's honour, of being Earl of *Argile*, paſſing over his Father; and gave him a great part of his eſtate, leaving the reſt to be ſold for the payment of debts, which did not raiſe in value above a third part of them. This occaſioned a great outcry, that continued long to purſue him.

1664. *Sharp* went up to *London* to complain of the Lord *Glencairn*, and of the Privy Council; where, he ſaid, there was ſuch a remiſſneſs, and ſo much popularity appeared on all occaſions, that, unleſs ſome more ſpirit were put in the adminiſtration, it would be impoſſible to preſerve the Church. That was the word always uſed, as if there had been a charm in it. He moved, that a letter might be writ, giving him the precedence of the Lord Chancellour. This was thought an inexcuſable piece of vanity: For in *Scotland*, when there was no Commiſſioner, all matters paſs'd thro' the Lord Chancellour's hands, who by Act of Parliament was to preſide in all Courts, and was conſidered as repreſenting the King's perſon. He alſo moved, that the King would grant a ſpecial commiſſion to ſome perſons for executing the Laws relating to the Church. All the Privy Counſellours were to be of it. But to theſe he deſired many others might be added, for whom he undertook, that they would execute them with zeal. Lord *Lauderdale* ſaw that this would prove a High-Commiſſion Court: Yet he gave way to it, tho' much againſt his own mind. Upon theſe things I took the liberty, tho' then too young to meddle in things of that kind, to expoſtulate very freely with him. I thought he was acting the Earl of *Traquair*'s part, giving way to all the follies of the Biſhops on deſign to ruine them. He upon that ran into a great deal of freedom with me: He told me many paſſages of *Sharp*'s paſt life: He was perſuaded he would ruine all: But, he ſaid, he was reſolved to give him line: For he had not credit enough to ſtop him; nor would he oppoſe any thing that he propoſed, unleſs it were very extravagant: He ſaw the Earl of *Glencairn* and he would be in a perpetual war: And it was indifferent to him, how matters might go between them: Things would run to a height: And then the King would of himſelf put a ſtop to their carier: For the King ſaid often, he was not Prieſt-ridden: He would not venture a war, nor travel again for any party. This was all that I could obtain from the Earl of *Lauderdale*. I preſſed *Sharp* himſelf to think of more moderate methods. But he deſpiſed my applications: And from that time he was very jealous of me.

Sharp drove very violently.

Lauderdale gave way to it.

Burnet Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*.

Fairfoul, Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, died this year: And one *Burnet* ſucceeded him, who was a near kinſman of the Lord *Rutherford*'s; who, from being Governour of *Dunkirk*, when it was ſold, was ſent to *Tangier*, but ſoon after in an unhappy encounter, going out to view ſome grounds, was intercepted, and cut to pieces by the *Moors*. Upon *Rutherford*'s recommendation, *Burnet*

net, who had lived many years in *England*, and knew nothing of *Scotland*, was ſent thither, firſt to be Biſhop of *Aberdeen*: And from thence he was raiſed to *Glaſcow*. He was of himſelf a ſoft and good natured man, tolerably learned, and of a blameleſs life: But was a man of no genius: And tho' he was inclined to peaceable and moderate counſels, yet he was much in the power of others, and took any impreſſion that was given him very eaſily. I was much in his favour at firſt, but could not hold it long: For as I had been bred up by my father to love liberty and moderation, ſo I ſpent the greateſt part of the year 1664 in *Holland* and *France*, which contributed not a little to root and fix me in thoſe principles. 1664.

A view of the ſtate of affairs in *Holland* and *France*.

I ſaw much peace and quiet in *Holland*, notwithſtanding the diverſity of opinions among them; which was occaſioned by the gentleneſs of the government, and the toleration that made all people eaſy and happy. An univerſal induſtry was ſpread thro' the whole countrey. There was little aſpiring to preferment in the State, becauſe little was to be got that way. They were then apprehending a war with *England*, and were preparing for it. From thence, where every thing was free, I went to *France*, where nothing was free. The King was beginning to put things in great method, in his revenue, in his troops, in his government at home, but above all in the increaſing of trade, and the building of a great fleet. His own deportment was ſolemn and grave, ſave only that he kept his Miſtriſſes very avowedly. He was diligent in his own counſels, and regular in the diſpatch of his affairs: So that all things about him looked like the preparing of matters for all that we have ſeen acted ſince. The King of *Spain* was conſidered as dying: And the infant his ſon was like to die as ſoon as he: So that it was generally believed, the *French* King was deſigning to ſet up a new Empire in the *Weſt*. He had carried the quarrel at *Rome* about the *Corſes* ſo high with the Houſe of *Ghigi*, that the Proteſtants were beginning to flatter themſelves with great hopes. When I was in *France*, Cardinal *Ghigi* came, as Legate, to give the King full ſatisfaction in that matter. Lord *Hollis* was then Ambaſſadour at *Paris*. I was ſo effectually recommended to him, that he uſed me with great freedom, which he continued to do to the end of his days. He ſtood upon all the points of an Ambaſſadour with the ſtiffneſs of former ages, which made him very unacceptable to a high-ſpirited young Prince, who began even then to be flattered, as if he had been ſomewhat more than a mortal. This eſtabliſhed me in my love of law and liberty, and in my hatred of abſolute power. When I came back, I ſtay'd for

1664. for ſome months at Court, and obſerved the ſcene as carefully as I could, and became acquainted with all the men that were employed in *Scottiſh* affairs. I had more than ordinary opportunities of being well informed about them. This drew a jealouſy on me from the Biſhops, which was increaſed from the friendſhip into which *Leightoun* received me. I paſs'd for one, who was no great friend to Church power, nor to perſecution. So it was thought, that Lord *Lauderdale* was preparing me, as one who was known to have been always Epiſcopal, to be ſet up againſt *Sharp* and his ſet of men, who were much hated by one ſide, and not loved, nor truſted, by the other.

Sharp aſpired to be Chancellour of *Scotland.*

In the mean while the Earl of *Glencairn* died, which ſet *Sharp* at eaſe, but put him on new deſigns. He apprehended, that the Earl of *Tweedale* might be advanced to that poſt: For in the ſettlement of the Ducheſs of *Buccleugh*'s eſtate, who was married to the Duke of *Monmouth*, the beſt beloved of all the King's children, by which, in default of iſſue by her, it was to go to the Duke of *Monmouth* and the iſſue he might have by any other wife, the Earl of *Tweedale*, tho' his children were the next heirs, who were by this depriv'd of their right, had yet given way to it in ſo frank a manner, that the King was enough inclined both to oblige and to truſt him. But *Sharp* had great ſuſpicions of him, as cold in their concerns. So he writ to *Sheldon*, that upon the diſpoſal of the ſeals the very being of the Church did ſo abſolutely depend, that he begged he would preſs the King very earneſtly in the matter, and that he would move that he might be called up before that poſt ſhould be filled. The King bid *Sheldon* aſſure him, he ſhould take a ſpecial care of that matter, but that there was no occaſion for his coming up: For the King by this time had a very ill opinion of him. *Sharp* was ſo mortified with this, that he reſolved to put all to hazard; for he believed all was at ſtake: And he ventured to come up. The King received him coldly; and aſked him, if he had not received the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s letter. He ſaid, he had: But he would chooſe rather to venture on his Majeſty's diſpleaſure, than to ſee the Church ruined thro' his caution or negligence: He knew the danger they were in in *Scotland*, where they had but few and cold friends, and many violent enemies: His Majeſty's protection, and the execution of the law, were the only things they could truſt to: And theſe ſo much depended on the good choice of a Chancellour, that he could not anſwer it to God and the Church, if he did not beſtir himſelf in that matter: He knew many thought of himſelf for that poſt: But he was ſo far from that thought, that, if his Majeſty had any ſuch intention, he

he would rather chooſe to be ſent to a plantation: He deſired, 1664.
that he might be a Church-man in heart, but not in habit, that ſhould be raiſed to that truſt. Theſe were his very words, as the King reported them. From him he went to *Sheldon*, and preſs'd him to move the King for himſelf, and furniſhed him with many reaſons to ſupport the propoſition; a main one being, that the late King had raiſed his predeceſſor *Spotſwood* to that truſt. *Sheldon* upon that did move the King with more than ordinary earneſtneſs in it. The King ſuſpected *Sharp* had ſet him on, and charged him to tell him the truth. The other did it, tho' not without ſome uneaſineſs. Upon that the King told him what he had ſaid to himſelf. And then it may be eaſily imagined in what a ſtyle they both ſpoke of him. Yet *Sheldon* prayed the King that, whatſoever he might think of the man, he would conſider the Archbiſhop and the Church; which the King aſſured him he would do. *Sheldon* told *Sharp*, that he ſaw the motion for himſelf did not take; ſo he muſt think of ſomewhat elſe. *Sharp* propoſed, that the ſeals might be put in the Earl of *Rothes*'s hands, till the King ſhould pitch on a proper perſon. He alſo propoſed, that the King would make him his Commiſſioner, in order to the preparing matters for a National Synod, that they might ſettle a book of Common-prayer, and a book of Canons. This, he ſaid, muſt be carried on ſlowly, and with great caution; of which the late troubles did demonſtrate the neceſſity.

Rothes had the whole power of *Scotland* put in his hands.

All this was eaſily agreed to: For the King loved the Lord *Rothes:* And the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not oppoſe his advancement: Tho' it was a very extravagant thing to ſee one man poſſeſs ſo many of the chief places of ſo poor a Kingdom. The Earl of *Crawford* would not abjure the Covenant: So he had been made Lord Treaſurer in his place: He continued to be ſtill, what he was before, Lord Preſident of the Council: And, upon the Earl of *Midletoun*'s diſgrace, he was made Captain of a troop of guards: And now he was both the King's Commiſſioner, and upon the matter Lord Chancellour. *Sharp* reckoned this was his maſter-piece. Lord *Rothes*, being thus advanced by his means, was in all things governed by him. His inſtructions were ſuch as *Sharp* propoſed, to prepare matters for a National Synod, and in the mean while to execute the Laws that related to the Church with a ſteddy firmneſs. So, when he parted from *White-hall*, *Sharp* ſaid to the King, that he had now done all that could be deſired of him for the good of the Church: So that, if all matters went not right in *Scotland*, none muſt bear the blame, but either the Earl of *Lauderdale* or *Rothes*. And ſo they came

1664. to *Scotland*, where a very furious ſcene of illegal violence was opened. *Sharp* governed Lord *Rothes*, who abandoned himſelf to pleaſure. And, when ſome cenſured this, all the anſwer that was made was, a ſevere piece of raillery, that the King's Commiſſioner ought to repreſent his perſon.

1665. The government of *Scotland* as to civil matters was very eaſy. All were quiet and obedient. But all thoſe Counties that lye towards the *Weſt* became very fierce and intractable: And the whole work of the Council was to deal with them, and to ſubdue them. It was not eaſy to prove any thing againſt any of them, for they did ſtick firm to one another. The people complained of the new ſet of Miniſters, that was ſent among them, as immoral, ſtupid, and ignorant. Generally they forſook their Churches. And, if any of them went to Church, they ſaid, they were little edified with their ſermons. And the whole country was full of ſtrange reports of the weakneſs of their preaching, and of the indecency of their whole deportment. The people treated them with great contempt, and with an averſion that broke out often into violence and injuſtice. But their Miniſters on their parts were not wanting in their complaints, aggravating matters, and poſſeſſing the Biſhops with many ſtories of deſigns and plottings againſt the State. So, many were brought before the Council, and the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, for pretended riots, and for uſing their Miniſters ill, but chiefly for not coming to Church, and for holding Conventicles. The proofs were often defective, and lay rather in preſumptions, than clear evidence: And the puniſhments propoſed were often arbitrary, not warranted by law. So the Judges and other lawyers, that were of thoſe Courts, were careful to keep proceedings according to forms of law: Upon which *Sharp* was often complaining, that favour was ſhown to the enemies of the Church, under the pretence of law. It was ſaid, that the people of the countrey were in ſuch a combination, that it was not poſſible to find witneſſes to prove things fully: And he often ſaid, muſt the Church be ruined for punctilio's of law? When he could not carry matters by a vote, as he had a mind, he uſually looked to the Earl of *Rothes*; who upon that was ever ready to ſay, he would take it upon him to order the matter as *Sharp* propoſed, and would do it in the King's name. Great numbers were caſt in priſon, where they were kept long, and ill uſed: And ſometimes they were fined, and the younger ſort whipt about the ſtreets. The people grew more ſullen on all this ill uſage. Many were undone by it, and went over to the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, where they were well

Illegal and ſevere proceedings in *Scotland*.

well received, and had all manner of liberty as to their way of religion. 1665.

Burnet was sent up to possess the King with the apprehensions of a rebellion in the beginning of the *Dutch* war. He proposed that about twenty of the chief gentlemen of those Counties might be secured: And he undertook for the peace of the countrey, if they were clap'd up. This was plainly illegal. But the Lord *Lauderdale* opposed nothing. So it was done: But with a very ill effect. For those Gentlemen, knowing how obnoxious they were, had kept measures a little better: But they being put in prison, both their friends and tenants laid all to the door of the Clergy, and hated them the more, and used them the worse for it. The Earls of *Argile*, *Tweedale*, and *Kincardin*, who were considered as the Lord *Lauderdale*'s chief friends, were cold in all those matters. They studied to keep proceedings in a legal channel, and were for moderate censures. Upon which *Sharp* said, they appeared to be the friends and favourers of the enemies of the Church.

Turner executed the laws in a military way.

Wherever the people had generally forsaken their Churches, the guards were quartered thro' the countrey. Sir *James Turner*, that commanded them, was naturally fierce, but was mad when he was drunk; and that was very often. So he was ordered by the Lord *Rothes* to act according to such directions as *Burnet* should send him. And he went about the countrey, and received such lists, as the Ministers brought him, of those who came not to Church: And, without any other proof or any legal conviction, he set such a fine on them, as he thought they could pay, and sent soldiers to lie on them till it was paid. I knew him well afterwards, when he came to himself, being out of employment. He was a learned man; but had been always in armies, and knew no other rule but to obey orders. He told me, he had no regard to any law, but acted, as he was commanded, in a military way. He confessed, it went often against the grain with him to serve such a debauched and worthless company, as the Clergy generally were; and that sometimes he did not act up to the rigour of his orders; for which he was often chid, both by Lord *Rothes* and *Sharp*, but was never check'd for his illegal and violent proceedings. And, tho' the complaints of him were very high, so that, when he was afterwards seized on by the party, they intended to make a sacrifice of him; yet when they looked into his orders, and found that his proceedings, how fierce soever, fell short of these, they spared him, as a man that had merited by being so gentle among them.

The

1665. The truth is, the whole face of the government looked like the proceedings of an inquisition, than of legal Courts: And yet *Sharp* was never satisfied. So Lord *Rothes* and he went up to Court in the first year of the *Dutch* war. When they waited first on the King, *Sharp* put him in mind of what he had said at his last parting, that if their matters went not well, none must be blamed for it, but either the Earl of *Lauderdale*, or of *Rothes:* And now he came to tell his Majesty, that things were worse than ever: And he must do the Earl of *Rothes* the justice to say, he had done his part. Lord *Lauderdale* was all on fire at this, but durst not give himself vent before the King. So he only desired, that *Sharp* would come to particulars: And then he should know what he had to say. *Sharp* put that off in a general charge; and said, he knew the party so well, that, if they were not supported by secret encouragements, they would have been long ago weary of the opposition they gave the government. The King had no mind to enter farther into their complaints. So Lord *Rothes* and he withdrew; and were observed to look very pleasantly upon one another, as they went away. Lord *Lauderdale* told the King, he was now accused to his face: But he would quickly let him see what a man *Sharp* was. So he obtained a message from the King to him, of which he himself was to be the bearer, requiring him to put his complaints in writing, and to come to particulars. He followed *Sharp* home, who received him with such a gayity, as if he had given him no provocation. But Lord *Lauderdale* was more solemn; and told him, it was the King's pleasure, that he should put the accusation with which he had charged him in writing. *Sharp* pretended, he did not comprehend his meaning. He answered, the matter was plain: He had accused him to the King: And he must either go thorough with it, and make it out, otherwise he would charge him with leasing-making: And spoke in a terrible tone to him. Upon that, as he told me, *Sharp* fell a trembling and weeping: He protested, he meant no harm to him: He was only sorry that his friends were upon all occasions pleading for favour to the *Fanaticks:* (That was become the name of reproach.) Lord *Lauderdale* said, that would not serve turn: He was not answerable for his friends, except when they acted by directions from him. *Sharp* offer'd to go with him presently to the King, and to clear the whole matter. Lord *Lauderdale* had no mind to break openly with him. So he accepted of this, and carried him to the King; where he retracted all he had said, in so gross a manner, that the King said afterwards, Lord *Lauder-*

dale

dale was ill natured to preſs it ſo heavily, and to force *Sharp* on giving himſelf the lye in ſuch courſe terms. 1665.

This went to *Sharp*'s heart: So he made a propoſition to the Earl of *Dunfreis*, who was a great friend of the Lord *Midletoun*'s, to try if a reconciliation could be made between him and the Earl of *Rothes*, and if he would be content to come into the government under Lord *Rothes*. Lord *Dunfreis* went into *Kent*, where the Lord *Midletoun* was then employed in a military command on the account of the war: And he laid *Sharp*'s propoſition before him. The Earl of *Midletoun* gave Lord *Dunfreis* power to treat in his name; but ſaid, he knew *Sharp* too well to regard any thing that came from him. Before Lord *Dunfreis* came back, *Sharp* had tried Lord *Rothes*, but found he would not meddle in it: And they both underſtood, that the Earl of *Clarendon*'s intereſt was declining, and that the King was like to change his meaſures. So when Lord *Dunfreis* came back to give *Sharp* an account of his negotiation, he ſeemed ſurpriſed, and denied he had given him any ſuch commiſſion. This enraged the Earl of *Dunfreis* ſo, that he publiſhed the thing in all companies: Among others he told it very particularly to my ſelf. *Sharp* ſtudies to bring *Midletoun* into buſineſs again.

At that time *Leightoun* was prevailed on to go to Court, and to give the King a true account of the proceedings in *Scotland*; which, he ſaid, were ſo violent, that he could not concur in the planting the Chriſtian religion it ſelf in ſuch a manner, much leſs a form of government. He therefore begged leave to quit his Biſhoprick, and to retire: For he thought he was in ſome ſort acceſſory to the violences done by others, ſince he was one of them, and all was pretended to be done to eſtabliſh them and their order. There were indeed no violences committed in his dioceſe. He went round it continually every year, preaching and catechizing from pariſh to pariſh. He continued in his private and aſcetick courſe of life, and gave all his income, beyond the ſmall expence of his own perſon, to the poor. He ſtudied to raiſe in his Clergy a greater ſenſe of ſpiritual matters, and of the care of ſouls; and was in all reſpects a burning and ſhining light, highly eſteemed by the greater part of his dioceſe: Even the Preſbyterians were much mollified, if not quite overcome, by his mild and heavenly courſe of life. The King ſeemed touched with the ſtate that the countrey was in: He ſpoke very ſeverely of *Sharp*; and aſſured *Leightoun*, he would quickly come to other meaſures, and put a ſtop to thoſe violent methods: But he would by no means ſuffer him to quit his Biſhoprick. So the King gave orders that the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſhould be diſcontinued; and ſignified his pleaſure, that another way of proceeding was neceſſary for his affairs.

1665. He underſtood by his intelligence from *Holland*, that the exiles at *Rotterdam* were very buſy, and that perhaps the *Dutch* might furniſh the malecontents of *Scotland* with money and arms: So he thought it was neceſſary to raiſe more troops. Two gallant officers, that had ſerved him in the wars, and, when theſe were over, had gone with his letters to ſerve in *Muſcovy*, where one of them, *Dalziell*, was raiſed to be a General, and the other, *Drumond*, was advanced to be a Lieutenant General, and Governour of *Smolenſko*, were now, not without great difficulty, ſent back by the *Czar*. So the King intended they ſhould command ſome forces that he was to raiſe. *Sharp* was very apprehenſive of this: But the King was poſitive. A little before this, the Act of fining, that had lain ſo long aſleep that it was thought forgot, was revived. And all who had been fined were required to bring in one moiety of their fines: But the other moiety was forgiven thoſe who took the Declaration renouncing the Covenant. The money was by Act of Parliament to be given among thoſe who had ſerved, and ſuffered for the King; ſo that the King had only the truſt of diſtributing it. There was no more *Scotiſh* Councils called at *White-Hall* after Lord *Midletoun*'s fall. But upon particular occaſions the King ordered the Privy Counſellours of that Kingdom, that were about the town, to be brought to him: Before whom he now laid out the neceſſity of raiſing ſome more force for ſecuring the quiet of *Scotland:* He only aſked their advice, how they ſhould be paid. *Sharp* very readily ſaid, the money raiſed by the fining was not yet diſpoſed of: So he propoſed the applying it to that uſe. None oppoſed this: So it was reſolved on. And by that means the Cavaliers, who were come up with their pretenſions, were diſappointed of their laſt hopes of being recompenſed for their ſufferings. The blame of all this was caſt upon *Sharp*, at which they were out of meaſure enraged, and charged him with it. He denied it boldly. But the King publiſhed it ſo openly, that he durſt not contradict him. Many, to whom he had denied that he knew any thing of the matter, and called that advice diabolical invention, affirmed it to the King. And the Lord *Lauderdale*, to compleat his diſgrace with the King, got many of his letters, which he had writ to the Preſbyterians after the time in which the King knew that he was negotiating for Epiſcopacy, in which he had continued to proteſt with what zeal he was ſoliciting their concerns, not without dreadful imprecations on himſelf if he was prevaricating with them, and laid theſe before the King: So that the King looked on him as one of the worſt of men.

More forces rais'd in *Scotland.*

Many

Many of the Epiſcopal Clergy in *Scotland* were much offended at all theſe proceedings. They ſaw the prejudices of the people were increaſed by them. They hated violent courſes, and thought they were contrary to the meek ſpirit of the goſpel, and that they alienated the Nation more from the Church. They ſet themſelves much to read Church-hiſtory, and to obſerve the ſtate of the Primitive Church, and the ſpirit of thoſe times: And they could not but obſerve ſo great a difference between the conſtitution of the Church under thoſe Biſhops and our own, that they ſeemed to agree in nothing but the name. I happened to be ſettled near two of the moſt eminent of them, who were often moved to accept of Biſhopricks, but always refuſed them, both out of a true principle of humility and ſelf-denial, and alſo becauſe they could not engage in the methods by which things were carried on. One of theſe, Mr. *Nairn*, was one of the politeſt Clergy-men I ever knew bred in *Scotland*. He had formed clear and lively ſchemes of things, and was the moſt eloquent of all our preachers. He conſidered the paſtoral function as a dedication of the whole man to God and his ſervice. He read the moral philoſophers much; and had wrought himſelf into their equal temper, as much as could conſiſt with a great deal of fire that was in his own: But he turned it all to melting devotion. He had a true notion of ſuperſtition, as a narrowneſs of ſoul, and a meanneſs of thought in religion. He ſtudied to raiſe all that converſed with him to great notions of God, and to an univerſal charity. This made him pity the Preſbyterians, as men of low notions and ill tempers. He had indeed too much heat of imagination, which carried him to be very poſitive in ſome things, in which he afterwards changed his mind: And that made him paſs for an inconſtant man. In a word, he was the brighteſt man I ever knew among all our *Scotiſh* Divines. Another of theſe was Mr. *Charteris*, a man of a compoſed and ſerene gravity, but without affectation or ſourneſs. He ſcarce ever ſpoke in company, but was very open and free in private. He made true judgments of things, and of men; and had a peculiar talent in managing ſuch as he thought deſerved his pains. He had little heat, either in body or mind: For as he had a moſt emaciated body, ſo he ſpoke both ſlow, and in ſo low a voice that he could not eaſily be heard. He had great tenderneſs in his temper; and was a very perfect friend, and a moſt ſublime Chriſtian. He lived in a conſtant contempt of the world, and a neglect of his perſon. There was a gravity in his converſation that raiſed an attention, and begot a compoſedneſs, in

1666. Some eminent Clergy-men in *Scotland* offended at theſe proceedings.

1665. in all about him, without frightening them; for he made religion appear amiable in his whole deportment. He had read all the lives and the epiſtles of great men very carefully. He had read the fathers much; and gave me this notion of them, that in ſpeculative points, for which writers of Controverſy ſearched into their works, they were but ordinary men: But their excellency lay in that, which was leaſt ſought for, their ſenſe of ſpiritual things, and of the paſtoral care. In theſe he thought their ſtrength lay. And he often lamented, not without ſome indignation, that, in the diſputes about the government of the Church, much pains was taken to ſeek out all thoſe paſſages that ſhewed what their opinions were; but that due care was not taken to ſet out the notions that they had of the ſacred function, of the preparation of mind, and inward vocation, with which men ought to come to holy orders, or of the ſtrictneſs of life, the deadneſs to the world, the heavenly temper, and the conſtant application to the doing of good, that became them. Of theſe he did not talk like an angry reformer, that ſet up in that ſtrain, becauſe he was neglected or provoked; but like a man full of a deep, but humble ſenſe of them. He was a great enemy to large confeſſions of faith, chiefly when they were impoſed in the lump as teſts: For he was poſitive in very few things. He had gone thro' the chief parts of learning: But was then moſt converſant in hiſtory, as the innocenteſt ſort of ſtudy, that did not fill the mind with ſubtilty, but helped to make a man wiſer and better. Theſe were both ſingle perſons, and men of great ſobriety: And they lived in a conſtant low diet, which they valued more than ſeverer faſting. Yet they both became miſerable by the ſtone. *Nairn* went to *Paris*, where he was cut of a great one, of which he recovered, but lived not many years after. *Charteris* lived to a great age, and died in the end of the year 1700, having in his laſt years ſuffered unſpeakable torment from the ſtone, which the operators would not venture to cut. But all that ſaw what he ſuffered, and how he bore it, acknowledged that in him they ſaw a moſt perfect pattern of patience and ſubmiſſion to the will of God. It was a great happineſs for me, after I had broke into the world by ſuch a ramble as I had made, that I fell into ſuch hands, with whom I entered into a cloſe and particular friendſhip. They both ſet me right, and kept me right; tho' I made at this time a falſey that may be mentioned, ſince it had ſome relation to publick affairs. I obſerved the deportment of our Biſhops was in all points ſo different from what became their function, that I had a more than ordinary zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not only furious againſt all that ſtood out againſt

againſt them, but were very remiſs in all the parts of their func- 1665.
tion. Some did not live within their dioceſe. And thoſe who did ſeemed to take no care of them: They ſhewed no zeal againſt vice: The moſt eminently wicked in the County were their particular confidents: They took no pains to keep their Clergy ſtrictly to rules, and to their duty: On the contrary there was a levity and a carnal way of living about them, that very much ſcandalized me. There was indeed one *Scougal*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, that was a man of rare temper, great piety and prudence: But I thought he was too much under *Sharp*'s conduct, and was at leaſt too eaſy to him.

Some of the grievances of the Clergy laid before the Biſhops.

Upon all this I took a reſolution of drawing up a memorial of the grievances we lay under by the ill conduct of our Biſhops. I reſolved, that no other perſon beſides my ſelf ſhould have a ſhare in any tronble it might bring on me: So I communicated it to none. This made it not to be in all the parts of it ſo well digeſted, as it otherwiſe might have been: And I was then but three and twenty. I laid my foundation in the conſtitution of the primitive Church; and ſhewed how they had departed from it, by their neglecting their dioceſe, medling ſo much in ſecular affairs, raiſing their families out of the revenues of the Church, and above all by their violent proſecuting of thoſe who differ'd from them. Of this I writ out ſome copies, and ſigned them, and ſent them to all the Biſhops of my acquaintance. *Sharp* was much alarmed at it, and fancied I was ſet on to it by ſome of the Lord *Lauderdale*'s friends. I was called before the Biſhops, and treated with great ſeverity. *Sharp* called it a libel. I ſaid, I had ſet my name to it, ſo it could not be called a libel. He charged me with the preſumption of offering to teach my ſuperiours. I ſaid, ſuch things had been not only done, but juſtified in all ages. He charged me for reflecting on the King's putting them on his Counſels: I ſaid, I found no fault with the King for calling them to his counſels. But with them for going out of that which was their proper province, and for giving ill counſel. Then he charged me for reflecting on ſome ſeverities, which, he ſaid, was a reproaching publick Courts, and a cenſuring the laws. I ſaid, laws might be made *in terrorem*, not always fit to be executed: But I only complained of Clergy-mens preſſing the rigorous execution of them, and going often beyond what the law dictated. He broke out into a great vehemence; and propoſed to the Biſhops, that I ſhould be ſummarily deprived, and excommunicated: But none of them would agree to that. By this management of his the thing grew publick. What I had ventured on was variouſly cenſured: But the greater part

1666. approved of it. Lord *Lauderdale* and all his friends were delighted with it: And he gave the King an account of it, who was not ill pleaſed at it. Great pains was taken to make me aſk pardon, but to no purpoſe: So *Sharp* let the thing fall. But, that it might appear that I had not done it upon any factious deſign, I entered into a very cloſe ſtate of retirement; and gave my ſelf wholly to my ſtudy, and the duties of my function.

1664. Affairs in *England*. The *Dutch* war. Thus I have run over the ſtate of *Scotland* in the years, 1663, 1664, 1665, and till near the end of 1666. I now return to the affairs of *England*; in which I muſt write more defectively, being then ſo far from the ſcene. In winter 1664, the King declared his reſolution of entring into a war with the *Dutch*. The grounds were ſo ſlight, that it was viſible there was ſomewhat more at bottom, than was openly owned. A great comet, which appeared that winter, raiſed the apprehenſions of thoſe, who did not enter into juſt ſpeculations concerning thoſe matters. The Houſe of Commons was ſo far from examining nicely into the grounds of the war, that without any difficulty they gave the King two millions and a half for carrying it on. A great fleet was ſet out, which the Duke commanded in perſon;

1665. The Plague broke out at the ſame time. as *Opdam* had the command of the *Dutch* fleet. But as ſoon as the war broke out, a moſt terrible Plague broke out alſo in the city of *London*, that ſcattered all the inhabitants that were able to remove themſelves elſewhere. It broke the trade of the Nation, and ſwept away about an hundred thouſand ſouls; the greateſt havock that any Plague had ever made in *England*. This did diſhearten all people: And, coming in the very time in which ſo unjuſt a war was begun, it had a dreadful appearance. All the King's enemies, and the enemies of Monarchy ſaid, here was a manifeſt character of God's heavy diſpleaſure upon the Nation; as indeed the ill life the King led, and the viciouſneſs of the whole Court, gave but a melancholy proſpect. Yet God's ways are not as our ways. What all had ſeen in the year 1660 ought to have ſilenced thoſe, who at this time pretended to comment on providence. But there will be always much diſcourſe of things that are very viſible, as well as very extraordinary.

The victory at Sea not followed. When the two fleets met, it is well known what accidents diſordered the *Dutch*, and what advantage the *Engliſh* had. If that firſt ſucceſs had been followed, as was propoſed, it might have been fatal to the *Dutch*, who finding they had ſuffered ſo much ſteered off. The Duke ordered all the ſail to be ſet on to overtake them. There was a Council of war called, to concert the method of action, when they ſhould come up

with them. In that Council *Pen*, who commanded under the Duke, happened to ſay, that they muſt prepare for hotter work in the next engagement. He knew well the courage of the *Dutch* was never ſo high, as when they were deſperate. The Earl of *Montague*, who was then a voluntier, and one of the Duke's Court, ſaid to me, it was very viſible that made an impreſſion. And all the Duke's domeſticks ſaid, he had got honour enough: Why ſhould he venture a ſecond time? The Ducheſs had alſo given a ſtrict charge to all the Duke's ſervants, to do all they could to hinder him to engage too far. When matters were ſettled, they went to ſleep: And the Duke ordered a call to be given him, when they ſhould get up to the *Dutch* fleet. It is not known what paſs'd between the Duke and *Brounker*, who was of his Bed-chamber, and was then in waiting: But he came to *Pen*, as from the Duke, and ſaid, the Duke ordered the ſail to be ſlackened. *Pen* was ſtruck with the order; but did not go to argue the matter with the Duke himſelf, as he ought to have done, but obey'd it. When the Duke had ſlept, he, upon his waking, went out on the quarter-deck, and ſeemed amazed to ſee the ſails ſlackened, and that thereby all hope of overtaking the *Dutch* was loſt. He queſtioned *Pen* upon it. *Pen* put it on *Brounker*, who ſaid nothing. The Duke denied, he had given any ſuch order. But he neither puniſhed *Brounker* for carrying it, nor *Pen* for obeying it. He indeed put *Brounker* out of his ſervice: And it was ſaid, that he durſt do no more, becauſe he was ſo much in the King's favour, and in the Miſtriſs's. *Pen* was more in his favour after that, than ever before, which he continued to his ſon after him, tho' a Quaker: And it was thought, that all that favour was to oblige him to keep the ſecret. Lord *Montague* did believe, that the Duke was ſtruck, ſeeing the Earl of *Falmouth*, the King's favourite, and two other perſons of quality, killed very near him; and that he had no mind to engage again, and that *Pen* was privately with him. If *Brounker* was ſo much in fault, as he ſeemed to be, it was thought, the Duke, in the paſſion that this muſt have raiſed in him, would have proceeded to greater extremities, and not have acted with ſo much phlegm. This proved the breaking the deſigns of the King's whole reign: For the *Dutch* themſelves believed that, if our fleet had followed them with full ſail, we muſt have come up with them next tide, and have either ſunk or taken their whole fleet. *De Wit* was ſtruck with this misfortune: And, imputing ſome part of it to errors in conduct, he reſolved to go on board himſelf, as ſoon as their fleet was ready to go to ſea again. 1665.

Upon

1665. An account of the affairs in *Holland.*

Upon this occaſion I will ſay a little of him, and of the affairs of *Holland.* His father was the deputy of the town of *Dort* in the States, when the late Prince of *Orange* was ſo much offended with their proceedings in diſbanding a great part of their Army: And he was one of thoſe whom he ordered upon that to be carried to the Caſtle of *Loveſtein.* Soon after that, his deſign on *Amſterdam* miſcarrying, he ſaw a neceſſity of making up the beſt he could with the States. But, before he had quite healed that wound, he died of the ſmall-pox. Upon his death all his party fell in diſgrace, and the *Loveſteiners* carried all before them. So *De Wit* got his ſon *John*, then but twenty five years of age, to be made penſioner of *Dort.* And within a year after, the penſioner of *Holland* dying, he was made penſioner of *Holland.* His breeding was to the civil law, which he underſtood very well. He was a great mathematician: And, as his *Elementa Curvarum* ſhew what a man he was that way, ſo perhaps no man ever applied *Algebra* to all matters of trade ſo nicely as he did. He made himſelf ſo entirely the maſter of the ſtate of *Holland,* that he underſtood exactly all the concerns of their revenue, and what ſums, and in what manner, could be raiſed upon any emergent of State: For this he had a pocket-book full of tables, and was ever ready to ſhew how they could be furniſhed with money. He was a frank, ſincere man, without fraud, or any other artifice but ſilence: To which he had ſo accuſtomed the world, that it was not eaſy to know, whether he was ſilent on deſign, or cuſtom. He had a great clearneſs of apprehenſion: And when any thing was propoſed to him, how new ſoever, he heard all patiently, and then aſked ſuch queſtions as occurred to him: And by the time he had done all this, he was as much maſter of the propoſition, as the perſon was that had made it. He knew nothing of modern hiſtory, nor of the ſtate of Courts: And was eminently defective in all points of form. But he laid down this for a maxim, that all Princes and States followed their own intereſts: So, by obſerving what their true intereſts were, he thought, he could without great intelligence calculate what they were about. He did not enough conſider how far paſſions, amours, humours, and opinions wrought on the world; chiefly on Princes. He had the notions of a Common-wealth from the *Greeks* and *Romans.* And from them he came to fancy, that an army commanded by officers of their own country was both more in their own power, and would ſerve them with the more zeal, ſince they themſelves had ſuch an intereſt in the ſucceſs. And ſo he was againſt their hiring foreigners, unleſs it was to be

be common ſoldiers to ſave their own people. But he did not enough conſider the phlegm and covetouſneſs of his countrymen; of which he felt the ill effects afterwards. This was his greateſt error, and it turned fatally upon him. But for the adminiſtration of juſtice at home, and for the management of their trade, and their forces by ſea, he was the ableſt Miniſter they ever had. He had an hereditary hatred to the Houſe of *Orange*. He thought it was impoſſible to maintain their liberty, if they were ſtill Statholders. Therefore he did all that was poſſible to put an invincible bar in their way, by the perpetual edict. But at the ſame time he took great care of preſerving the young Prince's fortune; and looked well to his education, and gave him, as the Prince himſelf told me, very juſt notions of every thing relating to their State. For he ſaid, he did not know, but that at ſome time or other he would be ſet over them: Therefore he intended to render him fit to govern well. 1665.

The Town of *Amſterdam* became at that time very ungovernable. It was thought, that the *Weſt-India*-Company had been given up chiefly by their means; for it was in value ſo equal to the *Eaſt-India*-Company, that the actions of both were often exchanged for one another. When the Biſhop of *Munſter* began his pretenſions on the City of *Munſter*, and on a great part of *Weſtphalia*, they offered themſelves up to the States, if they would preſerve them. But the Town of *Amſterdam* would not conſent to it, nor ſubmit to the charge. Yet they never ſeemed to ſet up for a ſuperiority over the reſt, nor to break the credit of the Court at the *Hague*. Only they were backward in every thing that was propoſed, that encreaſed the charge. And they were become ſo weary of *De Wit*, that he felt how much the late miſcarriage at ſea had ſhaken his credit; ſince misfortunes are always imputed to the errors of thoſe that govern. So he reſolved to go on board. *De Ruyter* often ſaid, that he was amazed to ſee how ſoon he came to a perfect underſtanding of all the ſea affairs. The winds were ſo long backward, that it was not eaſy to get their great ſhips thro' the *Zuyder* ſea. So he went out in boats himſelf, and plummed it all ſo carefully, that he found many more ways to get out by different winds, than was thought formerly practicable. He got out in time to be maſter of the ſea, before the end of the ſeaſon: And ſo recovered the affront of the former loſſes, by keeping at ſea after the *Engliſh* fleet was forced to put in. The Earl of *Sandwich* was ſent to the North with a great part of the fleet, to lie for the *Eaſt-India* ſhips. But he was thought too remiſs. They got, before he was aware of it, into *Berghen* in *Norway*. If he had followed

1665. them quick, he would have forced the port, and taken them all. But he obſerved forms, and ſent to the Viceroy of *Norway* demanding entrance. That was denied him. But, while theſe meſſages went backward and forward, the *Dutch* had ſo fortifyed the entrance into the port, that, tho' it was attempted with great courage, yet *Tiddiman*, and thoſe who compoſed that ſquadron, were beat off with great loſs, and forced to let go a very rich fleet: For which Lord *Sandwich* was much blamed, tho' he was ſent Ambaſſadour into *Spain*, that his diſgrace might be a little ſoftened by that employment. The Duke's conduct was alſo much blamed: And it was ſaid, he was moſt in fault, but that the Earl of *Sandwich* was made the ſacrifice.

An account of the affairs of *Bergben.* Here I will add a particular relation of a tranſaction relating to that affair, taken from the account given of it by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, then the King's Envoy at the Court of *Denmark*, in a MS. that I have in my hands. That King did in *June* 1665 open himſelf very freely to *Talbot*, complaining of the States, who, as he ſaid, had drawn the *Swediſh* war on him, on deſign that he might be forced to depend on them for ſupplies of money and ſhipping, and ſo to get the cuſtoms of *Norway* and the *Sound* into their hands for their ſecurity. *Talbot* upon that told him, that the *Dutch Smyrna* fleet was now in *Berghen*, beſides many rich *Weſt-India* ſhips; and that they ſtaid there in expectation of a double *Eaſt-India* fleet, and of *De Ruyter*, who was returning with the ſpoils of the coaſt of *Guinea*. So he ſaid, the King of *Denmark* might ſeize thoſe ſhips before the convoy came, which they expected. The King of *Denmark* ſaid, he had not ſtrength to execute that. *Talbot* ſaid, the King his maſter would ſend a force to effect it: But it was reaſonable he ſhould have half of the ſpoil. To which the King of *Denmark* readily agreed, and ordered him to propoſe it to his maſter. So he immediately tranſmitted it to the King, who approved of it, and promiſed to ſend a fleet to put it in execution. The Miniſters of *Denmark* were appointed to concert the matter with *Talbot*. But nothing was put in writing; for the King of *Denmark* was aſhamed to treat of ſuch an affair, otherwiſe than by word of mouth. Before the end of *July*, news came, that *De Ruyter* with the *Eaſt-India* Fleet was on the coaſt of *Norway*. Soon after he came into *Berghen*. The riches then in that port were reckoned at many millions.

The Earl of *Sandwich* was then in thoſe ſeas. So *Talbot* ſent a veſſel expreſs to him with the news. But that veſſel fell into the hands of the *Dutch* Fleet, and was ſent to *Holland*. The King of *Denmark* writ to the Viceroy of *Norway*, and to the Governour

nour of *Berghen*, ordering them to uſe all fair means to keep the *Dutch* ſtill in their harbour, promiſing to ſend particular inſtructions in a few days to them how to proceed. *Talbot* ſent letters with theſe, to be delivered ſecretly to the Commanders of the *Engliſh* frigats, to let them know that they might boldly aſſault the *Dutch* in port; for the *Danes* would make no reſiſtance, pretending a fear that the *Engliſh* might deſtroy their Town: But that an account was to be kept of their prizes, that the King of *Denmark* might have a juſt half of all: They were not to be ſurprized, if the *Danes* ſeemed at firſt to talk high: That was to be done for ſhew: But they would grow calmer, when they came ro engage. The Earl of *Sandwich* ſent his Secretary to *Talbot*, to know the particulars of the agreement with the King of *Denmark*. But the veſſel that brought him was ordered, upon landing the Secretary, to come back to the fleet. So that it was impoſſible to ſend by that veſſel what was deſired. And no other ſhips could be got to carry back the Secretary. And thus the Earl of *Sandwich* went to attack the *Dutch* Fleet without ſtaying for an anſwer from *Talbot*, or knowing what orders the Governour of *Berghen* had yet received: For tho' the orders were ſent, yet it was ſo great a way, ten or twelve days journey, that they could not reach the place, but after the *Engliſh* fleet had made the attack. The Viceroy of *Norway*, who reſided at *Chriſtiana*, had his orders ſooner, and ſent out two gallies to communicate the agreement to the Earl of *Sandwich*; but miſſed him, for he was then before *Berghen*. The Governour of *Berghen*, not having yet the orders that the former expreſs promiſed him, ſent a Gentleman to the *Engliſh* fleet, deſiring they would make no attack for two or three days; for by that time he expected his orders. *Clifford* was ſent to the Governour, who inſiſted that till he had orders he muſt defend the port, but that he expected them in a very little time. Upon *Clifford*'s going back to the fleet, a Council of war was called, in which the officers, animated with the hope of a rich booty, reſolved without farther delay to attack the port, either doubting the ſincerity of the *Daniſh* Court, or unwilling to give them ſo large a ſhare of that, on which they reckoned as already their prize. Upon this *Tiddiman* began the attack, which ended fatally. Diverſe frigats were diſabled, and many officers and ſeamen were killed. The ſquadron was thus ruined, and *Tiddiman* was ready to ſink: So he was forced to ſlip his cables, and retire to the fleet, which lay without the rocks. This action was on the third of *Auguſt:* And on the fourth the Governour received his orders. So he ſent for *Clifford*, and ſhewed him his orders. But, as the *Engliſh* fleet

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1665. fleet had by their precipitation forced him to do what he had done, ſo he could not, upon what had happpened the day before, execute thoſe orders, till he ſent an account of what had paſs'd to the Court of *Denmark*, and had the King's ſecond orders upon it. And, if the whole *Engliſh* fleet would not ſtay in thoſe ſeas ſo long, he deſired they would leave ſix frigats before the harbour; and he would engage, the *Dutch* ſhould not in the mean while go out to ſea. But the *Engliſh* were ſullen upon their diſappointment, and ſailed away. The King of *Denmark* was unſpeakably troubled at the loſs of the greateſt treaſure he was ever like to have in his hands. This was a deſign well laid, that would have been as fatal to the *Dutch*, as ignominious to the King of *Denmark*, and was by the impatient ravenouſneſs of the *Engliſh* loſt, without poſſibility of recovering it. And indeed there was not one good ſtep made after this in the whole progreſs of the war.

The Parliament at *Oxford.*

England was at this time in a diſmal ſtate. The plague continued for the moſt part of the ſummer in and about *London*, and began to ſpread over the country. The Earl of *Clarendon* moved the King to go to *Salisbury*. But the Plague broke out there. So the Court went to *Oxford*, where another ſeſſion of Parliament was held. And tho' the conduct at ſea was ſeverely reflected on, yet all that was neceſſary for carrying on the war another year was given. The Houſe of Commons kept up the ill humour they were in againſt the Non-conformiſts very high. A great many of the Miniſters of *London* were driven away by the Plague; tho' ſome few ſtaid. Many Churches being ſhut up, when the inhabitants were in a more than ordinary diſpoſition to profit by good ſermons, ſome of the Non-conformiſts upon that went into the empty pulpits, and preached; and, it was given out, with very good ſucceſs: And in many other places they began to preach openly, not without reflecting on the ſins of the Court, and on the ill uſage that they themſelves had met with. This was repreſented very odiouſly at *Oxford*. So a ſevere bill was brought in, requiring all the ſilenced Miniſters to take an oath, declaring it was not lawful on any pretence whatſoever to take arms againſt the King, or any commiſſioned by him, and that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of the Church or State. Such as refuſed this were not to come within five miles of any City, or Parliament Borough, or of the Church where they had ſerved. This was much oppoſed in both Houſes, but more faintly in the Houſe of Commons. The Earl of *Southampton* ſpoke vehemently againſt it in the Houſe of Lords. He ſaid, he could take no ſuch

oath

oath himſelf: For how firm ſoever he had always been to the Church, yet, as things were managed, he did not know but he himſelf might ſee cauſe to endeavour an alteration. Doctor *Earl*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, died at that time. But, before his death, he declared himſelf much againſt this Act. He was the man of all the Clergy for whom the King had the greateſt eſteem. He had been his ſubtutor, and had followed him in all his exile with ſo clear a character, that the King could never ſee or hear of any one thing amiſs in him. So he, who had a ſecret pleaſure in finding out any thing that leſſened a man eſteemed eminent for piety, yet had a value for him beyond all the men of his order. *Sheldon* and *Ward* were the Biſhops that acted and argued moſt for this Act, which came to be called the Five Mile Act. All that were the ſecret favourers of Popery promoted it: Their conſtant maxim being, to bring all the Sectaries into ſo deſperate a ſtate, that they ſhould be at mercy, and forced to deſire a toleration on ſuch terms, as the King ſhould think fit to grant it on. *Clifford* began to make a great figure in the Houſe of Commons. He was the ſon of a Clergy-man, born to a ſmall fortune: But was a man of great vivacity. He was reconciled to the Church of *Rome* before the Reſtoration. The Lord *Clarendon* had many ſpies among the Prieſts: And the news of this was brought him among other things. So, when *Clifford* began firſt to appear in the Houſe, he got one to recommend him to the Lord *Clarendon*'s favour. The Lord *Clarendon* looked into the advice that was brought him: And by comparing things together, he perceived that he muſt be that man: And upon that he excuſed himſelf the beſt he could. So *Clifford* ſtruck in with his enemies; and tied himſelf particularly to *Bennet*, made Lord, and afterwards Earl of *Arlington*. While the Act was before the Houſe of Commons, *Vaughan*, afterwards made Chief Juſtice of the Common-pleas, moved that the word *legally* might be added to the word *commiſſioned by the King*: But *Finch*, then Attorney General, ſaid, that was needleſs; ſince unleſs the commiſſion was legal it was no commiſſion, and, to make it legal, it muſt be iſſued out for a lawful occaſion, and to perſons capable of it, and muſt paſs in the due form of law. The other inſiſted that the addition would clear all ſcruples, and procure an univerſal compliance. But that could not be obtained; for it was intended to lay difficulties in the way of thoſe againſt whom the Act was levelled. When the bill came up to the Lords, the Earl of *Southampton* moved for the ſame addition; but was anſwered by the Earl of *Angleſey*, upon the ſame grounds on which *Finch* went. Yet this gave great ſatisfaction 1665.

1665. to many who heard of it, this being the avowed ſenſe of the legiſlators. The whole matter was ſo explained by *Bridgman*, when *Bates* with a great many more came into the Court of Common-pleas to take the oath. The Act paſs'd: And the Nonconformiſts were put to great ſtraits. They had no mind to take the oath. And they ſcarce knew how to diſpoſe of themſelves according to the terms of the Act. Some moderate men took pains to perſuade them to take the oath. It was ſaid by *endeavour* was only meant an unlawful endeavour; and that it was ſo declared in the debates in both Houſes. Some Judges did on the bench expound it in that ſenſe. Yet few of them took it. Many more refuſed it, who were put to hard ſhifts to live, being ſo far ſeparated from the places from which they drew their chief ſubſiſtance. Yet as all this ſeverity in a time of war, and of ſuch a publick calamity, drew very hard cenſures on the promoters of it, ſo it raiſed the compaſſions of their party ſo much, that I have been told they were ſupplied more plentifully at that time than ever. There was better reaſon, than perhaps thoſe of *Oxford* knew, to ſuſpect practices againſt the State.

The deſigns of the Common-wealth party.

Algernoon Sidney, and ſome others of the Common-wealth party, came to *De Wit*, and preſs'd him to think of an invaſion of *England* and *Scotland*, and gave him great aſſurances of a ſtrong party: And they were bringing many officers to *Holland* to join in the undertaking. They dealt alſo with ſome in *Amſterdam*, who were particularly ſharpened againſt the King, and were for turning *England* again into a Common-wealth. The matter was for ſome time in agitation at the *Hague*. But *De Wit* was againſt it, and got it to be laid aſide. He ſaid, their going into ſuch a deſign would provoke *France* to turn againſt them: It might engage them in a long war, the conſequences of which could not be foreſeen: And, as there was no reaſon to think, that, while the Parliament was ſo firm to the King, any diſcontents could be carried ſo far as to a general riſing, which theſe men undertook for; ſo, he ſaid, what would the effect be of turning *England* into a Common-wealth, if it could poſſibly be brought about, but the ruine of *Holland*? It would naturally draw many of the *Dutch* to leave their country, that could not be kept and maintained but at a vaſt charge, and to exchange that for the plenty and ſecurity that *England* afforded. Therefore all that he would engage in was, to weaken the trade of *England*, and to deſtroy their fleet; in which he ſucceeded the following year beyond all expectation. The buſy men in *Scotland*, being encouraged from *Rotterdam*, went about the country, to try if any men of weight would ſet themſelves

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ſelves at the head of their deſigns for an inſurrection. The Earl of *Caſſilis* and *Lockhart* were the two perſons they reſolved to try. But they did it at ſo great a diſtance, that, from the propoſition made to them, there was no danger of miſpriſion of treaſon. Lord *Caſſilis* had given his word to the King, that he would never engage in any plots: And he had got under the King's hand a promiſe, that he and his family ſhould not be diſturbed, let him ſerve God in what way he pleaſed. So he did not ſuffer them to come ſo far as to make him any propoſitions. *Lockhart* did the ſame. They ſeeing no other perſon that had credit enough in the countrey to bring the people about him, gave over all the projects for that year. But, upon the informations that the King had of their caballing at *Rotterdam*, he raiſed thoſe troops of which mention was formerly made. 1665.

The Duke of *York*'s jealouſy.

An accident happened this winter at *Oxford*, too inconſiderable, and too tender to be mentioned, if it were not that great effects were believed to have followed on it. The Duke had always one private amour after another, in the managing of which he ſeemed to ſtand more in awe of the Ducheſs, than, conſidering the inequality of their rank, could have been imagined. *Talbot* was looked on as the chief manager of thoſe intrigues. The Ducheſs's deportment was unexceptionable, which made her authority the greater. At *Oxford* there was then a very graceful young man of quality that belonged to her Court, whoſe ſervices were ſo acceptable, that ſhe was thought to look at him in a particular manner. This was ſo repreſented to the Duke, that he, being reſolved to emancipate himſelf into more open practices, took up a jealouſy; and put the perſon out of his Court with ſo much precipitation, that the thing became very publick by this means. The Ducheſs loſt the power ſhe had over him ſo entirely, that no method ſhe could think on was like to recover it, except one. She began to diſcover what his religion was, tho' he ſtill came not only to Church, but to Sacrament. And upon that ſhe, to regain what ſhe had loſt, entered into private diſcourſes with his Prieſts; but in ſo ſecret a manner, that there was not for ſome years after this the leaſt ſuſpicion given. She began by degrees to ſlacken in her conſtant coming to Prayers and to Sacrament, in which ſhe had been before that regular, almoſt to ſuperſtition. She put that on her ill health: For ſhe fell into an ill habit of body, which ſome imputed to the effect of ſome of the Duke's diſtempers communicated to her. A ſtory was ſet about, and generally believed, that the Earl of *Southeſk*, that had married a daughter of Duke *Hamilton*'s, ſuſpecting ſome familiarities between the Duke and his wife, had

His amours.

1665. had taken a ſure method to procure a diſeaſe to himſelf, which he communicated to his wife, and was by that means ſet round till it came to the Ducheſs, who was ſo tainted with it that it was the occaſion of the death of all her children, except the two daughters, our two Queens; and was believed the cauſe of an illneſs under which ſhe languiſhed long, and died ſo corrupted, that in dreſſing her body after her death, one of her breaſts burſt, being a maſs of corruption. Lord *Southeſk* was for ſome years not ill pleaſed to have this believed. It looked like a peculiar ſtrain of revenge, with which he ſeemed much delighted. But I know he has to ſome of his friends denied the whole of the ſtory very ſolemnly. Another acted a better part. He did not like a commerce that he obſerved between the Duke and his wife. He went and expoſtulated with him upon it. The Duke fell a commending his wife much. He told him, he came not to ſeek his wife's character from him: The moſt effectual way of commending her, was to have nothing to do with her. He added, that if Princes would do thoſe wrongs to ſubjects, who could not demand ſuch reparations of honour as they could from their equals, it would put them on ſecreter methods of revenge: For ſome injuries were ſuch, that men of honour could not bear them. And, upon a new obſervation he made of the Duke's deſigns upon his wife, he quitted a very good poſt, and went with her into the country, where he kept her till ſhe died. Upon the whole matter the Duke was often ill. The children were born with ulcers, or they broke out upon them ſoon after: And all his ſons died young, and unhealthy. This has, as far as any thing that could not be brought in the way of proof, prevailed to create a ſuſpicion, that ſo healthy a child as the pretended Prince of *Wales* could neither be his, nor be born of any wife with whom he had lived long. The violent pain that his eldeſt daughter had in her eyes, and the gout which has early ſeized our preſent Queen, are thought the dregs of a tainted original. *Willis*, the great phyſician, being called to conſult for one of his ſons, gave his opinion in thoſe words, *Mala Stamina Vitæ*; which gave ſuch offence, that he was never called for afterwards.

1666. I know nothing of the counſels of the year 1666, nor whoſe advices prevailed. It was reſolved on, that the Duke ſhould not go to ſea; but that *Monk* ſhould command the great fleet of between fifty and ſixty ſhips of the line, and that Prince *Rupert* ſhould be ſent with a ſquadron of about twenty five ſhips to meet the *French* fleet, and to hinder their conjunction with the *Dutch*:

For

For the *French* had promiſed a fleet to join the *Dutch*, but never ſent it. *Monk* went out ſo certain of victory, that he ſeemed only concerned for fear the *Dutch* ſhould not come out. The Court flattered themſelves with the hopes of a very happy year: But it proved a fatal one. The *Dutch* fleet came out, *De Wit* and ſome of the States being on board. They engaged the *Engliſh* fleet for two days, in which they had a manifeſt ſuperiority. But it coſt them dear; for the *Engliſh* fought well. But the *Dutch* were ſuperiour in number, and were ſo well furniſhed with chained ſhot, (a peculiar contrivance of which *De Wit* had the honour to be thought the inventer, that the *Engliſh* fleet was quite unrigged.) And they were in no condition to work themſelves off. So they muſt have all been taken, ſunk, or burnt, if Prince *Rupert*, being yet in the channel, and hearing that they were engaged by the continued roaring of guns, had not made all poſſible haſte to get to them. He came in good time. And the *Dutch*, who had ſuffered much, ſeeing ſo great a force come up, ſteered off. He was in no condition to purſue them; but brought off our fleet, which ſaved us a great loſs that ſeemed otherwiſe unavoidable. The Court gave out that it was a victory: And publick thankſgivings were ordered, which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world. We had in one reſpect reaſon to thank God, that we had not loſt our whole fleet. But to compleat the miſeries of this year: The Plague was ſo ſunk in *London*, that the inhabitants began to return to it, and brought with them a great deal of manufacture, which was lying on the hands of the clothiers and others, now in the ſecond year of the war, in which trade and all other conſumptions were very low. It was reckoned, that a peace muſt come next winter. The merchants were upon that preparing to go to market as ſoon as poſſible. The ſummer had been the dryeſt that was known of ſome years. And *London* being for the moſt part built of timber filled up with plaiſter, all was extream dry. On the ſecond of *September* a fire broke out, that raged for three days, as if it had a commiſſion to devour every thing that was in its way. On the fourth day it ſtopt in the midſt of very combuſtible matter.

1666.

The fleet was almoſt quite loſt and happily ſaved by Prince *Rupert*.

The fire of *London*.

I will not enlarge on the extent nor the deſtruction made by the fire: Many books are full of it. That which is ſtill a great ſecret is, whether it was caſual, or raiſed on deſign. The *Engliſh* fleet had landed on the *Vly*, an iſland lying near the *Texel*, and had burnt it: Upon which ſome came to *De Wit*, and offered a revenge, that, if they were aſſiſted, they would ſet *London* on fire. He rejected the propoſition: For he ſaid, he would not make the breach wider, nor the quarrel irreconcilable. He ſaid,

1666. it was brought him by one of the *Labadiſts*, as ſent to them by ſome others. He made no farther reflections on the matter till the City was burnt. Then he began to ſuſpect there had been a deſign, and that they had intended to draw him into it, and to lay the odium of it upon the *Dutch*. But he could hear no news of thoſe who had ſent that propoſition to him. In the *April* before, ſome Common-wealths-men were found in a plot, and hanged; who at their execution confeſſed, they had been ſpoken to, to aſſiſt in a deſign of burning *London* on the ſecond of *September*. This was printed in the gazette of that week, which I my ſelf read. Now the fire breaking out on the ſecond made all people conclude, that there was a deſign ſome time before on foot for doing it.

It was charged on the Papiſts.

The Papiſts were generally charged with it. One *Hubert*, a *French* Papiſt, was ſeized on in *Eſſex*, as he was getting out of the way in great confuſion. He confeſſed, he had begun the fire, and perſiſted in his confeſſion to his death; for he was hanged upon no other evidence but that of his own confeſſion. It is true, he gave ſo broken an account of the whole matter, that he was thought mad. Yet he was blindfolded, and carried to ſeveral places of the City: And then, his eyes being opened, he was aſked, if that was the place: And he being carried to wrong places, after he looked round about for ſome time, he ſaid, that was not the place: But when he was brought to the place where it firſt broke out, he affirmed that was the true place. And *Tillotſon* told me, that *Howell*, then the recorder of *London*, was with him, and had much diſcourſe with him; and that he concluded, it was impoſſible that it could be a melancholy dream: The horrour of the fact, and the terrour of death, and perhaps ſome engagements in confeſſion, might put him in ſuch diſorder, that it was not poſſible to draw a clear account of any thing from him, but of what related to himſelf. *Tillotſon*, who believed that the City was burnt on deſign, told me a circumſtance that made the Papiſts employing ſuch a crazed man in ſuch a ſervice more credible. *Langhorn*, the Popiſh counſellor at law, who for many years paſs'd for a Proteſtant, was diſpatching a half-witted man to manage elections in *Kent* before the Reſtoration. *Tillotſon*, being preſent, and obſerving what a ſort of man he was, aſked *Langhorn*, how he could employ him in ſuch ſervices. *Langhorn* anſwered, it was a maxim with him in dangerous ſervices to employ none but half-witted men, if they could be but ſecret and obey orders: For if they ſhould change their minds, and turn informers inſtead of agents, it would be eaſy to diſcredit them, and to carry off the weight of any diſcoveries they could make,

by

by ſhewing they were mad-men, and ſo not like to be truſted in critical things. 1666.

The moſt extraordinary paſſage, tho' it is but a preſumption, was told me by Doctor *Lloyd* and the Counteſs of *Clarendon*. The latter had a great eſtate in the new river that is brought from *Ware* to *London*, which is brought together at *Iſlington*, where there is a great room full of pipes that convey it thro' all the ſtreets of *London*. The conſtant order of that matter was, to ſet all the pipes a running on *Saturday* night, that ſo the ciſterns might be all full by *Sunday* morning, there being a more than ordinary conſumption of water on that day. There was one *Grant*, a Papiſt, under whoſe name Sir *William Petty* publiſhed his obſervations on the bills of mortality: He had ſome time before applied himſelf to *Lloyd*, who had great credit with the Counteſs of *Clarendon*; and ſaid, he could raiſe that eſtate conſiderably, if ſhe would make him a truſtee for her. His ſchemes were probable: And he was made one of the board that governed that matter: And by that he had a right to come, as oft as he pleaſed, to view their works at *Iſlington*. He went thither the *Saturday* before the fire broke out, and called for the key of the place where the heads of the pipes were, and turned all the cocks that were then open, and ſtopt the water, and went away, and carried the keys with him. So when the fire broke out next morning, they opened the pipes in the ſtreets to find water, but there was none. And ſome hours were loſt in ſending to *Iſlington*, where the door was to be broke open, and the cocks turned. And it was long before the water got to *London*. *Grant* indeed denied that he had turned the cocks. But the officer of the works affirmed, that he had, according to order, ſet them all a running, and that no perſon had got the keys from him, beſides *Grant*; who confeſſed he had carried away the keys, but pretended he did it without deſign. There were many other ſtories ſet about, as that the Papiſts in ſeveral places had aſked, if there was no news of the burning of *London*, and that it was talked of in many parts beyond ſea, long before the news could get thither from *London*. In this matter I was much determined by what Sir *Thomas Littleton*, the father, told me. He was a man of a ſtrong head, and ſound judgment. He had juſt as much knowledge in trade, hiſtory, the diſpoſition of *Europe*, and the conſtitution of *England*, as ſerved to feed and direct his own thoughts, and no more. He lived all the ſummer long in *London*, where I was his next neighbour, and had for ſeven years a conſtant and daily converſation with him. He was Treaſurer of the Navy in conjunction with *Osborn*, who

A ſtrong preſumption of it.

was

1666. was afterwards Lord Treaſurer, who ſupplanted him in that poſt, and got it all into his own hands. He had a very bad opinion of the King; and thought, that he had worſe intentions than his brother, but that he had a more dextrous way of covering and managing them; only his lazineſs made him leſs earneſt in proſecuting them. He had generally the character of the ableſt Parliament man in his time. His chief eſtate lay in the City, not far from the place where the fire broke out, tho' it did not turn that way. He was one of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, that examined all the preſumptions of the City's being burnt on deſign: And he often aſſured me, that there was no clear preſumption made out about it, and that many ſtories, which were publiſhed with good aſſurance, came to nothing upon a ſtrict examination. He was at that time, that the inquiry was made, in employment at Court. So, whether that biaſſed him, or not, I cannot tell. There was ſo great a diverſity of opinions in the matter, that I muſt leave it under the ſame uncertainty in which I found it. If the *French* and *Dutch* had been at that time deſigning an impreſſion elſewhere, it might have been more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it was done on deſign to diſtract our affairs. But it fell out at a dead time, when no advantage could be made of it. And it did not ſeem probable, that the Papiſts had engaged in the deſign, merely to impoveriſh and ruine the Nation; for they had nothing ready then to graft upon the confuſion that this put all the people in. Above twelve thouſand houſes were burnt down, with the greateſt part of the furniture and merchandize that was in them. All means uſed to ſtop it proved ineffectual; tho' the blowing up of houſes was the moſt effectual of any. But the wind was ſo high, that fleaks of fire and burning matter were carried in the air croſs ſeveral ſtreets. So that the fire ſpread not only in the next neighbourhood, but at a great diſtance. The King and the Duke were almoſt all the day long on horſeback with the guards, ſeeing to all that could be done, either for quenching the fire, or for carrying off perſons and goods to the fields all about *London*. The moſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance of that dreadful conflagration was, that, notwithſtanding the great deſtruction that was made, and the great confuſion in the ſtreets, I could never hear of any one perſon that was either burnt, or trodden to death. The King was never obſerved to be ſo much ſtruck with any thing in his whole life, as with this. But the citizens were not ſo well ſatisfied with the Duke's behaviour. They thought he looked too gay, and too little concerned. A jealouſy of his being concerned in it was ſpread about with great induſtry,

induſtry, but with very little appearance of truth. Yet it grew to be generally believed, chiefly after he owned he was a Papiſt. 1666.

In *Scotland* the fermentation went very high. *Turner* was ſent again into the Weſt in *October* this year: And he began to treat the country at the old rate. The people were alarmed, and ſaw they were to be undone. They met together, and talked with ſome fiery Miniſters. *Semple*, *Maxwell*, *Welſh*, and *Guthry* were the chief incendiaries. Two Gentlemen that had ſerved in the wars, one a Lieutenant Colonel, *Wallace*, and the other that had been a Major, *Learmoth*, were the beſt officers they had to rely on. The chief Gentlemen of thoſe Counties were all clapt up in priſon, as was formerly told. So that preſerved them: Otherwiſe they muſt either have engaged with the people, or have loſt their intereſt among them. The people were told, that the fire of *London* had put things in that confuſion at Court, that any vigorous attempt would diſorder all the King's affairs. If the new levied troops had not ſtood in their way, they would have been able to have carried all things againſt them: For the two troops of guards with the regiment of foot guards would not have been able to have kept their ground before them. The people, as ſome of them told me afterwards, were made to believe that the whole Nation was in the ſame diſpoſition. So on the thirteenth of *November* they ran together: And two hundred of them went to *Dunfreis*, where *Turner* then lay with a few ſoldiers about him; the greateſt part of his men being then out in parties for the levying of fines. So they ſurpriſed him before he could get to his arms: Otherwiſe, he told me, he would have been killed rather than taken, ſince he expected no mercy from them. With himſelf they ſeized his papers and inſtructions, by which it appeared he had been gentler than his orders were. So they reſolved to keep him, and exchange him as occaſion ſhould be offered. But they did not tell him what they intended to do with him: So he thought, they were keeping him, till they might hang him up with the more ſolemnity. There was a conſiderable caſh in his hands, partly for the pay of his men, partly of the fines which he had raiſed in the country, that was ſeized: But he, to whom they truſted the keeping of it, ran away with it. They ſpread a report, which they have ſince printed, and it paſſed for ſome time current, that this riſing was the effect of a ſudden heat, that the country was put in by ſeeing one of their neighbours tied on a horſe hand and foot, and carried away, only becauſe he could not pay a high fine that was ſet upon him; and that upon this provocation the neighbours, who did not know how ſoon ſuch uſage would fall to their own turn, ran together,

Diſorders in *Scotland*.

1666. gether, and reſcued him; and that, fearing ſome ſevere uſage for that, they kept together, and that, others coming into them, they went on, and ſeized *Turner*. But this was a ſtory made only to beget compaſſion: For, after the inſurrection was quaſh'd, the Privy Council ſent ſome round the country, to examine the violences that had been committed, particularly in the pariſh where it was given out that this was done. I read the report they made to the Council, and all the depoſitions that the people of the country made before them: But this was not mentioned in any one of them.

A rebellion in the Weſt. The news of this riſing was brought to *Edenburgh*, fame encreaſing their numbers to ſome thouſands. And this happening to be near *Carlile*, the Governour of that place ſent an expreſs to Court, in which the ſtrength of the party was magnified much beyond the truth. The Earl of *Rothes* was then at Court, who had aſſured the King, that all things were ſo well managed in *Scotland*, that they were in perfect quiet. There were, he ſaid, ſome ſtubborn Fanaticks ſtill left, that would be ſoon ſubdued: But there was no danger from any thing that they or their party could do. He gave no credit to the expreſs from *Carlile:* But, two days after, the news was confirmed by an expreſs from *Scotland*. *Sharp* was then at the head of the government: So he managed this little war, and gave all the orders and directions in it. *Dalziel* was commanded to draw all the force they had together, which lay then diſperſed in quarters. When that was done, he marched Weſtward. A great many ran to the rebels, who came to be called Whiggs. At *Lanerick* in *Cliddiſdale* they had a ſolemn faſt day, in which after much praying they renewed the Covenant, and ſet out their manifeſto: In which they denied, that they roſe againſt the King; they complained of the oppreſſion under which they had groaned; they deſired that Epiſcopacy might be put down, and that Preſbytery, and the Covenant, might be ſet up, and their Miniſters reſtored again to them; and then they promiſed, that they would be in all other things the King's moſt obedient ſubjects. The Earl of *Argile* raiſed fifteen hundred men, and wrote to the Council that he was ready to march upon order. *Sharp* thought, that if he came into the country, either he or his men would certainly join with the rebels: So he ſent him no order at all. But he was at the charge of keeping his men together to no purpoſe. *Sharp* was all the while in a dreadful conſternation, and wrote diſmal letters to Court, praying that the forces which lay in the North of *England* might be ordered down: For, he wrote, they were ſurrounded with the rebels, and did not know what was become

of

of the King's forces. He alſo moved, that the Council would go, and ſhut themſelves up in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*. But that was oppoſed by the reſt of the board, as an abandoning of the Town, and the betraying an unbecoming fear, which might very much encourage the rebels, and ſuch as intended to go over to them. Orders were given out for raiſing the country: But there was no militia yet formed. In the mean while *Dalziel* followed the rebels as cloſe as he could. He publiſhed a proclamation of pardon, as he was ordered, to all that ſhould in twenty four hours time return to their houſes, and declared all that continued any longer in arms rebels. He found the country was ſo well affected towards them, that he could get no ſort of intelligence, but what his own parties brought in to him. The Whiggs marched towards *Edenburgh*, and came within two miles of the Town. But, finding neither Town nor Country declare for them, and that all the hopes their leaders had given them proved falſe, they loſt heart. From being once above two thouſand they were now come to be not above eight or nine hundred. So they reſolved to return back to the Weſt, where they knew the people were of their ſide; and where they could more eaſily diſperſe themſelves, and get either into *England* or *Ireland*. The Miniſters were very buſy in all thoſe Counties, plying people of rank not to forſake their brethren in this extremity. And they had got a company of about three or fourſcore Gentlemen together, who were marching towards them, when they heard of their defeat: And upon that they diſperſed themſelves. The rebels thought to have marched back by the way of *Pentland* Hill. They were not much concerned for the few horſes they had. And they knew that *Dalziel*, whoſe horſe was fatigued with a fortnight's conſtant march, could not follow them. And if they had gained but one night more in their march, they had got out of his reach. But on the twenty eighth of *November*, about an hour before ſun ſet, he came up to them. They were poſted on the top of a hill: So he engaged with a great diſadvantage. They, finding they could not get off, ſtopt their march. Their Miniſters did all they could by preaching and praying to infuſe courage into them: And they ſung the ſeventy fourth and the ſeventy eighth Pſalms. And ſo they turned on the King's forces. They received the firſt charge that was given by the troop of guards very reſolutely, and put them in diſorder. But that was all the action; for immediately they loſt all order, and ran for their lives. It was now dark: About forty were killed on the ſpot, and a hundred and thirty were taken. The reſt were favoured by the darkneſs of the night, and the wearineſs of the King's

1666.

The defeat given the rebels at *Pentland* Hill.

1666. King's troops, that were not in caſe to purſue them, and had no great heart to it: For they were a poor harmleſs company of men, become mad by oppreſſion: And they had taken nothing during all the time they had been together, but what had been freely given them by the country people. The rebellion was broken with the loſs of only five on the King's ſide. The General came next day into *Edenburgh* with his priſoners.

Severe proceedings againſt the priſoners.

The two Archbiſhops were now delivered out of all their fears: And the common obſervation, that cruelty and cowardiſe go together, was too viſibly verified on this occaſion. Lord *Rothes* came down full of rage: And, that being inflamed by the two Archbiſhops, he reſolved to proceed with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the priſoners. *Burnet* adviſed the hanging of all thoſe who would not renounce the Covenant, and promiſe to conform to the laws for the future: But that was thought too ſevere. Yet he was ſent up to *London*, to procure of the King an inſtruction, that they ſhould tender the Declaration renouncing the Covenant to all who were thought diſaffected; and proceed againſt thoſe who refuſed that, as againſt ſeditious perſons. The beſt of the Epiſcopal Clergy ſet upon the Biſhops, to lay hold on this opportunity for regaining the affections of the country, by becoming interceſſours for the priſoners, and for the country, that was like to be quartered on and eat up for the favour they had expreſſed to them. Many of the Biſhops went into this, and particularly *Wiſhart* of *Edenburgh*, tho' a rough man, and ſharpened by ill uſage. Yet upon this occaſion he expreſſed a very Chriſtian temper, ſuch as became one who had felt what the rigours of a priſon had been; for he ſent every day very liberal ſupplies to the priſoners: Which was indeed done by the whole Town, in ſo bountiful a manner, that many of them, who being ſhut up had neither air nor exerciſe, were in greater danger by their plenty, than they had been by all their unhappy campaign. But *Sharp* could not be mollified. On the contrary he encouraged the Miniſters in the diſaffected Counties to bring in all the informations they could gather, both againſt the priſoners, and againſt all thoſe who had been among them, that they might be ſought for, and proceeded againſt. Moſt of thoſe got over to *Ireland*. But the Miniſters in thoſe parts acted ſo ill a part, ſo unbecoming their characters, that the averſion of the country to them was increaſed to all poſſible degrees: They looked on them now as wolves, and not as ſhepherds. It was a moving ſight, to ſee ten of the priſoners hanged upon one gibbet at *Edenburgh*: Thirty five more were ſent to their countries, and hanged up before their own doors; their Miniſters all the

the while uſing them hardly, and declaring them damned for their rebellion. They might all have ſaved their lives, if they would have renounced the Covenant: So they were really a ſort of martyrs for it. They did all at their death give their teſtimony, according to their phraſe, to the Covenant, and to all that had been done purſuant to it: And they expreſſed great joy in their ſufferings. Moſt of them were but mean and inconſiderable men in all reſpects: Yet even theſe were firm and inflexible in their perſuaſions. Many of them eſcaped, notwithſtanding the great ſearch was made for them. *Guthry* the chief of their preachers was hid in my mother's houſe, who was bred to her brother *Wariſton*'s principles, and could never be moved from them: He died next ſpring. One *Maccail*, that was only a probationer preacher, and who had been chaplain in Sir *James Steward*'s houſe, had gone from *Edenburgh* to them. It was believed, he was ſent by the party in town, and that he knew their correſpondents. So he was put to the torture, which in *Scotland* they call the boots; for they put a pair of iron boots cloſe on the leg, and drive wedges between theſe and the leg. The common torture was only to drive theſe in the calf of the leg: But I have been told they were ſometimes driven upon the ſhin bone. He bore the torture with great conſtancy: And either he could ſay nothing, or he had the firmneſs not to diſcover thoſe who had truſted him. Every man of them could have ſaved his own life, if he would accuſe any other: But they were all true to their friends. *Maccail*, for all the pains of the torture, died in a rapture of joy: His laſt words were, farewel ſun, moon and ſtars, farewel kindred and friends, farewel world and time, farewel weak and frail body, welcome eternity, welcome Angels and Saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God the Judge of all; which he ſpoke with a voice and manner that ſtruck all that heard it. 1666.

His death was the more cried out on, becauſe it came to be known afterwards, that *Burnet*, who had come down before his execution, had brought with him a letter from the King, in which he approved of all that they had done; but added, that he thought there was blood enough ſhed, and therefore he ordered that ſuch of the priſoners as ſhould promiſe to obey the laws for the future ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that the incorrigible ſhould be ſent to Plantations. *Burnet* let the execution go on, before he produced his letter, pretending there was no Council-day between. But he, who knew the contents of it, ought to have moved the Lord *Rothes* to call an extraordinary 1667. The King is more gentle than the Biſhops.

1667. Council to prevent the execution. So that blood was laid on him. He was, contrary to his natural temper, very violent at that time, much inflamed by his family, and by all about him. Thus this rebellion, that might have been ſo turned in the concluſion of it, that the Clergy might have gained reputation and honour by a wiſe and merciful conduct, did now exaſperate the country more than ever againſt the Church. The forces were ordered to lye in the Weſt, where *Dalziel* acted the *Muſcovite* too groſsly. He threatened to ſpit men, and to roaſt them: And he killed ſome in cold blood, or rather in hot blood; for he was then drunk, when he ordered one to be hanged, becauſe he would not tell where his father was, for whom he was in ſearch. When he heard of any that did not go to Church, he did not trouble himſelf to ſet a fine upon him: But he ſet as many ſoldiers upon him, as ſhould eat him up in a night. By this means all people were ſtruck with ſuch a terrour, that they came regularly to Church. And the Clergy were ſo delighted with it, that they uſed to ſpeak of that time, as the poets do of the golden age. They never interceded for any compaſſion to their people; nor did they take care to live more regularly, or to labour more carefully. They looked on the ſoldiery as their patrons: They were ever in their company, complying with them in their exceſſes: And, if they were not much wronged, they rather led them into them, than check'd them for them. *Dalziel* himſelf and his officers were ſo diſguſted with them, that they encreaſed the complaints, that had now more credit from them, than from thoſe of the country, who were looked on as their enemies. Things of ſo ſtrange a pitch in vice were told of them, that they ſeemed ſcarce credible. The perſon, whom I believed the beſt as to all ſuch things, was one Sir *John Cunningham*, an eminent lawyer, who had an eſtate in the country, and was the moſt extraordinary man of his profeſſion in that Kingdom. He was Epiſcopal beyond moſt men in *Scotland*, who for the far greateſt part thought that forms of government were in their own nature indifferent, and might be either good or bad according to the hands in which they fell; whereas he thought Epiſcopacy was of a divine right, ſettled by *Chriſt*. He was not only very learned in the civil and canon law, and in the philoſophical learning, but was very univerſal in all other learning: He was a great divine, and well read in the Fathers, and in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. He was above all, a man of eminent probity, and of a ſweet temper, and indeed one of the pioueſt men of the Nation. The ſtate of the Church in thoſe parts went to his heart: For it was not eaſy to know how to keep an even hand between the

the perverſeneſs of the people on the one ſide, and the vices of the Clergy on the other. They looked on all thoſe that were ſenſible of their miſcarriages, as enemies of the Church. It was after all hard to believe all that was ſet about againſt them. 1667.

The King's affairs in *England* forced him to ſoften his government every where. So at this time the Earls of *Tweedale* and *Kincardin* went to Court, and laid before the King the ill ſtate the country was in. Sir *Robert Murray* talked often with him about it. Lord *Lauderdale* was more cautious by reaſon of the jealouſy of his being a Preſbyterian. Upon all which the King reſolved to put *Scotland* into other hands. A Convention of Eſtates had been called the year before, to raiſe money for maintaining the troops. This was a very ancient practice in the *Scotiſh* conſtitution: A Convention was ſummoned to meet within twenty days: They could only levy money, and petition for the redreſs of grievances; but could make no new laws; and meddled only with that for which they were brought together. In the former Convention *Sharp* had preſided, being named by the Earl of *Rothes* as the King's Commiſſioner. In the winter 1666, or rather in the ſpring 1667, there was another Convention called, in which the King by a ſpecial letter appointed Duke *Hamilton* to preſide. And the King in a letter to Lord *Rothes* ordered him to write to *Sharp* to ſtay within his dioceſs, and to come no more to *Edenburgh*. He upon this was ſtruck with ſo deep a melancholy, that he ſhewed as great an abjectneſs under this ſlight diſgrace, as he had ſhewed inſolence before, when he had more favour. The Convention continued the aſſeſſment for another year at 6000 pounds a month. *Sharp*, finding he was now under a cloud, ſtudied to make himſelf popular by looking after the education of the Marquis of *Huntley*, now the Duke of *Gordon*. He had an order long before from the King to look to his education, that he might be bred a Proteſtant; for the ſtrength of Popery within that Kingdom lay in his family. But, tho' this was ordered during the Earl of *Middletoun*'s miniſtry, *Sharp* had not all this while looked after it. The Earl of *Rothes*'s miſtriſs was a Papiſt, and nearly related to the Marquis of *Huntly*. So *Sharp*, either to make his court the better, or at the Lord *Rothes*'s deſire, had neglected it theſe four years: But now he called for him. He was then above 15, well hardened in his prejudices by the loſs of ſo much time. What pains was taken on him, I know not. But, after a trial of ſome months, *Sharp* ſaid, he ſaw he was not to be wrought on, and ſent him back to his mother. So the intereſt that popery had in *Scotland* was believed to be chiefly owing to *Sharp*'s compliance with the Earl of *Rothes*'s amours. The

A change of counſel and more moderation in the Government.

neglect

1667. neglect of his duty in ſo important a matter was much blamed: But the doing it upon ſuch a motive was reckoned yet more infamous. After the convention was over, Lord *Rothes* ſent up *Drumond* to repreſent to the King the ill affections of the weſtern parts. And, to touch the King in a ſenſible point, he ſaid, the Covenant ſtuck ſo deep in their hearts, that no good could be done till that was rooted out. So he propoſed, as an expedient, that the King would give the Council a power to require all whom they ſuſpected to renounce the Covenant, and to proceed againſt ſuch as refuſed it as traitors. *Drumond* had yet too much of the air of *Ruſſia* about him, tho' not with *Dalziel*'s fierceneſs: He had a great meaſure of knowledge and learning, and ſome true impreſſions of religion: But he thought, that upon ſuch powers granted there would be great dealing in bribes and confiſcations. A ſlight accident happened, which raiſed a jeſt that ſpoiled his errand. The King flung the cover of the letter from *Scotland* into the fire, which was carried up all in a flame, and ſet the chimney on fire: Upon which it was ſaid, that the *Scotiſh* letter had fired *Whitehall:* And it was anſwered, the cover had almoſt ſet *Whitehall* on fire, but the contents of it would certainly ſet *Scotland* all in a flame. It was ſaid, that the law for renouncing the Covenant inferring only a forfeiture of employments to thoſe who refuſed it, the ſtretching it ſo far as was now propoſed would be liable to great exception. Yet in compliance with a publick meſſage the inſtruction was ſent down, as it was deſired: But by a private letter Lord *Rothes* was ordered to make no uſe of it, except upon a ſpecial command; ſince the King had only given way to what was deſired, to ſtrike terrour in the ill affected. The ſecret of it broke out: So it had no effect, but to make the Lord *Rothes* and his party more odious. *Burnet*, upon *Sharp*'s diſgrace, grew to be more conſidered. So he was ſent up with a propoſition of a very extraordinary nature, that the weſtern Counties ſhould be cantoned under a ſpecial government, and peculiar taxes, together with the quartering of ſouldiers upon them. It was ſaid, that thoſe Counties put the nation to the charge of keeping up ſuch a force: And therefore it ſeemed reaſonable that the charge ſhould lye wholly on them. He alſo propoſed, that a ſpecial Council ſhould be appointed to ſit at *Glaſgow:* And, among other reaſons to enforce that motion, he ſaid to the King, and afterwards to Lord *Lauderdale*, that ſome at the Council board were ill affected to the Church, and favoured her enemies, and that traitors had been pleaded for at that board. Lord *Lauderdale* writ down preſently to know what ground there was for this; ſince, if it was not true, he had *Burnet*

net at mercy for leaſing making, which was more criminal when the whole Council was concerned in the lie that was made. The only ground for this was, that one of the rebels, excepted in the indemnity that was proclaimed ſome time before, being taken, and, it being evident that his brain was turned, it was debated in Council, whether he ſhould be proceeded againſt, or not: Some argued againſt that, and ſaid, it would be a reproach to the Government to hang a madman. This could in no ſort juſtify ſuch a charge: So Lord *Lauderdale* reſolved to make uſe of it in due time. The propoſition itſelf was rejected, as that which the King could not do by law. *Burnet* upon this went to the Lord *Clarendon*, and laid before him the ſaid eſtate of their affairs in *Scotland*. He ſpoke to the King of it: And he took care to ſet the *Engliſh* Biſhops on the King, with whom *Burnet* had more credit, as more entirely theirs, than ever *Sharp* had. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s credit was then declining: And it was a clear ſign of it, when the King told Lord *Lauderdale* all that he had ſaid to him on *Scotiſh* affairs, which provoked him extreamly. *Burnet* was ſent down with good words: But the King was reſolved to put the affairs of *Scotland* under another management. Lord *Kincardin* came down in *April*, and told me, that Lord *Rothes* was to be ſtript of all his places, and to be only Lord Chancellour. The Earl of *Tweedale* and Sir *Robert Murray* were to have the ſecret in their hands. He told me, the peace was as good as made: And when that was done, the Army would be diſbanded; and things would be managed with more temper, both in Church and State. This was then ſo great a ſecret, that neither the Lord *Rothes*, nor the two Archbiſhops, had the leaſt hint of it. Some time after this Lord *Rothes* went to the North: Upon which an accident happened that haſtened his fall. 1667.

The *Scots* had during the war ſet out many privateers; and theſe had brought in many rich prizes. The *Dutch*, being provoked with this, ſent *Van Gheudt* with a good fleet into the *Frith*, to burn the coaſt, and to recover ſuch ſhips as were in that part. He came into the *Frith* on the firſt of *May*. If he had at firſt hung out *Engliſh* colours, and attacked *Leith* harbour immediately, which was then full of ſhips, he might have done what miſchief he pleaſed: For all were ſecure, and were looking for Sir *Jeremy Smith* with ſome frigats for the defence of the coaſt, ſince the King had ſet out no fleet this year. There had been ſuch a diſſipation of treaſure, that, for all the money that was given, there was not enough left to ſet out a fleet. But the Court covered this by ſaying, the peace was as good as concluded at *Breda*, where the Lord *Hollis* and Sir *William Coventry* The *Dutch* fleet came into the *Frith*.

1667. were treating about it as Plenipotentaries: And, tho' no ceſſation was agreed on, yet they reckoned on it as ſure. Upon this, a ſaying of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s was much repeated: When it was ſaid, that the Kings miſtreſs was like to ruine the Nation, he ſaid, it was ſhe that ſaved the Nation. While we had a Houſe of Commons that gave all the money that was aſked, it was better to have the money ſquandred away in luxury and prodigality, than to have it ſaved for worſe purpoſes. *Van Gheudt* did nothing in the *Frith* for ſome hours: He ſhot againſt *Bruntiſland* without doing any miſchief. The country people ran down to the coaſt, and made a great ſhow. But this was only a faint, to divert the King from that which was chiefly intended: For he ſailed out, and joined *de Ruyter:* And ſo the ſhameful attack was made upon the river of *Medway:* The chain at the mouth of it, which was then all its ſecurity, was broke: And the *Dutch* fleet ſailed up to *Chatham:* Of which I will ſay no more in this place, but go on with the affairs of *Scotland.*

And went to *Chatham*, and burnt our Fleet.

Lord *Rothes*'s being out of the way when the country was in ſuch danger, was ſeverely aggravated by the Lord *Lauderdale*, and did bring on the change ſomewhat the ſooner. In *June* Sir *Robert Murray* came down with a letter from the King, ſuperſeding Lord *Rothes*'s commiſſion, putting the Treaſury in commiſſion, and making Lord *Rothes* Lord *Chancellour*. He excuſed himſelf from being raiſed to that poſt all he could; and deſired to continue Lord Treaſurer: But he ſtruggled in vain, and was forced to ſubmit at laſt. Now all was turned to a more ſober, and more moderate management. Even *Sharp* grew meek and humble: And ſaid to my ſelf, it was a great happineſs to have to deal with ſober and ſerious men; for Lord *Rothes* and his crew were perpetually drunk. When the peace of *Breda* was concluded, the King wrote to the *Scotiſh* Council, and communicated that to them; and with that ſignified, that it was his pleaſure that the Army ſhould be disbanded. The Earl of *Rothes*, *Burnet*, and all the officers oppoſed this much. The rebellious diſpoſition of the weſtern Counties was much aggravated: It ſeemed neceſſary to govern them by a military power. Several expedients were propoſed on the other hand. Inſtead of renouncing the Covenant, in which they pretended there were many points of religion concerned, a bond was propoſed for keeping the peace, and againſt riſing in arms. This ſeemed the better teſt; ſince it ſecured the publick quiet, and the peace of the Country, which was at preſent the moſt neceſſary: The religious part was to be left to time, and good management. So an indemnity of a more comprehenſive nature was proclaimed: And the bond was all the

ſecurity that was demanded. Many came into the bond: Tho' there were ſome among them that pretended ſcruples: For, it was ſaid, peace was a word of a large extent: It might be pretended, that obeying all the laws was implied in it. Yet the far greater number ſubmitted to this. Thoſe who were diſturbed with ſcruples were a few melancholy inconſiderable perſons. 1667.

In Order to the diſbanding the Army with more ſecurity it was propoſed, that a County militia ſhould be raiſed, and trained for ſecuring the publick peace. The two Archbiſhops did not like this: They ſaid, the Commons, of whom the militia muſt be compoſed, being generally ill affected to the Church, this would be a prejudice rather than a ſecurity. But, to content them, it was concluded, that in Counties that were ill affected there ſhould be no foot raiſed, and only ſome troops of horſe. *Burnet* complained openly, that he ſaw Epiſcopacy was to be pulled down, and that in ſuch an extremity he could not look on, and be ſilent. He writ upon theſe matters a long and ſorrowful letter to *Sheldon:* And upon that *Sheldon* writ a very long one to Sir *R. Murray*; which I read, and found more temper and moderation in it, than I could have expected from him. *Murray* had got ſo far into his confidence, and he ſeemed to depend ſo entirely on his ſincerity, that no informations againſt him could work upon *Sheldon*. Upon *Burnet*'s carrying things ſo high, *Sharp* was better uſed, and was brought again to the Council board, where he began to talk of moderation: And in the debate concerning the diſbanding the Army, he ſaid, it was better to expoſe the Biſhops to whatſoever might happen, than to have the Kingdom governed for their ſakes by a military power. Yet in private he ſtudied to poſſeſs all people with prejudices againſt the perſons then employed, as the enemies of the Church. At that time Lord *Lauderdale* got the King to write to the Privy Council, letting them know that he had been informed, traitors had been pleaded for at that board. This was levelled at *Burnet*. The Council in their anſwer, as they denied the imputation, ſo they deſired to know, who it was that had ſo aſperſed them. *Burnet*, when the letter was offered to him to be ſigned by him, ſaid, he could not ſay traitors had never been pleaded for at that board, ſince he himſelf had once pleaded for one, and put them in mind of the particular caſe. After this he ſaw how much he had expoſed himſelf, and grew tamer. The Army was diſbanded: So Lord *Rothes*'s authority as General, as well as his commiſſion, was now at an end, after it had laſted three years. The pretence of his commiſſion was the preparing matters for a National Synod: Yet in all that time there

1667. there was not one ſtep made towards one: For the Biſhops ſeemed concerned only for their authority, and their revenues, and took no care of regulating, either the worſhip, or the diſcipline. The Earls of *Rothes* and *Tweedale* went to Court. The former tried, what he could do by the Duke of *Monmouth*'s means, who had married his niece: But he was then young, and was engaged in a mad-ramble after pleaſure, and minded no buſineſs. So Lord *Rothes* ſaw the neceſſity of applying himſelf to Lord *Lauderdale:* And he did diſſemble his diſcontent ſo dextrouſly, that he ſeemed well pleaſed to be freed from the load of buſineſs, that lay ſo heavy upon him. He moved to have his accounts of the Treaſury paſs'd, to which great exceptions might have been made; and to have an approbation paſs'd under the Great Seal of all he had done while he was the King's Commiſſioner. Lord *Tweedale* was againſt both; and moved, that, he ſhould be for ſome time kept under the laſh: He knew, that, how humble ſoever he was at that time, he would be no ſooner ſecured from being called to an account for what was paſs'd, than he would ſet up a cabal in oppoſition to every thing; whereas they were ſure of his good behaviour, as long as he continued to be ſo obnoxious. The King loved Lord *Rothes:* So the Earl of *Lauderdale* conſented to all he aſked. But they quickly ſaw good cauſe to repent of their forwardneſs.

A great change in *Lauderdale*'s temper.

At this time a great change happened in the courſe of the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s life, which made the latter part of it very different from what the former had been. Mr. *Murray* of the bedchamber had been page and whipping boy to King *Charles* I; and had great credit with him, not only in procuring private favours, but in all his counſels. He was well turned for a Court, very inſinuating, but very falſe; and of ſo revengeful a temper, that rather than any of the counſels given by his enemies ſhould ſucceed, he would have revealed them, and betrayed both the King and them. It was generally believed, that he had diſcovered the moſt important of all his ſecrets to his enemies. He had one particular quality, that when he was drunk, which was very often, he was upon a moſt exact reſerve, tho' he was pretty open at all other times. He got a warrant to be an Earl, which was ſigned at *New-Caſtle.* Yet he got the King to antedate it, as if it had been ſigned at *Oxford,* to get the precedence of ſome whom he hated: But he did not paſs it under the Great Seal during the King's life; but did it after his death, tho' his warrant, not being paſs'd, died with the King. His eldeſt daughter, to whom his honour, ſuch as it was, deſcended, married Sir *Lionel Tallmaſh* of *Suffolk,* a man of a noble family. After

ter her father's death, ſhe took the title of Conteſs of *Dyſert*. 1667.
She was a woman of great beauty, but of far greater parts. She had a wonderful quickneſs of apprehenſion, and an amazing vivacity in converſation. She had ſtudied not only divinity and hiſtory, but mathematicks and philoſophy. She was violent in every thing ſhe ſet about, a violent friend, but a much more violent enemy. She had a reſtleſs ambition, lived at a vaſt expence, and was ravenouſly covetous; and would have ſtuck at nothing by which ſhe might compaſs her ends. She had been early in a correſpondence with Lord *Lauderdale*, that had given occaſion to cenſure. When he was priſoner after *Worceſter* fight, ſhe made him believe he was in great danger of his life, and that ſhe ſaved it by her intrigues with *Cromwell:* Which was not a little taken notice of. *Cromwell* was certainly fond of her, and ſhe took care to entertain him in it; till he, finding what was ſaid upon it, broke it off. Upon the King's Reſtoration, ſhe thought that Lord *Lauderdale* made not thoſe returns that ſhe expected. They lived for ſome years at a diſtance. But upon her huſband's death ſhe made up all quarrels: So that Lord *Lauderdale* and ſhe lived ſo much together, that his Lady was offended at it, and went to *Paris*, where ſhe died about three years after. The Lady *Dyſert* came to have ſo much power over the Lord *Lauderdale*, that it leſſened him much in eſteem of all the world; for he delivered himſelf up to all her humours and paſſions. All applications were made to her: She took upon her to determine every thing: She ſold all places, and was wanting in no methods that could bring her money, which ſhe laviſhed out in a moſt profuſe vanity. As the conceit took her, ſhe made him fall out with all his friends, one after another: With the Earls of *Argile*, *Tweedale*, and *Kincardin*, with Duke *Hamilton*, the Marquis of *Athol*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, who all had their turns in her diſpleaſure, which very quickly drew Lord *Lauderdale*'s after it. If after ſuch names it is not a preſumption to name my ſelf, I had my ſhare likewiſe. From that time to the end of his days he became quite another ſort of man than he had been in all the former parts of his life. Sir *Robert Murray* had been deſigned by her father to be her huſband, and was long her true friend. She knew his integrity was proof againſt all attempts. He had been hitherto the Lord *Lauderdale*'s chief friend, and main ſupport. He had great eſteem paid him, both by the King, and by the whole Court: And he employed it all for the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s ſervice. He uſed great freedom with him at proper times; and was a faithful adviſer, and reprover as much as the other could bear it. Lady *Dyſert* laid hold on

1667. his abſence in *Scotland* to make a breach between them. She made Lord *Lauderdale* believe, that *Murray* aſſumed to himſelf the praiſe of all that was done, and was not ill pleaſed to paſs as his Governour. Lord *Lauderdale*'s pride was ſoon fired with thoſe ill impreſſions.

Scotland was very well governed.

The government of *Scotland* had now another face. All payments were regularly made: There was an overplus of 10000 *l.* of the revenue ſaved every year: A magazine of Arms was bought with it: And there were ſeveral projects ſet on foot for the encouragement of trade and manufactures. Lord *Tweedale* and Sir *Robert Murray* were ſo entirely united, that, as they never diſagreed, ſo all plied before them. Lord *Tweedale* was made a Privy Counſellour in *England:* And, his ſon having married the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s only child, they ſeemed to be inſeparably united. When he came down from *London*, he brought a letter from the King to the Council, recommending the concerns of the Church to their care: In particular, he charged them to ſuppreſs Conventicles, which began to ſpread generally thro' the weſtern Counties: For upon the diſbanding the Army, the country, being delivered from that terror, did now forſake their Churches, and got their old Miniſters to come among them; and they were not wanting in holding Conventicles from place to place. The King wrote alſo by him a letter to *Sharp* with his own pen, in which he aſſured him of his zeal for the Church, and of his favour to himſelf. Lord *Tweedale* hoped this would have gained him to his ſide: But he was deceived in it. *Sharp* quickly returned to his former inſolence. Upon the Earl of *Tweedale*'s return, there was a great application to publick buſineſs: No vice was in reputation: Juſtice was impartially adminiſtred: And a commiſſion was ſent to the weſtern Counties to examine into all the complaints of unjuſt and illegal oppreſſions by *Turner*, *Dalziel*, and others. *Turner*'s warrants had been ſeized with himſelf: And, tho' upon the defeat given the Whiggs he was left by them, ſo that, beyond all men's expectations, he eſcaped out of their hands, yet he had nothing to juſtify himſelf by. The truth is, this enquiry was chiefly levelled at Lord *Rothes* and *Burnet*, to caſt the odium of the late rebellion on their injuſtice and ill conduct. And it was intended that *Turner* ſhould accuſe them: But he had no vouchers to ſhew. Theſe were believed to be withdrawn by an artifice of the Lord *Rothes*. But, before the matter was quite ended, thoſe in whoſe hands his papers were left, ſent them ſealed up to his lodgings. But he was by that time broken: So, ſince the government had uſed him hardly, he, who was a man of ſpirit, would not ſhew his vouchers,

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nor expoſe his friends. So that matter was carried no farther. And the people of the country cried out againſt thoſe cenſures. It was ſaid, that when by ſuch violent proceedings men had been inflamed to a rebellion, upon which ſo much blood was ſhed, all the reparation given was, that an officer or two were broken; and a great man was taken down a little upon it, without making any publick examples for the deterring others. 1667.

Great complaints made of the Clergy.

Sir *Robert Murray* went thro' the weſt of *Scotland*. When he came back, he told me, the Clergy were ſuch a ſet of men, ſo ignorant, and ſo ſcandalous, that it was not poſſible to ſupport them, unleſs the greateſt part of them could be turned out, and better men found to be put in their places. But it was not eaſy to know how this could be done. *Burnet* had placed them all: And he thought himſelf in ſome ſort bound to ſupport them. The Clergy were ſo linked together, that none of them could be got to concur in getting proofs of crimes brought againſt their brethren. And the people of the country pretended ſcruples. They ſaid, to accuſe a Miniſter before a Biſhop was an acknowledging his juriſdiction over his Clergy, or, to uſe a hard word much in uſe among them, it was homologating his power. So *Murray* propoſed, that a Court ſhould be conſtituted by a ſpecial commiſſion from the King, made up of ſome of the Layity as well as the Clergy, to try the truth of theſe ſcandalous reports that went upon the Clergy: And he writ about it to *Sheldon*, who approved of it. *Sharp* alſo ſeemed well pleaſed with it, tho' he abhorred it in his heart: For he thought it ſtruck at the root of their authority, and was Eraſtianiſm in the higheſt degree. *Burnet* ſaid, it was a turning him out of his Biſhoprick, and the declaring him either incapable of judging his Clergy, or unworthy of that truſt. His Clergy cried out upon it; and ſaid, it was a delivering them up to the rage of their enemies, who hated them only for the ſake of their functions, and for their obedience to the laws; and that, if irregular methods were taken to encourage them, they would get any thing, true or falſe, to be ſworn againſt them. The difficulties that aroſe upon this put a ſtop to it. And the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s averſion to Sir *Robert Murray* began a diſjointing of all the counſels of *Scotland*. Lord *Tweedale* had the chief confidence: And next him Lord *Kincardin* was moſt truſted. The Preſbyterians, ſeeing a ſoftening in the execution of the law, and obſerving that the Archbiſhops were jealous of Lord *Tweedale*, fancied he was theirs in his heart. Upon that they grew very inſolent. The Clergy was in many places ill uſed by them. They deſpaired of any farther protection from the Government. They ſaw deſigns were forming to

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1667. turn them all out: And, hearing that they might be better provided in *Ireland*, they were in many places bought out, and prevailed on to deſert their cures. The people of the country hoped, that, upon their leaving them, they might have their old Miniſters again; and upon that were willing enough to enter into thoſe bargains with them: And ſo in a very little time there were many vacancies made all over thoſe Counties. The Lord *Tweedale* took great pains to engage *Leightoun* into the ſame counſels with him. He had magnified him highly to the King, as much the greateſt man of the *Scotiſh* Clergy. And the Lord *Tweedale*'s chief aim, with relation to Church matters, was to ſet him at the head of them: For he often ſaid to me, that more than two parts in three of the whole buſineſs of the government related to the Church. So he ſtudied to bring in a ſet of Epiſcopal men of another ſtamp, and to ſet *Leightoun* at their head. He ſtudied to draw in Mr. *Charteris*. But he had ſuch ſad thoughts of mankind, and ſuch humble ones of himſelf, that he thought little good could be done, and that as to that little he was not a proper inſtrument. *Leightoun* was prevailed on to go to *London*, where, as he told me, he had two audiences of the King. He laid before him the madneſs of the former adminiſtration of Church affairs, and the neceſſity of turning to more moderate counſels: In particular, he propoſed a comprehenſion of the Preſbyterian party, by altering the terms of the laws a little, and by ſuch abatements as might preſerve the whole for the future, by granting ſomewhat for the preſent. But he entered into no expedients: Only he ſtudied to fix the King in the deſign that the courſe of his affairs led him to, tho' contrary to his own inclinations, both in *England* and *Scotland*. In order to the opening this I muſt change the ſcene.

Affairs in England.

The *Dutch* war had turned ſo fatally on the King, that it made it neceſſary for him to try how to recover the affections and eſteem of his people. He found a ſlackening the execution of the law went a great way in the city of *London*, and with the trading part of the Nation. The Houſe of Commons continued ſtill in their fierceneſs, and averſion to all moderate propoſitions: But in the intervals of Parliament the execution was ſoftened. The Earl of *Clarendon* found his credit was declining, that all the ſecrets of State were truſted to *Bennet*, and that he had no other ſhare in them than his poſt required. The Lady *Caſtlemain* ſet her ſelf moſt violently againſt him. And the Duke of *Buckingham*, as often as he was admitted to any familiarities with the King, ſtudied with all his wit and humour to make Lord *Clarendon* and all his counſels appear ridiculous. Lively

Clarendon's diſgrace.

jeſts were at all times apt to take with the King. The Earl of *Clarendon* fell under two other misfortunes before the war broke out. The King had granted him a large piece of ground near St. *James*'s to build a houſe on: He intended a good ordinary houſe: But, not underſtanding thoſe matters himſelf, he put the managing of that into the hands of others; who run him into a vaſt charge, of about 50000 *l*, three times as much as he had deſigned to lay out upon it. During the war, and in the plague year, he had about three hundred men at work, which he thought would have been an acceptable thing, when ſo many men were kept at work, and ſo much money, as was duly paid, circulated about. But it had a contrary effect. It raiſed a great outcry againſt him. Some called it *Dunkirk* houſe, intimating that it was built by his ſhare of the price of *Dunkirk*. Others called it *Holland* houſe, becauſe he was believed to be no friend to the war: So it was given out, that he had the money from the *Dutch*. It was viſible, that in a time of publick calamity he was building a very noble palace. Another accident was, that before the war there were ſome deſigns on foot for the repairing of St. *Pauls:* And many ſtones were brought thither. That project was laid aſide during the war. He upon that bought the ſtones, and made uſe of them in building his own houſe. This, how ſlight ſoever it may ſeem to be, yet had a great effect by the management of his enemies. 1667.

Another misfortune was, that he loſt his chief friend, to whom he truſted moſt, and who was his greateſt ſupport, the Earl of *Southampton*. The pain of the ſtone grew upon him to ſuch a degree, that he had reſolved to be cut: But a woman came to him, who pretended ſhe had an infallible ſecret for diſſolving the ſtone, and brought ſuch vouchers to him, that he put himſelf into her hands. The medicine had a great operation, tho' it ended fatally: For he paſſed great quantities of gravel, that looked like the coats of a ſtone ſliced of. This encouraged him to go on, till his pains encreaſed ſo, that no man was ever ſeen to die in ſuch torments; which made him oft tremble all over, ſo that the bed ſhook with it: Yet he bore it with an aſtoniſhing patience. He not only kept himſelf from ſaying any indecent thing, but endured all that miſery with the firmneſs of a great man, and the ſubmiſſion of a good chriſtian. The cauſe of all appeared when he was opened after his death: For the medicine had ſtrip'd the ſtone of its outward ſlimy coats, which made it lay ſoft and eaſy upon the muſcles of the bladder; whereas when theſe were diſſolved, the inner and harder parts of the ſtone, that were all ragged by the diſſolution that was begun, *Southampton*'s death.

1667. lay upon the neck of the bladder, which raiſed thoſe violent pains of which he died. The Court was now delivered of a great man, whom they did not much love, and who they knew did not love them. The Treaſury was put in commiſſion: And the Earl of *Clarendon* had no intereſt there. He ſaw the war, tho' managed by other counſels, yet was like to end in his ruine: For all errors were caſt on him. The buſineſs of *Chatham* was a terrible blow: And tho' the loſs was great, the infamy was greater. The Parliament had given above five millions towards the war: But, thro' the luxury and waſte of the Court, this money was ſo ſquandred away, that the King could neither ſet out a fleet, nor defend his coaſts. Upon the news of the *Dutch* fleet's being in the river, the King did not ride down himſelf, nor appear at the head of his people, who were then in ſuch imminent danger. He only ſent the Duke of *Albemarle* down, and was intending to retire to *Windſor*. But that looked ſo like a flying from danger, that he was prevailed on to ſtay. And it was given out, that he was very chearful that night at ſupper with his Miſtriſſes, which drew many libels upon him, that were writ with as much wit as malice, and brought him under a general contempt. He was compared to *Nero*, who ſung while *Rome* was burning. A day or two after that he rode thro' *London*, accompanied with the moſt popular men of his Court, and aſſured the citizens he would live and die with his people, upon which there were ſome acclamations: But the matter went heavily. The City was yet in aſhes: And the jealouſy of burning it on deſign had got ſo among them, that the King himſelf was not free from ſuſpicion. If the *Dutch* had purſued their advantage in the firſt conſternation, they might have done more miſchief, and have come a great way up the *Thames*, and burnt many merchant ſhips: But they thought they had done enough, and ſo they ſailed away. The Court was at a ſtand what to do: For the *French* had aſſured them the treaty was as good as finiſhed. Whether the *French* ſet this on, as that which would both weaken the fleet of *England*, and alienate the King ſo entirely from the *Dutch* that he would be eaſily engaged into new alliances to revenge this affront, as many believed, I cannot pretend to determine.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was at that time in *Paris*, on his way home from the waters of *Bourbon*: And he told me, the Queen-mother of *England* ſent for him, as being one of her ſon's Privy Council; and told him, the *Iriſh* had ſent over ſome to the Court of *France*, deſiring money and arms with ſome officers, and undertook to put that iſland into the hands of the *French*. He told me, he found the Queen was in her inclinations and advices

The *Iriſh* ſought the protection of *France*.

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true to her ſon's intereſt: But he was amazed to ſee, that a woman, who in a drawing room was the livelieſt woman of the age, and had a vivacity of imagination that ſurprized all who came near her, yet after all her practice in affairs had ſo little either of judgment or conduct: And he did not wonder at the miſcarriage of the late King's counſels, ſince ſhe had ſuch a ſhare in them. But the *French* had then greater things in view. The King of *Spain* was dead. And now after the *French* had managed the war ſo, that they had been at no part of the expence of it, nor brought a ſhip to the aſſiſtance of the *Dutch* in any engagement, and that both *England* and *Holland* had made a great loſs both in ſhips and treaſure; they reſolved to manage the peace ſo, as to oblige the King by giving him a peace, when he was in no condition to carry on a war. I enter not into our negotiation with the Biſhop of *Munſter*, nor his treacherous departing from his engagements, ſince I know nothing of that matter, but what is in print. 1667.

As ſoon as the peace was made, the King ſaw with what diſadvantage he was like to meet his Parliament. So he thought, the diſgracing a publick Miniſter, who by his being long in ſo high a poſt had drawn upon himſelf much envy, and many enemies, would cover himſelf and the reſt of his Court. Other things concurred to ſet this forward. The King was grown very weary of the Queen: And it was believed, he had a great mind to be rid of her. The load of that marriage was caſt on the Lord *Clarendon*, as made on deſign to raiſe his own grandchildren. Many members of the Houſe of Commons, ſuch as *Clifford*, *Osborn*, *Ker*, *Littleton*, and *Seimour*, were brought to the King; who all aſſured him, that upon his Reſtoration they intended both to have raiſed his authority, and to have encreaſed his revenne; but that the Earl of *Clarendon* had diſcouraged it, and that all his creatures had poſſeſſed the Houſe with ſuch jealouſies of the King, that they thought it was not fit to truſt him too much, nor too far. This made a deep impreſſion on the King, who was weary of Lord *Clarendon*'s impoſing way, and had a mind to be freed from the authority, to which he had been ſo long accuſtomed that it was not eaſy to keep him within bounds.

Yet the King was ſo afraid to engage himſelf too deep in his own affairs, that it was a doubt whether he would diſmiſs him or not, if a concern of one of his amours had not ſharpened his reſentment; ſo that what other conſiderations could not do, was brought about by an ill grounded jealouſy. Miſtriſs *Steward* had gained ſo much on the King, and yet had kept her ground with

The Duke of *Richmond*'s marriage.

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1667. ſo much firmneſs, that the King ſeemed to deſign if poſſible to legitimate his addreſſes to her, when he ſaw no hope of ſucceeding any other way. The Duke of *Richmond*, being a widower, courted her. The King ſeemed to give way to it; and pretended to take ſuch care of her, that he would have good ſettlements made for her. He hoped by that means to have broke the matter decently; for he knew the Duke of *Richmond*'s affairs were in diſorder. So the King ordered Lord *Clarendon* to examine the eſtate he pretended to ſettle. But he was told, whether true or falſe I cannot tell, that Lord *Clarendon* told her, that the Duke of *Richmond*'s affairs, it was true, were not very clear; but that a family ſo near related to the King could never be left in diſtreſs, and that ſuch a match would not come in her way every day; ſo ſhe had beſt conſider well, before ſhe rejected it. This was carried to the King, as a deſign he had that the Crown might deſcend to his own grandchildren; and that he was afraid, leſt ſtrange methods ſhould be taken to get rid of the Queen, and to make way for her. When the King ſaw that ſhe had a mind to marry the Duke of *Richmond*, he offered to make her a Ducheſs, and to ſettle an eſtate on her. Upon this ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſaw ſhe muſt either marry him, or ſuffer much in the opinion of the world. And ſhe was prevailed on by the Duke of *Richmond*, who was paſſionately in love with her, to go privately from *Whitehall*, and marry him without giving the King notice. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s ſon, the Lord *Cornbury*, was going to her lodgings, upon ſome aſſignation that ſhe had given him about her affairs, knowing nothing of her intentions. He met the King in the door coming out full of fury. And he, ſuſpecting that Lord *Cornbury* was in the deſign, ſpoke to him as one in a rage that forgot all decency, and for ſome time would not hear Lord *Cornbury* ſpeak in his own defence. In the afternoon he heard him with more temper, as he himſelf told me. Yet this made ſo deep an impreſſion, that he reſolved to take the ſeals from his father. The King ſaid to the Lord *Lauderdale*, that he had talked of the matter with *Sheldon*; and that he convinced him, that it was neceſſary to remove Lord *Clarendon* from his poſt. And, as ſoon as it was done, the King ſent for *Sheldon*, and told him what he had done. But he anſwered nothing. When the King inſiſted to oblige him to declare himſelf, he ſaid, *Sir, I wiſh you would put away this woman that you keep*. The King upon that replied ſharply, why had he never talked to him of that ſooner, but took this occaſion now to ſpeak of it. *Lauderdale* told me, he had all this from the King: And that the King and *Sheldon* had gone in-

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to ſuch expoſtulations upon it, that from that day forward *Sheldon* could never recover the King's confidence. 1667.

The ſeals were given to Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, then in great eſteem, which he did not maintain long after his advancement. His ſtudy and practice lay ſo intirely in the Common law, that he never ſeemed to apprehend what equity was: Nor had he a head made for buſineſs, or for ſuch a Court. He was a man of great integrity, and had very ſerious impreſſions of religion on his mind. He had been always on the ſide of the Church: Yet he had great tenderneſs for the Non-conformiſts: And, the Biſhops having all declared for Lord *Clarendon*, except one or two, he and the new ſcene of the Miniſtry were inclined to favour them. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been in high diſgrace before Lord *Clarendon*'s fall, came upon that into high favour, and ſet up for a patron of liberty of conſcience, and of all the ſects. The See of *Cheſter* happened to fall vacant ſoon after: And Doctor *Wilkins* was by his means promoted to that See. It was no ſmall prejudice to him, that he was recommended by ſo bad a man. *Wilkins* had a courage in him that could ſtand againſt a current, and againſt all the reproaches with which ill natured Clergy-men ſtudied to load him. He ſaid, he was called for by the King, without any motion of his own, to a publick ſtation, in which he would endeavour to do all the good he could, without conſidering the ill effects that it might have on himſelf. The King had ſuch a command of himſelf, that when his intereſt led him to ſerve any end, or to court any ſort of men, he did it ſo dextrouſly, and with ſuch an air of ſincerity, that till men were well practiſed in him, he was apt to impoſe on them. He ſeemed now to go into moderation and comprehenſion with ſo much heartineſs, that both *Bridgman* and *Wilkins* believed he was in earneſt in it: Tho' there was nothing that the Popiſh counſels were more fixed in, than to oppoſe all motions of that kind. But the King ſaw, it was neceſſary to recover the affections of his people. And, ſince the Church of *England* was now gone off from him, upon Lord *Clarendon*'s diſgrace, he reſolved to ſhew ſome favour to the ſects, both to ſoften them, and to force the others to come back to their dependence upon him.

Bridgman made Lord Keeper.

He began alſo to expreſs his concerns in the affairs of *Europe*: And he brought about the peace between *Caſtile* and *Portugal*. The *French* King pretended, that by the law of *Brabant* his Queen, as the heir of the late King of *Spain*'s firſt marriage, tho' a daughter, was to be preferred to the young King of *Spain*, the heir of the ſecond venter, without any regard to the re-

The *French* King's pretentions to *Flanders*.

1667. nonnciation of any ſucceſſion to his Queen ſtipulated by the peace of the *Pyrenees*; and was upon that pretenſion like to over-run the *Netherlands*. *Temple* was ſent over to enter into an alliance with the *Dutch*, by which ſome parts of *Flanders* were yielded up to *France*, but a barrier was preſerved for the ſecurity of *Holland*. Into this the King of *Sweden*, then a child, was engaged: So it was called the Triple Alliance. I will ſay no more of that ſince ſo particular an account is given of it by him who could do it beſt, *Temple* himſelf. It was certainly the maſterpiece of King *Charles*'s life: And, if he had ſtuck to it, it would have been both the ſtrength and the glory of his reign. This diſpoſed his people to forgive all that was paſs'd, and to renew their confidence in him, which was much ſhaken by the whole conduct of the *Dutch* war.

Clarendon's integrity.

The Parliament were upon their firſt opening ſet on to deſtroy Lord *Clarendon*. Some of his friends went to him a few days before the Parliament met; and told him, many were at work to find out matter of accuſation againſt him. He beſt knew, what could be brought againſt him with any truth; for falſehood was infinite, and could not be gueſſed at. They deſired, he would truſt ſome of them with what might break out, ſince probably nothing could lye concealed againſt ſo ſtrict a ſearch. And the method in which his friends muſt manage for him, if there was any mixtnre or allay in him, was to be very different from that they could uſe, if he was ſure that nothing could be brought out againſt him. The Lord *Burlington* and Biſhop *Morley* both told me, they talked to this purpoſe to him. Lord *Clarendon* upon that told them, that, if either in matters of juſtice, or in any negotiations abroad, he had ever received a farthing, he gave them leave to diſown all friendſhip to him. The *French* King, hearing he had ſent for all the books of the *Louvre* impreſſion, had ſent theſe to him, which he took, as thinking it a trifle, as indeed it was: And this was the only preſent he ever had from any foreign Prince: He had never taken any thing by virtne of his office, but that which his predeceſſours had claimed as a right. But now hue and cry were ſent out againſt him: And all perſons, who had heard him ſay any thing that could bear an ill conſtruction, were examined. Some thought, they had matters of great weight againſt him: And, when they were told theſe would not amount to high treaſon, they deſired to know what would amount to it.

He was impeached in the Houſe of Commons

When twenty three articles were brought into the Houſe againſt him, the next day he deſired his ſecond ſon, the now Earl of *Rocheſter*, to acquaint the Houſe, that he, hearing what articles were brought againſt him, did in order to the diſpatch

diſpatch of the buſineſs, deſire that thoſe, who knew beſt what their evidence was, would ſingle out any one of the articles, that they thought could be beſt proved; and, if they could prove that, he would ſubmit to the cenſure due upon them all. But thoſe, who had the ſecret of this in their hands, and knew they could make nothing of it, reſolved to put the matter upon a preliminary, in which they hoped to find cauſe to hang up the whole affair, and fix upon the Lords the denial of juſtice. So, according to ſome few and late precedents, they ſent up a general impeachment to the Lords bar of high treaſon, without any ſpecial matter; and demanded, that upon that he might be committed to priſon. They had reaſon to believe the Lords would not grant this: And therefore they reſolved to inſiſt on it; and reckoned, that, when ſo much money was to be given, the King would prevail with the Lords. Upon this occaſion it appeared, that the private animoſities of a Court could carry them to eſtabliſh the moſt deſtructive precedent that could have been thought on. For if this had paſs'd, then every Miniſter upon a general impeachment was to be ruined, tho' no ſpecial matter was laid againſt him. Yet the King himſelf preſſed this vehemently. It was ſaid, the very ſuſpicions of a Houſe of Commons, eſpecially ſuch a one as this was, was enough to blaſt a man, and to ſecure him: For there was reaſon to think, that every perſon ſo charged would run away, if at liberty. Lord *Clarendon*'s enemies had now gone far: They thought, they were not ſafe till his head was off: And they apprehended, that, if he were once in priſon, it would be eaſy either to find, or at leaſt to bring witneſſes againſt him. This matter is all in print: So I will go no farther in the particulars. The Duke was at this time taken with the ſmall-pox: So he was out of the whole debate. The Peers thought, that a general accuſation was only a clamour, and that their dignities ſignified little, if a clamour was enough to ſend them to priſon. All the Earl of *Clarendon*'s friends preſſed the King much on his behalf, that he might be ſuffered to go off gently, and without cenſure, ſince he had ſerved both his father and himſelf ſo long, ſo faithfully, and with ſuch ſucceſs. But the King was now ſo ſharpened againſt him, that, tho' he named no particulars, he expreſſed a violent and irreconcilable averſion to him; which did the King much hurt in the opinion of all that were not engaged in the party. The affair of the King's marriage was the moſt talked of, as that which indeed was the only thing that could in any ſort juſtify ſuch a ſeverity. Lord *Clarendon* did proteſt, as ſome that had it from himſelf told me, that he had no other hand

1667.

1667. hand in that matter, than as a Counſellour: And in that he appealed to the King himſelf. After many debates, and conferences, and proteſtations, in which the whole Court went in viſibly to that which was plainly deſtructive both to the King and to the Miniſtry, the majority of the Houſe ſtood firm, and adhered to their firſt reſolution againſt commitment. The Commons were upon that like to carry the matter far againſt the Peers, as denying juſtice. The King ſeeing this ſpoke to the Duke, to perſuade Lord *Clarendon* to go beyond ſea, as the only expedient that was left to make up the breach between the two Houſes: And he let fall ſome words of kindneſs, in caſe he ſhould comply with this. The Earl of *Clarendon* was all obedience and ſubmiſſion; and was charmed with thoſe tender words, that the King had ſaid of him. So, partly to ſerve the King, and ſave himſelf and his family, but chiefly that he might not be the occaſion of any difference between the King and the Duke, who had heartily eſpouſed his intereſt, he went privately beyond ſea; and writ a letter from *Calais* to the Houſe of Lords, proteſting his innocence in all the points objected to him, and that he had not gone out of the Kingdom for fear, or out of any conſciouſneſs of guilt, but only that he might not be the unhappy occaſion of any difference between the two Houſes, or of obſtructing publick buſineſs. This put an end to the diſpute. But his enemies called it a confeſſion of guilt, and a flying from juſtice: Such colours will people give to the moſt innocent actions.

The King deſired he would go beyond ſea.

A Bill was brought in, baniſhing him the King's dominions under pain of treaſon if he ſhould return: And it was made treaſon to correſpond with him, without leave from the King. This Act did not paſs without much oppoſition. It was ſaid, there was a known courſe of law when any man fled from juſtice: And it ſeemed againſt the common courſe of juſtice, to make all correſponding with him treaſon, when he himſelf was not attainted of treaſon: Nor could it be juſt to baniſh him, unleſs a day were given him to come in: And then, if he did not come in, he might incur the puniſhment upon contempt. The Duke, whom the King had employed to prevail with him to withdraw himſelf, thought he was bound in honour to preſs the matter home on the King; which he did ſo warmly, that for ſome time a coldneſs between them was very viſible. The part the King had acted on this matter came to be known; and was much cenſured, as there was juſt cauſe for it. The vehemence that he ſhewed in this whole matter was imputed by many to very different cauſes. Thoſe who knew him beſt, but eſteemed him leaſt, ſaid to me on this occaſion, that

He was baniſhed by Act of Parliament.

that all the indignation, that appeared in him on this head, was founded on no reaſon at all; but was an effect of that eaſineſs, or rather lazineſs of nature, that made him comply with every perſon that had the greateſt credit with him. The Miſtriſs, and the whole Bedchamber, were perpetually railing at him. This by a ſort of infection poſſeſſed the King, who, without giving himſelf the trouble of much thinking, did commonly go into any thing that was as the preſent time the eaſieſt, without conſidering what might at any other time follow on it. Thus the Lord *Clarendon* fell under the common fate of great Miniſters; whoſe employment expoſes them to envy, and draws upon them the indignation of all who are diſappointed in their pretenſions. Their friends do generally ſhew, that they are only the friends of their fortunes: And upon the change of favour they not only forſake them in their extremity, but, that they may ſecure to themſelves the protection of a new favourite, they will labour to redeem all that is paſs'd by turning as violently againſt them, as they formerly fawned abjectly upon them: And Princes are ſo little ſenſible of merit or great ſervices, that they ſacrifice their beſt ſervants, not only when their affairs ſeem to require it, but to gratify the humour of a miſtriſs, or the paſſion of a riſing favourite. 1667.

I will end this relation of Lord *Clarendon*'s fall with an account of his two ſons. The eldeſt, now the Earl of *Clarendon*, is a man naturally ſincere: He is a friendly and good natured man. He keeps an exact journal of all that paſſes, and is punctual to tediouſneſs in all that he relates. He was very early engaged in great ſecrets: For his father, apprehending of what fatal conſequence it would have been to the King's affairs if his correſpondence had been diſcovered by unfaithful Secretaries, engaged him when very young to write all his letters to *England* in cypher; ſo that he was generally half the day writing in cypher, or decyphering, and was ſo diſcreet, as well as faithful, that nothing was ever diſcovered by him. He continued to be ſtill the perſon whom his father truſted moſt: And was the moſt beloved of all the family; for he was humble and obliging, tho' ſometimes peeviſh. His judgment was not to be much depended on; for he was much carried by vulgar prejudices, and falſe notions. He was much in the Queen's favour, and was her Chamberlain long. His father's being ſo violently proſecuted on the account of her marriage, made that ſhe thought herſelf bound to protect him in a particular manner. He was ſo provoked at the ill uſage his father met with, that he ſtruck in violently with the party that oppoſed the Court: And the King ſpoke always

The character of his two ſons.

1667. of him with great ſharpneſs, and much ſcorn. His brother, now Earl of *Rocheſter*, is a man of far greater parts. He has a very good pen, but ſpeaks not gracefully. He was thought the ſmootheſt man in the Court: And during all the diſpute concerning his father he made his Court ſo dextrouſly, that no reſentments ever appeared on that head. When he came into buſineſs, and roſe to high poſts, he grew violent: But was thought an incorrupt man. He has high notions of Government, and thinks it muſt be maintained with great ſeverity. He delivers up his own notions to his party, that he may lead them. He paſſes for a ſincere man, and ſeems to have too much heat to be falſe. *Morley* was long Dean of the Chapel: But he ſtuck ſo to the Lord *Clarendon*, that he was ſent into his dioceſe: And *Crofts* Biſhop of *Hereford* was made Dean in his room. *Crofts* was a warm devout man, but of no diſcretion in his conduct: So he loſt ground quickly. He uſed much freedom with the King; but it was in the wrong place, not in private, but in the pulpit.

The King was much offended with the Biſhops.

The King was highly offended at the behaviour of moſt of the Biſhops: And he took occaſion to vent it at the Council-board. Upon the complaints that were made of ſome diſorders, and of ſome Conventicles, he ſaid, the Clergy were chiefly to blame for theſe diſorders; for if they had lived well, and had gone about their pariſhes, and taken pains to convince the Non-conformiſts, the Nation might have been by that time well ſettled. But they thought of nothing, but to get good benefices, and to keep a good table. This I read in a letter that Sir *Robert Murray* writ down to *Scotland:* And it agrees with a converſation that the King was pleaſed to have with my ſelf once, when I was alone with him in his cloſet. While we were talking of the ill ſtate the Church was in, I was ſtruck to hear a Prince of his courſe of life ſo much diſguſted at the ambition, covetouſneſs, and the ſcandals of the Clergy. He ſaid, if the Clergy had done their part, it had been an eaſy thing to run down the Non-conformiſts: But he added, they will do nothing, and will have me do every thing: And moſt of them do worſe than if they did nothing. He told me, he had a Chaplain, that was a very honeſt man, but a very great blockhead, to whom he had given a living in *Suffolk*, that was full of that ſort of people: He had gone about among them from houſe to houſe; tho' he could not imagine what he could ſay to them; for he ſaid he was a very ſilly fellow: But that, he believed, his nonſenſe ſuited their nonſenſe, for he had brought them all to Church:

Church: And, in reward of his diligence, he had given him a Biſhoprick in *Ireland*. 1667.

Bridgman and *Wilkins* ſet on foot a treaty, for a comprehenſion of ſuch of the Diſſenters as could be brought into the communion of the Church, and a toleration of the reſt. *Hale*, the Chief Juſtice, concurred with them in the deſign. *Tilloſon*, *Stillingfleet*, and *Burton* joined alſo in it. *Bates*, *Manton*, and *Baxter* were called for on the ſide of the Preſbyterians. And a project was prepared, conſiſting chiefly of thoſe things that the King had promiſed by his declaration in the year 1660. Only in the point of re-ordination this temper was propoſed, that thoſe who had Preſbyterian ordination ſhould be received to ſerve in the Church by an impoſition of hands, accompanied with words which imported, that the perſon ſo ordained was received to ſerve as a Miniſter in the Church of *England*. This treaty became a common ſubject of diſcourſe. All Lord *Clarendon*'s friends cried out, that the Church was undermined and betrayed: It was ſaid, the cauſe of the Church was given up, if we yielded any of thoſe points, about which there had been ſo much diſputing: If the Sectaries were humble and modeſt, and would tell what would ſatisfy them, there might be ſome colour for granting ſome conceſſions: But it was unworthy of the Church to go and court, or treat with enemies; when there was no reaſon to think, that after we had departed from our grounds, which was to confeſs we had been in the wrong, that we ſhould gain much by it, unleſs it was to bring ſcorn and contempt on our ſelves. On the other hand it was ſaid, the Non-conformiſts could not legally meet together to offer any ſchemes in the name of their party: It was well enough known, what they had always excepted to, and what would probably bring over moſt of the Preſbyterians: Such a yielding in ſome leſſer matters would be no reproach, but an honour to the Church; that, how much ſoever ſhe might be ſuperiour both in point of argument and of power, ſhe would yet of her own accord, and for peace ſake, yield a great deal in matters indifferent: The Apoſtles complying with many of the obſervances of the *Jews*, and the offers that the Church of *Africk* made to the *Donatiſts*, were much inſiſted on: The fears of Popery, and the progreſs that Atheiſm was making, did alarm good and wiſe men: And rhey thought, every thing that could be done without ſin ought to be done towards the healing our diviſions. Many books were upon that account writ, to expoſe the Preſbyterians, as men of falſe notions in religion, which led to Antinomianiſm, and which would 1668.

A treaty for a comprehenſion of the Presbyterians.

1668. ſoon carry them into a diſſolution of morals, under a pretence of being juſtifyed by faith only, without works. The three volumes of the Friendly Debate, tho' writ by a very good man, and with a good intent, had an ill effect in ſharpening peoples ſpirits too much againſt them. But the moſt virulent of all that writ againſt the ſects was *Parker*, afterwards made Biſhop of *Oxford* by King *James*; who was full of ſatyrical vivacity, and was conſiderably learned; but was a man of no judgment, and of as little vertue, and as to religion rather impious. After he had for ſome years entertained the Nation with ſeveral virulent books, writ with much life, he was attacked by the livelieſt droll of the age, who writ in a burleſque ſtrain, but with ſo peculiar and ſo entertaining a conduct, that, from the King down to the tradeſman, his books were read with great pleaſure. That not only humbled *Parker*, but the whole party: For the author of the Rehearſal Tranſproſed had all the men of wit (or, as the *French* phraſe it, all the *Laughers)* on his ſide. But what advantages ſoever the men of comprehenſion might have in any other reſpect, the majority of the Houſe of Commons was ſo poſſeſſed againſt them, that when it was known in a ſucceeding ſeſſion, that a bill was ready to be offered to the Houſe for that end, a very extraordinary vote paſs'd, that no bill to that purpoſe ſhould be received.

The City of *London* rebuilt.

An Act paſs'd in this ſeſſion for rebnilding the City of *London*, which gave Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale* a great reputation: For it was drawn with ſo true a judgment, and ſo great foreſight, that the whole City was raiſed out of its aſhes without any ſuits of law; which, if that bill had not prevented them, would have brought a ſecond charge on the City, not much leſs than the fire it ſelf had been. And upon that, to the amazement of all *Europe*, *London* was in four years time rebuilt, with ſo much beauty and magnificence, that we who ſaw it in both ſtates, before and after the fire, cannot reflect on it without wondring where the wealth could be found to bear ſo vaſt a loſs as was made by the fire, and ſo prodigious an expence as was laid out in the rebuilding it. This did demonſtrate, that the intrinſick wealth of the Nation was very high, when it could anſwer ſuch a dead charge.

Deſigns for putting away the Queen.

I return to the intrigues of the Court. Lord *Clarendon*'s enemies thought they were not ſafe, as long as the Duke had ſo much credit with the King, and the Ducheſs had ſo much power over him: So they fell on propoſitions of a ſtrange nature to ruine them. The Duke of *Buckingham* preſſed the King to own a marriage with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s mother: And he

he undertook to get witneſſes to atteſt it. The Duke of *York* told me, in general, that there was much talk about it: But he did not deſcend to particulars. The Earl of *Carliſle* offered to begin the matter in the Houſe of Lords. The King would not conſent to this: Yet he put it by in ſuch a manner, as made them all conclude, he wiſhed it might be done, but did not know how to bring it about. Theſe diſcourſes were all carried to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and got fatally into his head. When the Duke talked of this matter to me in the year ſeventy three, I aſked him, if he thought the King had ſtill the ſame inclinations? He ſaid he believed not: He thought, the Duke of *Monmouth* had not ſpirit enough to think of it: And he commended the Ducheſs of *Monmouth* ſo highly as to ſay to me, that the hopes of a Crown could not work on her to do an unjuſt thing. I thought he gave that matter too much countenance, by calling the Duke of *Monmouth* nephew: But he ſaid, it pleaſed the King. When the party ſaw they could make nothing of the buſineſs of the Duke of *Monmouth*, they tried next by what methods they could get rid of the Queen; that ſo the King might marry another wife: For the King had children by ſo many different creatures, that they hoped for iſſue, if he had a wife capable of any. Some thought, the Queen and he were not legally married: But the avowing a marriage, and the living many years in that ſtate, did certainly ſupply any defect in point of form. Others pretended, ſhe was barren from a natural cauſe, and that ſeemed equivalent to impotence in men. But the King often ſaid, he was ſure ſhe had once miſcarried. This, tho' not overthrown by ſuch an evidence, could never be proved; unleſs the having no children was to be concluded a barrenneſs: And the diſſolving a marriage on ſuch an account could neither be juſtifyed in law nor conſcience. Other ſtories were given out of the Queen's perſon, which were falſe: For I ſaw in a letter under the King's own hand that the marriage was conſummated. Others talked of polygamy: And officious perſons were ready to thruſt themſelves into any thing that could contribute to their advancement. Lord *Lauderdale* and Sir *Robert Murray* aſked my opinion of theſe things. I ſaid, I knew ſpeculative people could ſay a great deal in the way of argument for polygamy, and divorce: Yet theſe things were ſo decried, that they were rejected by all Chriſtian ſocieties: So that all ſuch propoſitions would throw us into great convulſions; and entail war upon us, if any iſſue came from a marriage ſo grounded. 1668.

1668. An accident happened at that time, that made the diſcourſing of thoſe matters the common ſubject of converſation. The Lord *Roos*, afterwards Earl of *Rutland*, brought proofs of adultery againſt his wife; and obtained a ſentence of divorce in the Spiritual Court: Which amounting only to a ſeparation from bed and board, he moved for a bill diſſolving the bond, and enabling him to marry another wife. The *Duke* and all his party apprehended the conſequences of a Parliamentary divorce: So they oppoſed this with great heat: And almoſt all the Biſhops were of that ſide: Only *Coſins* and *Wilkins*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Cheſter*, were for it. And the King was as earneſt in the ſetting it on, as the Duke was in oppoſing it. The zeal which the two brothers expreſſed on that occaſion made all people conclude, that they had a particular concern in the matter. The bill paſs'd: And upon that precedent ſome moved the King, that he would order a bill to be brought in to divorce him from the Queen. This went ſo far, that a day was agreed on for making the motion in the Houſe of Commons, as Mr. *May* of the privy purſe told me; (who had the greateſt and longeſt ſhare in the King's ſecret confidence of any man in that time; for it was never broke off, tho' often ſhaken, he being in his notions againſt every thing that the King was for, both *France*, Popery, and arbitrary government; but a particular ſympathy of temper, and his ſerving the King in his vices, created a confidence much envied, and often attempted to be broke, but never with any ſucceſs beyond a ſhort coldneſs:) But he added, when he told me of this deſign, that three days before the motion was to be made, the King called for him, and told him, that matter muſt be let alone, for it would not do. This diſturbed him much; for he had engaged himſelf far in laying the thing, and in managing thoſe who were to undertake the debate.

A divorce enacted for adultery.

A great diſſolution of morals in Court.

At this time the Court fell into much extravagance in maſquerading, both King and Queen, and all the Court, went about maſked, and came into houſes unknown, and danced there with a great deal of wild frolick. In all this people were ſo diſguiſed, that without being on the ſecret none could diſtinguiſh them. They were carried about in hackney chairs. Once the Queen's chairmen, not knowing who ſhe was, went from her: So ſhe was alone, and was much diſturbed, and came to *Whitehall* in a hackney coach: Some ſay it was in a cart. The Duke of *Buckingham* propoſed to the King, that he would give him leave to ſteal her away, and ſend her to a plantation, where ſhe ſhould be well and carefully looked to, but never heard of any more: So it ſhould be given out, that ſhe had deſerted: And upon that

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it would fall in with ſome principles to carry an act for a divorce, 1668.
gronnded upon the pretence of a wilful deſertion. Sir *Robert Murray* told me, that the King himſelf rejected this with horrour. He ſaid, it was a wicked thing to make a poor lady miſerable, only becauſe ſhe was his wife, and had no children by him, which was no fault of hers. The hints of this broke out: For the Duke of *Buckingham* could conceal nothing. And upon that the Earl of *Mancheſter*, then Lord *Chamberlain*, told the Queen, it was neither decent, nor ſafe for her to go about in ſuch a manner as ſhe had done of late; So ſhe gave it over. But at laſt all theſe ſchemes ſettled in a propoſition, into which the King went; which was to deal with the Queen's confeſſor, that he might perſuade her to leave the world, and to turn religious: Upon which the Parliament would have been eaſily prevailed on to paſs a divorce. This came to be known: But what ſteps were made in it were never known. It was believed, that upon this the Ducheſs of *York* ſent an expreſs to *Rome* with the notice of her converſion; and that orders were ſent from *Rome* to all about the Queen to perſuade her againſt ſuch a propoſition, if any ſhould ſuggeſt it to her. She herſelf had no mind to be a Nun: And the Ducheſs was afraid of ſeeing another Queen: And the miſtriſs created at that time Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, knew that ſhe muſt be the firſt ſacrifice to a beloved Queen: And ſhe reconciled her ſelf upon this to the Ducheſs of *York*. The Duke of *Buckingham* upon that broke with her, and ſtudied to take the King from her by new amours: And becauſe he thought a gaity of humour would take much with the King, he engaged him to entertain two players one after another, *Davies* and *Guin*. The firſt did not keep her hold long: But *Guin*, the indiſcreeteſt and wildeſt creature that ever was in a Court, continued to the end of the King's life in great favour, and was maintained at a vaſt expence. The Duke of *Buckingham* told me, that when ſhe was firſt brought to the King, ſhe aſked only five hundred pounds a year: And the King refuſed it. But when he told me this, about four years after, he ſaid, ſhe had got of the King above ſixty thouſand pounds. She acted all perſons in ſo lively a manner, and was ſuch a conſtant diverſion to the King, that even a new miſtriſs could not drive her away. But after all he never treated her with the decencies of a miſtriſs. The King had another miſtriſs, that was managed by Lord *Shaftesbury*, who was the daughter of a Clergyman, *Roberts*; in whom her firſt education had ſo deep a root, that, tho' ſhe fell into many ſcandalous diſorders, with very diſmal adventures in them all, yet a principle of religion was ſo deep laid in her, that, tho' it did

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1688. not reſtrain her, yet it kept alive in her ſuch a conſtant horrour at ſin, that ſhe was never eaſy in an ill courſe, and died with a great ſenſe of her former ill life. I was often with her the laſt three months of her life. The Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, finding that ſhe had loſt the King, abandoned her ſelf to great diſorders: One of which, by the artifice of the Duke of *Buckingham*, was diſcovered by the King in perſon, the party concerned leaping out of the window. She alſo ſpoke of the King to all people in ſuch a manner, as brought him under much contempt. But he ſeemed inſenſible: And tho' libels of all ſorts had then a very free courſe, yet he was never diſturbed at it.

Many libels writ by the beſt wits of that time.

The three moſt eminent wits of that time, on whom all the lively libels were faſtened, were the Earls of *Dorſet*, and *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Charles Sidley*. Lord *Dorſet* was a generous good natured Man. He was ſo oppreſſed with phlegm, that till he was a little heated with wine he ſcarce ever ſpoke: But he was upon that exaltation a very lively man. Never was ſo much ill nature in a pen as in his, joined with ſo much good nature as was in himſelf, even to exceſs; for he was againſt all puniſhing, even of malefactors. He was bountiful, even to run himſelf into difficulties: And charitable to a fault; for he commonly gave all he had about him, when he met an object that moved him. But he was ſo lazy, that, tho' the King ſeemed to court him to be a favourite, he would not give himſelf the trouble that belonged to that poſt. He hated the Court, and deſpiſed the King, when he ſaw he was neither generous, nor tender hearted. *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*, was naturally modeſt, till the Court corrupted him. His wit had in it a peculiar brightneſs, to which none could ever arrive. He gave himſelf up to all ſorts of extravagance, and to the wildeſt frolicks that a wanton wit could deviſe. He would have gone about the ſtreets as a beggar, and made love as a porter. He ſet up a ſtage as an *Italian* mountebanck. He was for ſome years always drunk, and was ever doing ſome miſchief. The King loved his company for the diverſion it afforded, better than his perſon: And there was no love loſt between them. He took his revenges in many libels. He found out a footman that knew all the Court, and he furniſhed him with a red coat and a muſket as a centinel, and kept him all the winter long every night at the doors of ſuch ladies, as he believed might be in intrigues. In the Court a centinel is little minded, and is believed to be poſted by a captain of the Guards to hinder a combat: So this man ſaw who walked about, and viſited at forbidden hours. By this means Lord *Rocheſter* made many diſcoveries. And when he was well furniſhed with materials, he uſed to

retire into the country for a month or two to write libels: Once being drunk he intended to give the King a libel that he had writ on ſome ladies: But by a miſtake he gave him one written on himſelf. He fell into an ill habit of body: And in ſeveral fits of ſickneſs he had deep remorſes; for he was guilty both of much impiety, and of great immoralities. But as he recovered he threw theſe off, and turned again to his former ill courſes. In the laſt year of his life I was much with him, and have writ a book of what paſs'd between him and me. I do verily believe, he was then ſo entirely changed, that, if he had recovered, he would have made good all his reſolutions. *Sidly* had a more ſudden and copious wit, which furniſhed a perpetual run of diſcourſe: But he was not ſo correct as Lord *Dorſet*, nor ſo ſparkling as Lord *Rocheſter*. The Duke of *Buckingham* loved to have theſe much about him: And he gave himſelf up to a monſtrous courſe of ſtudied immoralities of the worſt kinds: He was ſo full of mercury, that he could not fix long in any friendſhip, or to any deſign. *Bennet*, now made Lord *Arlington*, and he fell out: *Bennet* was all cunning and artifice, and ſo could not hold long with him, who was ſo open that he diſcloſed every thing. Lord *Arlington* was engaged in a great intimacy with *Clifford*, *Litletoun*, and *Duncomb*. I have already given ſome account of the two firſt. *Duncomb* was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raiſe enemies againſt himſelf: He was an able Parliament man: But could not go into all the deſigns of the Court; for he had a ſenſe of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s chief friends were the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Lauderdale*, but above all Sir *Thomas Osborn*, raiſed afterwards to be Lord Treaſurer, and Earl of *Danby*, and ſince made Duke of *Leeds* by the late King. 1668.

The King took Sir *William Coventry* from the Duke, and put him in the Treaſury. He was in a fair way to be the chief Miniſter, and deſerved it more than all the reſt did. But he was too honeſt to engage in the deſigns into which the Court was reſolved to go, as ſoon as it had recovered a little reputation; which was ſunk very low by the ill management of the *Dutch* war, and the ſquandring away of the money given for it. He was a man of the fineſt and the beſt temper that belonged to the Court. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and he fell out, I know not for what reaſon: And a challenge paſs'd between them, upon which *Coventry* was forbid the Court. And he upon that ſeemed to retire very willingly: And he was become a very religious man when I knew him. He was offered after that the beſt poſts in the Court, oftner than once: But he would never engage again. He ſaw

Sir William Coventry's character.

1668. what was at bottom, and was reſolved not to go through with it; and ſo continued to his death in a retired courſe of life.

The Government of *Ireland* changed.

The Duke of *Ormond* continued ſtill in the Government of *Ireland*, tho' ſeveral intereſts joined together againſt him. The Earls of *Orrery* and *Ranelagh* on the one hand, and *Talbot* on the other. Lord *Orrery* loved to appear in buſineſs; but dealt ſo much underhand, that he had not much credit with any ſide. Lord *Ranelagh* was a young man of great parts, and as great vices: He had a pleaſantneſs in his converſation that took much with the King, and had a great dexterity in buſineſs. Many complaints were ſecretly brought againſt the Duke of *Ormond*. The King loved him: And he accommodated himſelf much to the King's humour. Yet the King was, with much difficulty, prevailed on to put an end to his government of *Ireland*, and to put Lord *Roberts*, afterwards made Earl of *Radnor*, in his place; who was a moroſe man, believed to be ſeverely juſt, and as wiſe as a cynical humour could allow him to be. The manner of removing the Duke of *Ormond* will give a particular character of the King's temper. He ſent Lord *Arlington* to him for his commiſſion. The Duke of *Ormond* ſaid, he had received it from the King's own hands, and he would go and deliver it to him. When he carried it to the King, the King denied he had ſent him any ſuch meſſage. Two days after that Lord *Arlington* was ſent again with the ſame meſſage: And he had the ſame anſwer: And the King diſowned it again to the Duke. So the King declared in the Privy Council the change of the Government of *Ireland*, and made *Roberts* Lord Lieutenant. And it flew abroad as a piece of news. The Duke of *Ormond* hearing that, came to the King in great wrath, to expoſtulate upon it. But the King denied the whole thing, and ſent him away: But he ſent for *Fitzpatrick*, who had married his ſiſter, and who told me the whole ſtory, and ſent him to the Duke of *Ormond*, to tell him, the King had denied the matter tho' it was true, for he obſerved he was in ſuch a heat, that he was afraid he might have ſaid indecent things: And he was reſolved not to fall out with him: For, tho' his affairs made it neceſſary to change the Government of *Ireland*, yet he would ſtill be kind to him, and continue him Lord *Steward*. Lord *Radnor* did not continue long in *Ireland:* He was cynical in his whole adminiſtration, and uneaſy to the King in every thing: And in one of his peeviſh humours he writ to the King, that he had but one thing to aſk of him, which if it might be granted, he would never aſk another, and that was to be diſcharged of his employment. The Lord *Berkley* ſucceeded him, who was brother to the Lord *Fitzharding*, and from

from ſmall beginnings had riſen up to the greateſt poſt a ſubject was capable of. In the war he was Governour of *Exeter* for the King, and one of his Generals. He was named by him Governour to the Duke of *York*. He was now made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and afterwards ſent Ambaſſadour to *France*, and Plenipotentiary to *Nimeguen*. He was a man in whom it appeared with how little true judgment Courts diſtribute favours and honours. He had a poſitive way of undertaking and determining in every thing, but was a very weak man, and not incorrupt. 1668.

The Court delivered it ſelf up to vice. And the Houſe of Commons loſt all reſpect in the Nation; for they gave ſtill all the money that was aſked. Yet thoſe who oppoſed the Court carried one great point, that a Committee ſhould be named to examine the accounts of the money that was given during the *Dutch* war. It was carried, that they ſhould be all men out of the Houſe. Lord *Brereton* was the chief of them, and had the chair. He was a philoſophical man, and was all his life long in ſearch of the philoſophers ſtone, by which he neglected his own affairs; but was a man of great integrity, and was not to be gained by the flatteries, hopes, or threatnings of the Court. Sir *William Turner* was another of the Committee, who had been Lord Major of *London* the former year, under whoſe wiſe and juſt adminiſtration the rebuilding of the City advanced ſo faſt, that he would have been choſen Lord Major for the enſuing year, if he had not declined it. *Pierpoint* was likewiſe of this Committee: So was Sir *James Langham*, a very weak man, famed only for his readineſs of ſpeaking florid *Latin*, which he had attained to a degree beyond any man of the age; but his ſtyle was too poetical, and full of Epithets and Figures. *The Committee of Brook-houſe.*

I name Sir *George Saville* laſt, becauſe he deſerves a more copious character. He roſe afterwards to be Viſcount, Earl, and Marquis of *Halifax*. He was a man of a great and ready wit; full of life, and very pleaſant; much turned to ſatyr. He let his wit run much on matters of religion: So that he paſſed for a bold and determined Atheiſt; tho' he often proteſted to me, he was not one; and ſaid, he believed there was not one in the world: He confeſſed, he could not ſwallow down every thing that divines impoſed on the world: He was a Chriſtian in ſubmiſſion: He believed as much as he could, and he hoped that God would not lay it to his charge, if he could not diſgeſt iron, as an oſtrich did, nor take into his belief things that muſt burſt him: If he had any ſcruples, they were not ſought for, nor cheriſhed by him; for he never read an atheiſtical book. In a fit of ſickneſs, I knew him very much touched with a ſenſe of religion. *Halifax's character.*

I was

1668. I was then often with him. He ſeemed full of good purpoſes: But they went off with his ſickneſs. He was always talking of morality and friendſhip. He was punctual in all payments, and juſt in all his private dealings. But, with relation to the publick, he went backwards and forwards, and changed ſides ſo often, that in concluſion no ſide truſted him. He ſeemed full of Common-wealth notions: Yet he went into the worſt part of King *Charles*'s reign. The livelineſs of his imagination was always too hard for his judgment. A ſevere jeſt was preferred by him to all arguments whatſoever. And he was endleſs in conſultations: For when after much diſcourſe a point was ſettled, if he could find a new jeſt, to make even that which was ſuggeſted by himſelf ſeem ridiculous, he could not hold, but would ſtudy to raiſe the credit of his wit, tho' it made others call his judgment in queſtion. When he talked to me as a philoſopher of his contempt of the world, I aſked him, what he meant by getting ſo many new titles, which I call'd the hanging himſelf about with bells and tinſel. He had no other excuſe for it, but this, that, ſince the world were ſuch fools as to value thoſe matters, a man muſt be a fool for company: He conſidered them but as rattles: Yet rattles pleaſe children: So theſe might be of uſe to his family. His heart was much ſet on raiſing his family. But, tho' he made a vaſt eſtate for them, he buried two of his ſons himſelf, and almoſt all his grandchildren. The ſon that ſurvived was an honeſt man, but far inferior to him. I do not remember who beſides theſe were of that Committee, which becauſe it ſate in *Brook-houſe*, was called by the name of that houſe.

1669. The Court was much troubled to ſee an enquiry of this kind ſet on foot. It was ſaid, the King was baſely treated, when all his expence was to be looked into. On the other hand it was anſwered, that the Parliament did not look into his revenue, but only to the diſtribution of that treaſure that was truſted to him for carrying on the war. I was told, that, after all the moſt ſhameful items that could be put into an account, there was none offered for about 800000 *l.* But I was not then in *England:* So I was very imperfectly informed as to this matter. The chief men that promoted this were taken off, (as the word then was for corrupting members,) in which the Court made ſo great a progreſs, that it was thought the King could never have been prevailed on to part with a Parliament ſo much practiſed on, and where every man's price was known; for as a man roſe in his credit in the Houſe, he raiſed his price, and expected to be treated accordingly. In all this enquiry the careleſſneſs and luxury of the Court came to be ſo much expoſed,

Many Parliament men gained by the Court.

that the King's ſpirit was much ſharpened upon it. All the flatterers about him magnified foreign governments, where the Princes were abſolute, that in *France* more particularly. Many to pleaſe him ſaid, it was a very eaſy thing to ſhake off the reſtraints of law, if the King would but ſet about it. The Crown of *Denmark* was elective, and ſubject to a Senate, and yet was in one day, without any viſible force, changed to be both hereditary and abſolute, no rebellion nor convulſion of ſtate following on it. The King loved the project in general; but would not give himſelf the trouble of laying or managing it. And therefore, till his affairs were made eaſier, and the project grew clearer, he reſolved to keep all things cloſe within himſelf; and went on in the common maxim, to balance party againſt party, and by doing popular things to get money of his Parliament, under the pretence of ſupporting the Triple Alliance. So money-bills paſſed eaſily in the Houſe of Commons: Which by a ſtrange reverſe came to be oppoſed in the Houſe of Lords; who began to complain, that the money-bills came up ſo thick, that it was ſaid, there was no end of their giving. *End* ſignifying purpoſe, as well as a meaſure, this paſs'd as a ſevere jeſt at that time. Sir *John Coventry* made a groſs reflection on the King's amours. He was one of thoſe who ſtruggled much againſt the giving money. The common method is: After thoſe who oppoſe ſuch bills fail in the main vote, the next thing they endeavour is, to lay the money on funds that will be unacceptable, and will prove deficient. So theſe men propoſed the laying a tax on the Play-houſes, which in ſo diſſolute a time were become neſts of proſtitution. And the ſtage was defiled beyond all example, *Dryden*, the great maſter of Dramatick Poeſy, being a monſter of immodeſty, and of impurity of all ſorts. This was oppoſed by the Court: It was ſaid, the Players were the King's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. *Coventry* aſked, whether did the King's pleaſure lie among the men, or the women that acted? This was carried with great indignation to the Court. It was ſaid, this was the firſt time that the King was perſonally reflected on: If it was paſſed over, more of the ſame kind would follow; and it would grow a faſhion to talk ſo: It was therefore fit to take ſuch ſevere notice of this, that no body ſhould dare to talk at that rate for the future. The Duke of *York* told me, he ſaid all he could to the King to divert him from the reſolution he took; which was to ſend ſome of the Guards, and watch in the ſtreets where Sir *John* lodged, and leave a mark upon him. *Sands* and *Obrian*, and ſome others, went thither: And as *Coventry* was going home, they drew about him

1669.

1669. him. He ſtood up to the wall, and ſnatched the flambeau out of his ſervant's hands: And with that in the one hand, and his ſword in the other, he defended himſelf ſo well, that he got more credit by it than by all the actions of his life. He wounded ſome of them; but was ſoon diſarmed: And then they cut his noſe to the bone, to teach him to remember what reſpect he owed to the King: And ſo they left him, and went back to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s, where *Obrian*'s arm was dreſſed. That matter was executed by orders from the Duke of *Monmouth*: For which he was ſeverely cenſured, becauſe he lived then in profeſſions of friendſhip with *Coventry*; ſo that his ſubjection to the King was not thought an excuſe for directing ſo vile an attempt on his friend, without ſending him ſecret notice of what was deſigned. *Coventry* had his noſe ſo well needled up, that the ſcar was ſcarce to be diſcerned. This put the Houſe of Commons in a furious uproar. They paſſed a bill of baniſhment againſt the actors of it; and put a clauſe in it, that it ſhould not be in the King's power to pardon them. This gave great advantages to all thoſe that oppoſed the Court: And was often remembred, and much improved, by all the angry men of this time. The names of the Court and Country party, which till now had ſeemed to be forgotten, were again revived.

Coventry's noſe was cut.

When the City was pretty well rebuilt, they began to take care of the Churches, which had lain in aſhes ſome years. And in that time Conventicles abounded in all the parts of the City. It was thought hard to hinder men from worſhipping God any way as they could, when there were no Churches, nor Miniſters to look after them. But they began to raiſe Churches of boards, till the publick allowance ſhould be raiſed towards the building the Churches. Theſe they called Tabernacles: And they fitted them up with pews and galleries as Churches. So now an Act was propoſed, reviving the former Act againſt Conventicles, with ſome new clauſes in it. One was very extraordinary, that if any doubt ſhould ariſe concerning the meaning of any part of this Act, it was to be determined in the ſenſe that was the moſt contrary to Conventicles, it being the intention of the Houſe to repreſs them in the moſt effectual manner poſſible. The other was, the laying a heavy fine on ſuch Juſtices of the Peace, as ſhould not execute the law, when informations were brought them. Upon this many, who would not be the inſtruments of ſuch ſeverities, left the bench, and would ſit there no longer. This Act was executed in the City very ſeverely in *Starling*'s Majoralty; and put things in ſuch diſorder, that many of the trading men of the City began to talk of removing with their ſtocks over

A new proſecution of Conventicles.

over to *Holland*. But the King ordered a ſtop to be put to farther ſeverities. Many of the ſects either diſcontinued their meetings, or held them very ſecretly with ſmall numbers, and not in hours of publick worſhip. Yet informers were encouraged, and were every where at work. The behaviour of the Quakers was more particular, and had ſomething in it that looked bold. They met at the ſame place, and at the ſame hour as before. And when they were ſeized, none of them would go out of the way: They went all together to priſon: They ſtaid there till they were diſmiſs'd; for they would not petition to be ſet at liberty, nor would they pay their fines ſet on them, nor ſo much as the jayl fees, calling theſe the wages of unrighteouſneſs. And as ſoon as they were let out, they went to their meeting houſes again: And, when they found theſe were ſhut up by order, they held their meetings on the ſtreets, before the doors of thoſe houſes. They ſaid, they would not diſown, or be aſhamed of their meeting together to worſhip God: But in imitation of *Daniel* they would do it the more publickly, becauſe they were forbidden the doing it. Some called this obſtinacy, while others called it firmneſs. But by it they carried their point: For the Government grew weary of dealing with ſo much perverſeneſs, and ſo began with letting them alone. 1669.

The King had by this time got all the money that he expected from the Houſe of Commons, and that after great practice on both Lords and Commons. Many bones of contention were thrown in, to create differences between the two Houſes, to try if by both Houſes inſiſting on them the money bills might fall. But, to prevent all trouble from the Lords, the King was adviſed to go, and be preſent at all their debates. Lord *Lauderdale* valued himſelf to me on this advice, which he ſaid he gave. At firſt the King ſat decently on the throne, tho' even that was a great reſtraint on the freedom of debate; which had ſome effect for a while: Tho' afterwards many of the Lords ſeemed to ſpeak with the more boldneſs, becauſe, they ſaid, one heard it to whom they had no other acceſs but in that place; and they took the more liberty, becauſe what they had ſaid could not be reported wrong. The King, who was often weary of time, and did not know how to get round the day, liked the going to the Houſe, as a pleaſant diverſion. So he went conſtantly. And he quickly left the throne, and ſtood by the fire; which drew a croud about him, that broke all the decency of that Houſe: For before that time every Lord ſat regularly in his place: But the King's coming broke the order of their ſitting as became Senators. The King's going thither had a much worſe

The King went commonly to the Houſe of Lords.

1669. worſe effect: For he became a common ſolicitor, not only in publick affairs, but even in private matters of juſtice. He would in a very little time have gone round the Houſe, and ſpoke to every man that he thought worth ſpeaking to. And he was apt to do that upon the ſolicitation of any of the Ladies in favour, or of any that had credit with them. He knew well on whom he could prevail: So being once in a matter of juſtice deſired to ſpeak to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Hollis*, he ſaid, they were ſtiff and ſullen men: But when he was next deſired to ſolicit two others, he undertook to do it; and ſaid, they are men of no conſcience, ſo I will take the government of their conſcience into my own hands. Yet when any of the Lords told him plainly, that they could not vote as he deſired, he ſeemed to take it well from them. When the Act againſt Conventicles was debated in that Houſe, *Wilkins* argued long againſt it. The King was much for having it paſs, not that he intended to execute it, but he was glad to have that body of men at mercy, and to force them to concur in the deſign for a general toleration. He ſpoke to *Wilkins* not to oppoſe it. He anſwered, he thought it an ill thing both in conſcience and policy: Therefore, both as he was an *Engliſh* man, and a Biſhop, he was bound to oppoſe it. The King then deſired him not to come to the Houſe while it depended. He ſaid, by the law and conſtitution of *England*, and by his Majeſty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote: And he was neither afraid nor aſhamed to own his opinion in that matter, and to act purſuant to it. So he went on: And the King was not offended with his freedom. But tho' he bore with ſuch a frank refuſing to comply with his deſire, yet if any had made him ſuch general anſwers, as led him to believe they intended to be compliant, and had not in all things done as he expected, he called that a juggling with him; and he was apt to ſpeak hardly of them on that account. No ſooner was the King at eaſe, and had his fleet put in good caſe, and his ſtores and magazines well furniſhed, than he immediately fell to negotiating with *France*, both to ruine *Holland*, and to ſubvert the government of *England*. The *Brook-houſe* buſineſs, as well as the burning his fleet, ſtuck as deep as any thing could do in his heart. He reſolved to revenge the one, and to free himſelf from the apprehenſions of the others returning upon him: Tho' the Houſe of Commons were ſo far practiſed on, that the report of *Brook-houſe* was let fall; and that matter was no more inſiſted on. Yet he abhorred the precedent, and the diſcoveries that had been made upon it.

The

The Prince of *Orange* came over to him in the winter 1669. He was then in the twentieth year of his age: So he came over, both to ſee how the King intended to pay the great debt that he owed him, which had been contracted by his father on his account, and likewiſe to try what offices the King would do in order to his advancement to the Stadtholderſhip. The King treated him civilly. He aſſured him he would pay the debt: But did not lay down any method of doing it: So theſe were only good words. He tryed the Prince, as the Prince himſelf told me in point of religion: He ſpoke of all the Proteſtants as a factious body, broken among themſelves ever ſince they had broken off from the main body; and wiſhed, that he would take more pains, and look into theſe things better, and not to be led by his *Dutch* blockheads. The Prince told all this to *Zuyleſteyn* his natural uncle. They were both amazed at it; and wondered, how the King could truſt ſo great a ſecret, as his being a Papiſt, to ſo young a perſon. The Prince told me, that he never ſpoke of this to any other perſon, till after his death: But he carried it always in his own mind, and could not hinder himſelf from judging of all the King's intentions after that from the diſcovery he had then made of his own ſentiments. Nor did he, upon his not complying with that propoſition, expect any real aſſiſtance of the King, but general interceſſions, which ſignifyed nothing: And that was all he obtained. 1669. The Prince of *Orange* came to the King.

So far have I carried on the thread of the affairs of *England*, down from the peace of *Breda* to the year 1670, in which the negotiation with the Court of *France* was ſet on foot. I am not ſure, that every thing is told in juſt order; becauſe I was all the while very much retired from the world and from company. But I am confident, I have given a true repreſentation of things; ſince I had moſt of theſe matters from perſons who knew them well, and who were not like to deceive me. But now I return to my own country, where the ſame ſpirit appeared in the adminiſtration. The affairs of *Scotland*.

The King was now upon meaſures of moderation and comprehenſion: So theſe were alſo purſued in *Scotland*. *Leightoun* was the only perſon among the Biſhops who declared for theſe methods: And he made no ſtep without talking it over to me. A great many Churches were already vacant. The people fell off entirely from all the Epiſcopal Clergy in the weſtern Counties: And a ſet of hot, fiery, young teachers went about among them, inflaming them more and more: So it was neceſſary to find a remedy for this. *Leightoun* propoſed, that a treaty ſhould be ſet on foot in order to the accommodating our differences, and for changing the laws that had carried the Epiſ- A treaty for an accommodation with the Presbyterians in *Scotland*.

1669. copal authority much higher than any of the Biſhops themſelves put in practice. He ſaw both Church and State were rent: Religion was like to be loſt: Popery, or rather barbarity, was like to come in upon us: And therefore he propoſed ſuch a ſcheme, as he thought might have taken in the ſobereſt men of Preſbyterian principles; reckoning that, if the ſchiſm could be once healed, and order be once reſtored, it might be eaſy to bring things into ſuch management, that the conceſſions then to be offered ſhould do no great hurt in preſent, and ſhould die with that generation. He obſerved the extraordinary conceſſions made by the *African* Church to the *Donatiſts*, who were every whit as wild and extravagant as our people were: Therefore he went indeed very far in the extenuating the Epiſcopal authority: But he thought, it would be eaſy afterwards to recover what ſeemed neceſſary to be yielded at preſent.

He propoſed, that the Church ſhould be governed by the Biſhops and their Clergy, mixing together in the Church Judicatories; in which the Biſhop ſhould act only as a preſident, and be determined by the majority of his Preſbyters, both in matters of juriſdiction and ordination: And that the Preſbyterians ſhould be allowed, when they ſat down firſt in theſe Judicatories, to declare, that their ſitting under a Biſhop was ſubmitted to by them only for peace ſake, with a reſervation of their opinion with relation to any ſuch preſidency: And that no negative vote ſhould be claimed by the Biſhop: That Biſhops ſhould go to the Churches, in which ſuch as were to be ordained were to ſerve, and hear and diſcuſs any exceptions that were made to them, and ordain them with the concurrence of the Preſbytery: That ſuch as were to be ordained ſhould have leave to declare their opinion, if they thought the Biſhop was only the head of the Preſbyters. And he alſo propoſed, that there ſhould be provincial Synods, to ſit in courſe every third year, or oftner, if the King ſhould ſummon them; in which complaints of the Biſhops ſhould be received; and they ſhould be cenſured accordingly. The laws that ſettled Epiſcopacy, and the authority of a National Synod, were to be altered according to this ſcheme. To juſtify, or rather to excuſe theſe conceſſions, which left little more than the name of a Biſhop, he ſaid, as for their proteſtation, it would be little minded, and ſoon forgotten: The world would ſee the union that would be again ſettled among us, and the proteſtation would lie dead in the books, and die with thoſe that made it: As for the negative vote, Biſhops generally managed matters ſo, that they had no occaſion for it: But, if it ſhould be found neceſſary, it might be lodged in the King's

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King's name with ſome ſecular perſon, who ſhould interpoſe as often as the Biſhop ſaw it was expedient to uſe it: And if the preſent race could be but laid in their graves in peace, all thoſe heats would abate, if not quite fall off. He alſo thought, it was a much decenter thing, for Biſhops to go upon the place where the Miniſter was to ſerve, and to ordain after ſolemn faſting and prayer, than to huddle it up at their Cathedrals, with no ſolemnity, and ſcarce with common decency. It ſeemed alſo reaſonable, that Biſhops ſhould be liable to cenſure, as well as other people: And that in a fixed Court, which was to conſiſt of Biſhops, and Deans, and two choſen from every Preſbytery. The liberty offered to ſuch as were to be ordained, to declare their opinion, was the hardeſt part of the whole. It looked like the perpetuating a factious and irregular humour. But few would make uſe of it. All the Churches in the gift of the King, or of the Biſhops, would go to men of other principles. But tho' ſome things of an ill diſgeſtion were at ſuch a time admitted, yet, if by theſe means the ſchiſm could be once healed, and the Nation again ſettled in a peacable ſtate, the advantage of that would balance all that was loſt by thoſe abatements that were to be made in the Epiſcopal authority; which had been raiſed too high, and to correct that was now to be let fall too low, if it were not for the good that was to be hoped for from this Accommodation: For this came to be the word as Comprehenſion was in *England*. He propoſed farther, that a treaty might be ſet on foot, for bringing the Preſbyterians to accept of theſe conceſſions. The Earl of *Kincardin* was againſt all treating with them: They were a trifling ſort of diſputatious people: They would fall into much wrangling, and would ſubdivide among themſelves: And the young and ignorant men among them, that were accuſtomed to popular declamations, would ſay, here was a bargain made to ſell *Chriſt*'s Kingdom, and his prerogative. He therefore propoſed, that ſince we knew both their principles and their tempers, we ought to carry the conceſſions as far as it was either reaſonable or expedient, and paſs theſe into laws: And then they would ſubmit to a ſettlement that was made, and that could not be helped, more eaſily than give a conſent before hand to any thing that ſeemed to entrench on that which they called the liberty of the Church. *Leighton* did fully agree with him in this. But Lord *Lauderdale* would never conſent to that. He ſaid, a law that did ſo entirely change the conſtitution of the Church, when it came to be paſs'd and printed, would be conſtrued in *England* as a pulling down of Epiſcopacy; unleſs he could have this to ſay in excuſe 1669.

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1669. for it, that the Preſbyterians were willing to come under that model. So he ſaid, ſince the load of what was to be done in *Scotland* would fall heavieſt on him, he would not expoſe himſelf ſo much, as the paſſing any ſuch act muſt certainly do, till he knew what effects would follow on it. So we were forced to try how to deal with them in a treaty.

I was ſent to propoſe this ſcheme to *Hutchinſon*, who was eſteemed the learnedeſt man among them. But I was only to try him, and to talk of it as a notion of my own. He had married my couſin german; and I had been long acquainted with him. He look'd on it as a project that would never take effect: So he would not give his opinion about it. He ſaid, when theſe conceſſions were paſs'd into laws, he would know what he ſhould think of them: But he was one of many, ſo he avoided to declare himſelf. The next thing under conſideration was, how to diſpoſe of the many vacancies, and how to put a ſtop to Conventicles. *Leightoun* propoſed, that they ſhould be kept ſtill vacant, while the treaty was on foot; and that the Preſbyterians ſhould ſee how much the Government was in earneſt in the deſign of bringing them to ſerve in the Church, when ſo many places were kept open for them.

An indulgence propoſed.

The Earl of *Tweedale* thought the treaty would run into a great length, and to many niceties, and would perhaps come to nothing in concluſion. So he propoſed the granting ſome of the outed Miniſters leave to go and ſerve in thoſe pariſhes by an Act of the King's indulgence, from whence it came to be called the Indulgence. *Leightoun* was againſt this. He thought, nothing would bring on the Preſbyterians to a treaty, ſo much as the hopes of being again ſuffered to return to their benefices: Whereas, if they were once admitted to them, they would reckon they had gained their point, and would grow more backward. I was deſired to go into the weſtern parts, and to give a true account of matters, as I found them there. So I went, as in a viſit to the Duke of *Hamilton*; whoſe Ducheſs was a woman of great piety, and great parts. She had much credit among them; for ſhe paſs'd for a zealous Preſbyterian, tho ſhe proteſted to me, ſhe never entred into the points of controverſy, and had no ſettled opinion about forms of Government; only ſhe thought their Miniſters were good men, who kept the country in great quiet and order: They were, ſhe ſaid, blameleſs in their lives, devout in their way, and diligent in their labours. The people were all in a phrenzy, and were in no diſpoſition to any treaty. The furiouſeſt men among them were buſy in Conventicles, inflaming them againſt all agreements: So ſhe thought,

thought, that, if the more moderate Preſbyterians were put in vacant Churches, the people would grow tamer, and be taken out of the hands of the mad preachers, that were then moſt in vogue: This would likewiſe create a confidence in them: For they were now ſo poſſeſſed with prejudices, as to believe that all that was propoſed was only an artifice to make them fall out among themſelves, and deceive them at laſt. This ſeemed reaſonable: And ſhe got many of the more moderate of them to come to me: And they all talked in the ſame ſtrain. 1669.

A ſtrange accident happened to *Sharp* in *July* 1668, as he was going into his coach in full daylight, the Biſhop of *Orkney* being with him. A man came up to the coach, and diſcharged a piſtol at him with a brace of bullets in it, as the Biſhop of *Orkney* was going up into the coach. He intended to ſhoot through his cloak at *Sharp*, as he was mounting up: But the bullet ſtuck in the Biſhop of *Orkney*'s arm, and ſhattered it ſo, that, tho' he lived ſome years after that, they were forced to open it every year for an exfoliation. *Sharp* was ſo univerſally hated, that, tho' this was done in full day light, and on the high ſtreet, yet no body offered to ſeize the aſſaſſin. So he walked off, and went home, and ſhifted himſelf of an odd wig, which he was not accuſtomed to wear, and came out, and walked on the ſtreets immediately. But *Sharp* had viewed him ſo narrowly, that he diſcovered him afterwards, as ſhall be mentioned in its proper place. I lived then much out of the world: Yet I thought it decent to go and congratulate on this occaſion. He was much touched with it, and put on a ſhew of devotion upon it. He ſaid with a very ſerious look, my times are wholly in thy hand, O thou God of my life. This was the ſingle expreſſion ſavouring of piety, that ever fell from him in all the converſation that paſſed between him and me. Proclamations were iſſued out with great rewards for diſcovering the actor: But nothing followed on them. On this occaſion it was thought proper, that he ſhould be called to Court, and have ſome marks of the King's favour put on him. He promiſed to make many good motions: And he talked for a while like a changed man: And went out of his way, as he was going to Court, to viſit me at my parſonage houſe, and ſeemed reſolved to turn to other methods. The King, as he had a particular talent that way, when he had a mind to it, treated him with ſpecial characters of favour and reſpect. But he made no propoſition to the King: Only in general terms he approved of the methods of gentleneſs and moderation then in vogue.

An attempt to murder *Sharp*.

1669. When he came back to *Scotland*, he moved in Council that an indulgence might be granted to ſome of the Publick Reſolutioners, with ſome rules and reſtraints; ſuch as, that they ſhould not ſpeak, or preach, againſt Epiſcopacy, and that they ſhould not admit to either of the Sacraments any of the neighbouring pariſhes without a deſire from their own Miniſters; and that they ſhould engage themſelves to obſerve theſe rules. He knew that his propoſition, for all the ſhew of moderation that was in it, could have no effect: For the Reſolutioners and the Proteſtors had laid down their old diſputes, and were reſolved to come under no diſcrimination on that account; nor would they engage to obſerve any limitations that ſhould be laid on them. They ſaid, the Government might lay reſtraints on them, and puniſh them, if they broke thro' them: And they would obey them, or not, at their peril. But they laid down this for a maxim, that they had received a compleat Miniſtry from *Chriſt*, and that the judicatories of the Church had only power to govern them in the exerciſe of their function. If the King ſhould lay any limitations on them, they might obey theſe, as prudence ſhould direct: But they would not bind themſelves up by any engagement of their own. *Burnet*, and his Clergy, (for the diocese of *Glaſcow* is above the fourth part of all *Scotland*,) came to *Edenburgh* full of high complaints, that the Churches were univerſally forſaken, and that Conventicles abounded in every corner of the country. A proclamation was upon that iſſued out, in imitation of the *Engliſh* Act, ſetting a fine of 50 *l.* upon every landlord, on whoſe grounds any Conventicle was held, which he might recover, as he could, of thoſe who were at any ſuch Conventicle. This was plainly againſt law; for the Council had no power by their authority to ſet arbitrary fines. It was pretended on the other hand, that the Act of Parliament that had reſtored Epiſcopacy had a clauſe in it, recommending the execution of that Act to the Privy Council by all the beſt way they could think of. But the lawyers of the Council-board ſaid, that in matters of property their power was certainly tied up to the direction of the law: And the clauſe mentioned related only to particular methods, but could not be conſtrued ſo far, as this proclamation carried the matter. The proclamation went out, but was never executed. It was ſent up to *London*, and had a ſhew of zeal; and ſo was made uſe of by the Earl of *Lauderdale* to bear down the clamour, that was raiſed againſt him and his party in *Scotland*, as if they deſigned to pull down Epiſcopacy. The model of the county militia was now executed: And above two thouſand horſe, and ſixteen thouſand foot were armed,

Sharp propoſed the indulging ſome Miniſters that did not conform.

armed, and trained, and caſt into independent regiments and troops, who were all to be under ſuch orders as the Council iſſued out. All this was againſt law: For the King had only a power upon an extraordinary occaſion to raiſe, and march ſuch a body of men, as he ſhould ſummon together; and that at his own charge: But the converting this into a ſtanding militia, which carried with it a ſtanding charge, was thought a great ſtretch of prerogative. Yet it was reſolved on; tho' great exceptions were made to it by the lawyers, chiefly by Sir *John Niſbit*, the King's advocate, a man of great learning, both in law and in many other things, chiefly in the *Greek* learning: He was a perſon of great integrity, and always ſtood firm to the law. The true ſecret of this deſign was, that Lord *Lauderdale* was now preſſing to get into the management of the affairs of *England*. And he ſaw what the Court was aiming at. And he had a mind to make himſelf conſiderable by this, that he had in his hand a great army, with a magazine of arms, and a ſtock of money laid up in *Scotland* for any accident that might happen. So all his creatures, and Lady *Dyſert* more than all the reſt, had this up in all companies, that none before him ever dreamt how to make *Scotland* conſiderable to the King: But now it began to make a great figure. An Army, a Magazine, and a Treaſure, were words of a high ſound; chiefly now that the Houſe of Commons was like to grow ſo intractable, that the Duke of *Buckingham* deſpaired of being able to manage them. He moved the diſſolving the Parliament, and calling a new one: And thought the Nation would chooſe men leſs zealous for the Church; for theſe were all againſt him. But the King would not venture on it. He knew the Houſe of Commons was either firm to him by their own principles: Or by his management they could be made ſo: And therefore he would not run the riſk of any new election. He had the Diſſenters much in his power, by the ſevere laws under which they lay at his mercy: But he did not know what influence they might have in elections, and in a new Parliament: Theſe he knew were in their hearts enemies to prerogative; which he believed they would ſhew, as ſoon as they got themſelves to be delivered from the laws, that then put them in the King's power. 1669.

Propoſitions for the union of the two Kingdoms.

Lord *Tweedale* was then at *London:* And he ſet on foot a propoſition, that came to nothing, but made ſo much noiſe, and was of ſuch importance, that it deſerves to be enlarged on. It was for the union of both Kingdoms. The King liked it; becauſe he reckoned, that, at leaſt for his time, he ſhould be

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1669. ſure of all the members that ſhould be ſent up from *Scotland*. The Duke of *Buckingham* went in eaſily to a new thing: And Lord Keeper *Bridgman* was much for it. The Lord *Lauderdale* preſſed it vehemently: It made it neceſſary to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, where he intended to be the King's Commiſſioner. The Earl of *Tweedale* was for it on other accounts, both to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the militia, and to get ſome alterations made in the laws that related to the Church: And he really drove at the union, as a thing which he thought might be brought about. *Scotland*, he ſaid, was even then under great uneaſineſs, tho' the King knew the ſtate of that Kingdom: But when another King ſhould reign that knew not *Joſeph*, (ſo he expreſſed it,) the Nation would be delivered up to favourites, and be devoured by them: Rich provinces, like thoſe that belonged to *Spain*, could hold out long under oppreſſion: But a poor country would be ſoon diſpeopled, if much oppreſſed: And if a King of deep deſigns againſt publick liberty ſhould careſs the *Scots*, he might eaſily engage them; ſince a poor country may be ſuppoſed willing to change their ſeats, and to break in on a richer one: There was indeed no fear of that at preſent; for the dotage of the Nation on Preſbytery, and the firmneſs with which the Government ſupported Epiſcopacy, ſet them ſo far from one another, that no engagement of that ſort could be attempted: But if a King ſhould take a dextrous method for putting that out of the way, he might carry *Scotland* to any deſign he thought fit to engage in. Lord *Tweedale* blamed Sir *Francis Bacon* much for laying it down as a maxim, that *Scotland* was to be reckoned as the third part of the Iſland, and to be treated accordingly: Whereas he aſſured me, *Scotland* for numbers of people was not above a tenth part, and for wealth not above a fortieth part of the Iſland.

The diſcourſe of the union was kept up, till it was reſolved to ſummon a new Parliament in *Scotland*. Then Lord *Lauderdale* made the King reflect on the old ſcheme he had laid before him at the Reſtoration: And he undertook to manage the Parliament ſo, as to make it anſwer that end more effectually than any before him had ever done. This was reſolved on in the ſummer 1669. I being then at *Hamilton*, and having got the beſt information of the ſtate of the country that I could, wrote a long account of all I had heard to the Lord *Tweedale*, and concluded it with an advice to put ſome of the more moderate of the Preſbyterians into the vacant Churches. Sir *Robert Murray* told me, the letter was ſo well liked, that it was read to the King. Such a letter would have ſignifyed nothing,

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if Lord *Tweedale* had not been fixed in the ſame notion. He had now a pauſible thing to ſupport it. So my principles, and zeal for the Church, and I know not what beſides were raiſed to make my advice ſignify ſomewhat. And it was ſaid, I was the man that went moſt entirely into *Leightoun*'s maxims. So this indiſcreet letter of mine, ſent without communicating it to *Leightoun*, gave the deciding ſtroke. And, as may be eaſily believed, it drew much hatred on me from all that either knew it, or did ſuſpect it. 1669.

The King wrote a letter to the Privy Council, ordering them to indulge ſuch of the Preſbyterians as were peaceable and loyal, ſo far as to ſuffer them to ſerve in vacant Churches, tho' they did not ſubmit to the preſent eſtabliſhment: And he required them to ſet them ſuch rules as might preſerve order and peace, and to look well to the execution of them: And as for ſuch as could not be provided to Churches at that time, he ordered a penſion of 20 *l. ſter.* a year to be paid every one of them, as long as they lived orderly. Nothing followed on the ſecond article of this letter: The Preſbyterians look'd on this, as the King's hire to be ſilent, and not to do their duty: And none of them would accept of it. But, as to the firſt part of the letter, on the firſt Council day after it was read, twelve of the Miniſters were indulged: They had pariſhes aſſigned them: And about thirty more were afterwards indulged in the ſame manner: And then a ſtop was put to it for ſome time. With the warrants that they had for their Churches, there was a paper of rules likewiſe put in their hands. *Hutcheſon* in all their names made a ſpeech to the Council: He began with decent expreſſions of thanks to the King, and their Lordſhips: He ſaid, they ſhould at all times give ſuch obedience to laws, and orders, as could ſtand with a good conſcience. And ſo they were diſmiſſed. As for thoſe of them that were allowed to go to the Churches where they had ſerved before, no difficulty could be made: But thoſe of them that were named to other Churches would not enter on the ſerving them, till the Church ſeſſions, and the inhabitants of the pariſh met, and made choice of them for their paſtors, and gave them a call (as they worded it) to ſerve among them. But upon this, ſcruples aroſe among ſome, who ſaid the peoples choice ought to be free; whereas now they were limited to the perſon named by the Council, which looked like an election upon a *Conge d'elire* with a letter naming the perſon, with which they had often diverted themſelves. But ſcruples are mighty things, when they concur with inclination or intereſt: And when they are not ſupported by theſe, men learn diſ-

The King gave orders for the Indulgence.

1669. tinctions to get free from them. So it happened in this caſe: For tho' ſome few were ſtartled at theſe things, yet they lay in no man's way; for every man went, and was poſſeſſed of the Churches marked out for him. And at firſt the people of the country ran to them with a ſort of tranſport of joy. Yet this was ſoon cooled. It was hoped, that they would have begun their miniſtry with a publick teſtimony againſt all that had been done in oppoſition to what they were accuſtomed to call the work of God. But they were ſilent at that time, and preached only the doctrines of Chriſtianity. This diſguſted all thoſe who loved to hear their Miniſters preach to the times, as they call'd it. The ſtop put to the Indulgence made many conclude, that thoſe, who had obtained the favour, had entred into ſecret engagements. So they came to call them the King's Curates, as they had called the Clergy in deriſion the Biſhop's Curates. Their caution brought them under a worſe character of *dumb dogs*, that could not bark. Thoſe, who by their fierce behaviour had ſhut themſelves out from a ſhare in the Indulgence, began to call this Eraſtianiſm, and the Civil Magiſtrates aſſuming the power of ſacred matters. They ſaid, this was viſibly an artifice to lay things aſleep with the preſent generation; and was one of the depths of *Satan*, to give a preſent quiet, in order to the certain deſtruction of Preſbytery. And it was alſo ſaid, that there was a viſible departing of the divine aſſiſtance from thoſe preachers: They preached no more with the power and authority that had accompanied them at Conventicles. So many began to fall off from them, and to go again to Conventicles. Many of the preachers confeſſed to me, that they found an ignorance and a deadneſs among thoſe who had been the hotteſt upon their meetings, beyond what could have been imagined. They that could have argued about the intrinſick power of the Church, and Epiſcopacy, and Preſbytery, upon which all their ſermons had chiefly run for ſeveral years, knew very little of the eſſentials of religion. But the indulged preachers, inſtead of ſetting themſelves with the zeal and courage that became them againſt the follies of the people, of which they confeſſed to my ſelf they were very ſenſible, took a different method; and ſtudied by mean compliances to gain upon their affections, and to take them out of the hands of ſome fiery men, that were going up and down among them. The tempers of ſome brought them under this ſervile popularity, into which others went out of a deſire to live eaſy.

The

The Indulgence was ſettled in a hurry. But when it came to be deſcanted on, it appeared to be plainly againſt law: For by the Act reſtoring Epiſcopacy none were capable of benefices, but ſuch as ſhould own the authority of Biſhops, and be inſtituted by them. So now the Epiſcopal party, that were wont to put all authority in the King, as long as he was for them, began to talk of law. They ſaid, the King's power was bounded by the law; and that theſe proceedings were the trampling of law under foot. For all parties, as they need the ſhelter of law, or the ſtretches of the prerogative, are apt by turns to magnify the one, or the other. *Burnet* and his Clergy were out of meaſure enraged at the indulgence. They were not only abandoned, but ill uſed by the people, who were beginning to threaten, or to buy them out of their Churches, that they alſo might have the benefit of the Indulgence. The Synod of the Clergy was held at *Glaſcow* in *October:* And they moved, that an addreſs might be drawn up, repreſenting to the King the miſeries they were under, occaſioned by the Indulgence: They complained of it as illegal, and as like to be fatal to the Church. This was, according to the words in ſome of their Acts of Parliament, a miſrepreſenting the King's proceedings, in order to the alienating the hearts of his ſubjects from him; which was made capital, as may appear by the account given in the former book of the proceedings againſt the Lord *Balmerinock.* He that drew this addreſs was one *Roſs*, afterwards Archbiſhop, firſt of *Glaſcow*, and then of St. *Andrews*; who was an ignorant man, and violent out of meaſure. So it was drawn full of acrimony. Yet they reſolved to keep it ſecret, till advice ſhould be taken upon it; and accordingly to preſent it to the Privy Council, or not. A Copy of this was procured by indirect methods: And it was ſent up to Court, after the Earl of *Lauderdale* was come off, and was in his way to hold the Parliament in *Scotland.* Lord *Lauderdale* had left all his concerns at Court with Sir *Robert Murray:* For, tho', at his Miſtriſs's inſtigation, he had uſed him very unworthily, yet he had ſo great an opinion of his vertue and candor, that he left all his affairs to his care. As ſoon as the King ſaw the Clergy's addreſs, he ſaid, it was a new weſtern remonſtrance: And he ordered, that *Burnet* ſhould not be ſuffered to come to the Parliament, and that he ſhould be proceeded againſt as far as the law could carry the matter. It was not eaſy to ſtretch this ſo far, as to to make it criminal. But *Burnet* being obnoxious on other accounts, they intended to frighten him to ſubmit, and to reſign his Biſhoprick.

1669. This complained of as againſt law.

The

1669. A Parliament in *Scotland.* The Parliament was opened in *November*. Lord *Lauderdale*'s ſpeech ran upon two heads. The one was, the recommending to their care the preſervation of the Church, as eſtabliſhed by law: Upon which he took occaſion to expreſs great zeal for Epiſcopacy. The other head related to the union of both Kingdoms. All that was done relating to that was, that an Act paſs'd for a treaty about it: And in the following ſummer, in a ſubſequent ſeſſion, Commiſſioners were named, who went up to treat about it. But they made no progreſs: And the thing fell ſo ſoon, that it was very viſible it was never intended in good earneſt.

The Supremacy carried very high. The two firſt Acts that paſs'd in Parliament were of more importance, and had a deeper deſign. The firſt explained, and aſſerted the King's Supremacy; but carried it in ſuch general words, that it might have been ſtretched to every thing. It was declared, that the ſettling all things relating to the external government of the Church was a right of the Crown: And that all things relating to Eccleſiaſtical meetings, matters, and perſons, were to be ordered according to ſuch directions as the King ſhould ſend to his Privy Council: And that theſe ſhould be publiſhed by them, and ſhould have the force of laws. Lord *Lauderdale* very probably knew the ſecret of the Duke's religion, and had got into his favour. So it was very likely, that he intended to eſtabliſh himſelf in it, by putting the Church of *Scotland* wholly in his power. But that was yet a ſecret to us all in *Scotland*. The method he took to get it paſs'd was this: He told all thoſe who loved Preſbytery, or that did not much favour the Biſhops, that it was neceſſary to keep them under, by making them depend abſolutely on the King: This was indeed a transferring the whole legiſlature, as to the matters of the Church, from the Parliament, and veſting it ſingly in the King: Yet, he told them, if this was done, as the circumſtances might happen to be favourable, the King might be prevailed on, if a daſh of a pen would do it, to change all on the ſudden: Whereas that could never be hoped for, if it could not be brought about, but by the pomp and ceremony of a Parliament. He made the Nobility ſee, they needed fear no more the inſolence of Biſhops, if they were at mercy, as this would make them. *Sharp* did not like it, but durſt not oppoſe it. He made a long dark ſpeech, copied out of Doctor *Taylor*, diſtinguiſhing between the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical authority; and then voted for it: So did all the Biſhops that were preſent: Some abſented themſelves. *Leighton* was againſt any ſuch Act, and got ſome words to be altered in it. He thought, it might be ſtretched to ill ends: And ſo he was very averſe to it. Yet he gave his vote for it, not having

ing ſufficiently conſidered the extent of the words, and the conſe- 1669.
quences that might follow on ſuch an Act; for which he was very ſorry, as long as he lived. But at that time there was no apprehenſions in *Scotland* of the danger of Popery. Many of the beſt of the Epiſcopal Clergy, *Nairn*, and *Charteris* in particular, were highly offended at the Act. They thought it plainly made the King our Pope. The Preſbyterians ſaid, it put him in *Chriſt*'s ſtead. They ſaid, the King had already too much power in the matters of the Church: And nothing ruined the Clergy more, than their being brought into ſervile compliances, and a baſe dependance upon Courts. I had no ſhare in the connſels about this Act. I only thought it was deſigned by Lord *Tweedale* to juſtify the Indulgence, which he proteſted to me was his chief end in it. And no body could ever tell me how the word *Eccleſiaſtical matters* was put in the Act. *Leightoun* thought, he was ſure it was put in after the draught and form of the Act was agreed on. It was generally charged on Lord *Lauderdale*. And when the Duke's religion came to be known, then all people ſaw, how much the legal ſettlement of our religion was put in his power by this means. Yet the preamble of the Act being only concerning the external government of the Church, it was thought, that the word *Eccleſiaſtical matters* were to be confined to the ſenſe that was limited by the preamble.

The next Act that paſs'd was concerning the Militia: All that had been done in raiſing it was approved: And it was enacted, that it ſhould ſtill be kept up, and be ready to march into any of the King's dominions, for any cauſe in which his Majeſty's authority, power, or greatneſs ſhonld be concerned; and that the orders ſhould be tranſmitted to them from the Council board, without any mention of orders from the King. Upon this great reflections were made. Some ſaid, that by this the Army was taken out of the King's power and command, and put under the power of the Conncil: So that if the greater part of the Conncil ſhould again rebel, as they did in the year 1638, the Army was by the words of this Act bonnd to follow their orders. But, when jealouſies broke out in *England* of the ill deſigns that lay hid nnder this matter, it was thonght that the intent of this clauſe was, that, if the King ſhould call in the *Scotiſh* Army, it ſhould not be neceſſary that he himſelf ſhould ſend any orders for it; but that, upon a ſecret intimation, the Council might do it without order, and then, if the deſign ſhould miſcarry, it ſhould not lie on the King, bnt only on the Council, whom in that caſe the King might diſown; and ſo none about An Act for the County Militia.

1669. him ſhould be blameable for it. The Earl of *Lauderdale* valued himſelf upon theſe Acts, as if he had conquered Kingdoms by them. He wrote a letter to the King upon it, in which he ſaid, all *Scotland* was now in his power: The Church of *Scotland* was now more ſubject to him than the Church of *England* was: This Militia was now an Army ready upon call: And that every man in *Scotland* was ready to march, whenſoever he ſhould order it, with ſeveral very ill inſinuations in it. But ſo dangerous thing it is a to write ſuch letters to Princes: This letter fell into Duke *Hamilton*'s hands ſome years after: And I had it in my hands for ſome days. It was intended to found an impeachment on it. But that happened at the time when the buſineſs of the excluſion of the Duke from the ſucceſſion of the Crown was ſo hotly purſued, that, this, which at another time would have made great noiſe, was not ſo much conſidered as the importance of of it might ſeem to deſerve. The way how it came into ſuch hands was this: The King, after he had read the letter, gave it to Sir *Robert Murray:* And when he died it was found among his papers. He had been much truſted in the King's laboratory, and had ſeveral of his chymical proceſſes in his hands. So the King after his death did order one to look over all his papers for chymical matters: But all the papers of State were let alone. So this, with many other papers, fell into the hands of his executors. And thus this letter came into Duke *Hamilton*'s hands; who would have made uſe of it, if greater matters had not been then in agitation. This is not the ſingle inſtance, that I have known, of papers of great conſequence falling into the hands of the executors of great Miniſters, that might have been turned to very bad uſes, if they had fallen into ill hands. It ſeems of great concern, that when a Miniſter, or an Ambaſſadour, dies, or is recalled, or is diſgraced, all papers relating to the ſecrets of his employment ſhould be of right in the power of the Government. But I of all men ſhould complain the leaſt of this, ſince by this remiſſneſs many papers of a high nature have fallen in my way.

Burnet turned out, and *Leighton* made Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow.*

By the Act of Supremacy the King was now maſter, and could turn out Biſhops at pleaſure. This had its firſt effect on *Burnet*; who was offered a penſion, if he would ſubmit and reſign, and was threatened to be treated more ſeverely, if he ſtood out. He complied, and retired to a private ſtate of life, and bore his diſgrace better than he had done his honours. He lived four years in the ſhade, and was generally much pitied: He was of himſelf good natured, and ſincere; but was much in the power of others: He meddled too much in that which did not belong

to

to him, and he did not underſtand; for he was not cut out for a Court, or for the Miniſtry: And he was too remiſs in that which was properly his buſineſs, and which he underſtood to a good degree; for he took no manner of care of the ſpiritual part of his function. 1669.

At this time the Univerſity of *Glaſcow*, to whom the choice of the Profeſſor of divinity does belong, choſe me, tho' unknown to them all, to be Profeſſor there. There was no ſort of artifice or management to bring this about: It came of themſelves: And they did it without any recommendation of any perſon whatſoever. So I was adviſed by all my friends to change my poſt, and go thither. This engaged me both into much ſtudy, and in a great deal of buſineſs. The Clergy came all to me, thinking I had ſome credit with thoſe that governed, and laid their grievances and complaints before me. They were very ill uſed, and were ſo entirely forſaken by their people, that in moſt places they ſhut up their Churches: They were alſo threatened and affronted on all occaſions. On the other hand the Gentlemen of the country came much to me, and told me ſuch ſtrange things of the vices of ſome, the follies of others, and the indiſcretions of them all, that, tho' it was not reaſonable to believe all that they ſaid, yet it was impoſſible not to believe a great deal of it. And ſo I ſoon ſaw, what a hard province I was like to have of it. Accounts of the ſtate of thoſe parts were expected from me, and were like to be believed. And it was not eaſy to know, what ought to be believed, nor how matters were to be repreſented: For I found calumny was ſo equally practiſed on both ſides, that I came to miſtruſt every thing that I heard. One thing was viſible, that Conventicles abounded, and ſtrange doctrine was vented in them. The King's Supremacy was now the chief ſubject of declamation: It was ſaid, Biſhops were indeed enemies to the liberties of the Church, but the King's little finger would be heavier than their loins had been. After I had been for ſome months among them, and had heard ſo much, that I believed very little, I wrote to Lord *Tweedale*, that diſorders did certainly increaſe; but, as for any particulars, I did not know what to believe, much leſs could I ſuggeſt what remedies ſeemed proper: I therefore propoſed, that a Committee of Council might be ſent round the country to examine matters, and to give ſuch orders as were at preſent neceſſary for the publick quiet; and that they might prepare a report againſt the next ſeſſion of Parliament, that then proper remedies might be found out.

The ſtate I found things in at *Glaſcow*.

Duke

1669. A Committee of Council sent round the West.

Duke *Hamilton*, Lord *Kincardin*, *Primeroſe*, and *Drumond*, were ſent to theſe parts. They met firſt at *Hamilton*, next at *Glaſcow:* Then they went to other parts; and came back, and ended their circuit at *Glaſcow*. They puniſhed ſome diſorders, and threatened both the indulged Miniſters, and the countries, with greater ſeverities, if they ſhould ſtill grow more and more inſolent upon the favour that had been ſhewed them. I was blamed by the Preſbyterians for all they did, and by the Epiſcopal party for all they did not; ſince theſe thought they did too little, as the others thought they did too much. They conſulted much with me; and ſuffered me to intercede ſo effectually for thoſe whom they had put in priſon, that they were all ſet at liberty. The Epiſcopal party thought I intended to make my ſelf popular at their coſt: So they began that ſtrain of fury and calumny that has purſued me ever ſince from that ſort of people, as a ſecret enemy to their intereſt, and an underminer of it. But I was, and ſtill am, an enemy to all force and violence in matters of conſcience: And there is no principle that is more hated by bad, ill natured Clergymen, than that.

The Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Tweedale* preſſed *Leightoun* much to accept of the See of *Glaſcow*. He declined it with ſo much averſion, that we were all uneaſy at it. Nothing moved him to hearken to it, but the hopes of bringing about the accommodation that was propoſed; in which he had all aſſiſtance promiſed him from the Government. The King ordered him to be ſent for to Court. He ſent for me on his way; where he ſtopt a day, to know from me what proſpect there was of doing any good. I could not much encourage him: Yet I gave him all the hopes that I could raiſe my ſelf to: And I was then inclined to think, that the accommodation was not impracticable. Upon his coming to *London*, he found Lord *Lauderdale*'s temper was much inflamed: He was become fierce and intractable. But Lord *Tweedale* made every thing as eaſy to him as was poſſible. They had turned out an Archbiſhop: So it concerned them to put an eminent man in his room, who ſhould order matters with ſuch moderation, that the Government ſhould not be under perpetual diſturbance by reaſon of complaints from thoſe parts.

1670. But now the Court was entring into new deſigns, into which Lord *Lauderdale* was thruſting himſelf, with an obſequious, or rather an officious zeal. I will dwell no longer at preſent on that, than juſt to name the Ducheſs of *Orleans*'s coming to *Dover*, of which a more particular account ſhall be given, after that

that I have laid together all that relates to *Scotland* in the year 1670, and the whole buſineſs of the Accommodation. *Leighton* propoſed to the King his ſcheme of the Accommodation, and the great advantages that his Majeſty's affairs would have, if that country could be brought into temper. The King was at this time gone off from the deſign of a comprehenſion in *England*. Toleration was now thought the beſt way. Yet the Earl of *Lauderdale* poſſeſſed him with the neceſſity of doing ſomewhat to ſoften the *Scots*, in order to the great deſign he was then engaging in. Upon that the King, who ſeldom gave himſelf the trouble to think twice of any one thing, gave way to it. *Leightoun*'s paper was in ſome places corrected by Sir *Robert Murray*; and was turned into inſtructions, by which Lord *Lauderdale* was authoriſed to paſs the conceſſions, that were to be offered, into laws. This he would never own to me, tho' *Leightoun* ſhewed me the copy of them. But it appeared probable by his conduct afterwards, that he had ſecret directions to ſpoil the matter, and that he intended to deceive us all. Lord *Tweedale* was more to be depended on. But he began to looſe ground with Lady *Dyſert:* And ſo his intereſt did not continue ſtrong enough to carry on ſuch a matter. 1670. Inſtructions for an accommodation.

Leightoun undertook the adminiſtration of the See of *Glaſcow:* And it was a year after this before he was prevailed on to be tranſlated thither. He came upon this to *Glaſcow*, and held a Synod of his Clergy; in which nothing was to be heard, but complaints of deſertion and ill uſage from them all. *Leightoun*, in a ſermon that he preached to them, and in ſeveral diſcourſes, both in publick and private, exhorted them to look up more to God; to conſider themſelves as the miniſters of the Croſs of *Chriſt*, to bear the contempt and ill uſage they met with as a Croſs laid on them for the exerciſe of their faith and patience, to lay aſide all the appetites of revenge, to humble themſelves before God, to have many days for ſecret faſting and prayers, and to meet often together that they might quicken and aſſiſt one another in thoſe holy exerciſes: And then they might expect bleſſings from Heaven upon their labours. This was a new ſtrain to the Clergy. They had nothing to ſay againſt it: But it was a comfortleſs doctrine to them: And they had not been accuſtomed to it. No ſpeedy ways were propoſed for forcing the people to come to Church, nor for ſending ſoldiers among them, or raiſing the fines to which they were liable. So they went home, as little edified with their new Biſhop, as he was with them. When this was over, he went round ſome parts of the country to the moſt eminent of the indulged Miniſters, and carried me Leightoun's advices to his Clergy.

1670. with him. His buſineſs was, to perſuade them to hearken to propoſitions of peace. He told them, ſome of them would be quickly ſent for to *Edenburgh*, where terms would be offered them in order to the making up our differences: All was ſincerely meant: They would meet with no artifices, nor hardſhips: And if they received thoſe offers heartily, they would be turned into laws: And all the vacancies then in the Church would be filled by their brethren. They received this with ſo much indifference, or rather neglect, that it would have cooled any zeal, that was leſs warm, and leſs active, than that good man's was. They were ſcarce civil; and did not ſo much as thank him for his tenderneſs and care: The more artful among them, ſuch as *Hutcheſon*, ſaid, it was a thing of general concern, and they were but ſingle men. Others were more metaphyſical, and entertained us with ſome poor arguings and diſtinctions. *Leightoun* began to loſe heart. Yet he reſolved to ſet the negotiation on foot, and carry it as far as he could.

A conference between *Leightoun* and ſome Presbyterians.

When Lord *Lauderdale* came down to hold a ſeſſion of Parliament, letters were writ to ſix of the Preſbyterian preachers, ordering them to come to town. There was a long conference between *Leightoun* and them, before the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Rothes*, *Tweedale*, and *Kincardin*. *Sharp* would not be preſent at it: But he ordered *Paterſon*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow* to hear all, and to bring him an account of what paſſed. *Leightoun* laid before them the miſchief of our diviſions, and of the ſchiſm that they had occaſioned: Many ſouls were loſt, and many more were in danger by theſe means: So that every one ought to do all he could to heal this wide breach, that had already let in ſo many evils among us, which were like to make way to many more: For his own part, he was perſuaded that Epiſcopacy, as an order diſtinct from Preſbyters, had continued in the Church ever ſince the days of the Apoſtles; that the world had every where received the Chriſtian religion from Biſhops, and that a parity among Clergymen was never thought of in the Church before the middle of the laſt century, and was then ſet up rather by accident than on deſign: Yet, how much ſoever he was perſuaded of this, ſince they were of another mind, he was now to offer a temper to them, by which both ſides might ſtill preſerve their opinions, and yet unite in carrying on the ends of the Goſpel and their Miniſtry: They had Moderators amongſt them, which was no divine inſtitution, but only a matter of order: The King therefore might name theſe: And the making them conſtant could be no ſuch encroachment on their function, as that the peace of the Church muſt be

be broke on ſuch an account: Nor could they ſay, that the bleſſing of the men named to this function by an impoſition of hands did degrade them from their former office, to ſay no more of it: So they were ſtill at leaſt Miniſters: It is true, others thought, they had a new and ſpecial authority, more than a bare preſidency: That did not concern them, who were not required to concur with them in any thing, but in ſubmitting to this preſidency: And, as to that, they ſhould be allowed to declare their own opinion againſt it, in as full, and as publick a manner as they pleaſed: He laid it to their conſciences, to conſider of the whole matter, as in the preſence of God, without any regard to party, or popularity. He ſpoke in all near half an hour, with a gravity and force that made a very great impreſſion on thoſe who heard it. *Hutcheſon* anſwered, and ſaid, their opinion for a parity among the Clergy was well known: The preſidency now ſpoke of had made way to a lordly dominion in the Church: And therefore how inconſiderable ſoever the thing might ſeem to be, yet the effects of it both had been, and would be very conſiderable: He therefore deſired, ſome time might be given them to conſider well of the propoſitions now made, and to conſult with their brethren about them: And, ſince this might ſeem an aſſembling together againſt law, he deſired, they might have the King's Commiſſioner's leave for it. This was immediately granted. We had a ſecond conference, in which matters were more fully opened, and preſſed home, on the grounds formerly mentioned. Lord *Lauderdale* made us all dine together, and came to us after dinner: But could ſcarce reſtrain himſelf from flying out; for their behaviour ſeemed both rude and crafty. But *Leightoun* had prepared him for it, and preſſed him not to give them a handle to excuſe their flying off, by any roughneſs in his deportment towards them. The propoſitions offered them were now generally known. *Sharp* cried out, that Epiſcopacy was to be undermined, ſince the negative vote was to be let go. The inferiour Clergy thought, that if it took effect, and the Preſbyterians were to be generally brought into Churches, they would be neglected, and that their people would forſake them. So they hated the whole thing. The bigotted Preſbyterians thought, it was a ſnare, and the doing that, which had a fair appearance at preſent, and was meant only to lay that generation in their graves in peace; by which means Epiſcopacy, that was then ſhaking over all the Nation, would come to have another root, and grow again out of that. But the far greater part of the Nation approved of this deſign: And they reckoned, either we ſhould gain our point, and then all 1670.

1670. all would be at quiet, or, if ſuch offers were rejected by the Preſbyterians, it would diſcover their temper, and alienate all indifferent men from them; and the Nation would be convinced, how unreaſonable and ſtubborn they were, and how unworthy they were of any farther favour. All that was done in this ſeſſion of Parliament was, the raiſing a tax, and the naming Commiſſioners for the union with *England*; beſides two ſevere Acts paſs'd againſt Conventicles.

New ſeverities againſt Conventicles.

There had been a great one held in *Fife*, near *Dunfermlin*, where none had ever been held before. Some Gentlemen of eſtates were among them: And the novelty of the thing drew a great croud together; for intimation had been given of it ſome days before. Many of theſe came in their ordinary arms. That gave a handle to call them the *Rendezvous* of rebellion. Some of them were taken, and brought to *Edenburgh*, and preſſed to name as many as they knew of their fellow Conventiclers: But they refuſed to do it. This was ſent up to Court, and repreſented as the fore-runner of rebellion. Upon which Lord *Lauderdale*, hearing what uſe his enemies made of it, was tranſported almoſt to fits of rage. Severe Acts paſſed upon it, by which their fines were raiſed higher, and they were made liable to arbitrary ſeverities. The Earl of *Lauderdale* with his own hand put in a word in the Act, that covered the Papiſts, the fines being laid on ſuch of the reformed religion as went not to Church.

The reformed religion.

He pretended by this to merit with the Popiſh party, the Duke in particular; whoſe religion was yet a ſecret to us in *Scotland*, tho' it was none at Court. He ſaid to my ſelf, he had put in theſe words on deſign to let the party know, they were to be worſe uſed than the Papiſts themſelves. All Field Conventicles were declared treaſonable: And in the preacher they were made capital. The Landlords, on whoſe grounds they were held, were to be ſeverely fined: And all who were at them were to be puniſhed arbitrarily, if they did not diſcover all that were preſent, whom they knew. Houſe Conventicles, crouded without the doors, or at the windows, were to be reckoned, and puniſhed, as Field Conventicles. Sir *Robert Murray* told me, that the King was not well pleaſed with this Act, as being extravagantly ſevere; chiefly in that of the preachers being to be puniſhed by death. He ſaid, bloody laws did no good; and that he would never have paſſed it, if he had known it before hand. The half of the Parliament abhorred this Act. Yet ſo abject were they in their ſubmiſſions to Lord *Lauderdale*, that the young Earl of *Caſſilis* was the ſingle perſon that voted in the negative. This paſs'd in Parliament ſo ſuddenly, that *Leighton* knew nothing

thing of it, till it was too late. He expoſtulated with Lord *Tweedale* ſeverely about it: He ſaid, the whole complex of it was ſo contrary to the common rules of humanity, not to ſay Chriſtianity, that he was aſhamed to mix in counſels with thoſe who could frame and paſs ſuch Acts: And he thought it ſomewhat ſtrange, that neither he, nor I, had been adviſed with in it. The Earl of *Tweedale* ſaid, the late Field Conventicle being a new thing, it had forced them to ſeverities, that at another time could not be well excuſed: And he aſſured us, there was no deſign to put it in execution. 1670.

Leightoun ſent to the weſtern Counties ſix Epiſcopal Divines, all except my ſelf brought from other parts: *Nairn* and *Charteris* were two of them: The three others *Aird*, *Cook*, and *Paterſon*, were the beſt we could perſuade to go round the country to preach in vacant Churches, and to argue upon the grounds of the accommodation with ſuch as ſhould come to them. The Epiſcopal Clergy, who were yet in the country, could not argue much for any thing; and would not at all argue in favour of a propoſition that they hated. The people of the country came generally to hear us, tho' not in great crouds. We were indeed amazed to ſee a poor commonalty ſo capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be ſet to the power of Princes in matters of religion: Upon all theſe topicks they had texts of ſcripture at hand; and were ready with their anſwers to any thing that was ſaid to them. This meaſure of knowledge was ſpread even among the meaneſt of them, their cottagers, and their ſervants. They were indeed vain of their knowledge, much conceited of themſelves, and were full of a moſt entangled ſcrupuloſity; ſo that they found, or made, difficulties in every thing that could be laid before them. We ſtaid about three months in the country: And in that time there was a ſtand in the frequency of Conventicles. But, as ſoon as we were gone, a ſet of thoſe hot preachers went round all the places in which we had been, to defeat all the good we could hope to do. They told them, the Devil was never ſo formidable, as when he was transformed into an Angel of light.

The outed Miniſters had many meetings in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom. They found themſelves under great difficulties. The people had got it among them, that all that was now driven at, was only to extinguiſh Presbytery, by ſome ſeeming conceſſions, with the preſent generation; and that if the Miniſters went into it, they gave up their cauſe, that ſo they themſelves might be provided for during their lives, and die at more eaſe. So they, who were ſtrangely ſubdued by their deſire of popularity, reſolv- The Presbyterians reſolved to reject the offers made them.

1670. ed to reject the propoſitions, tho' they could not well tell on what grounds they ſhould juſtify it. A report was alſo ſpread among them, which they believed, and had its full effect upon them: It was ſaid, that the King was alienated from the Church of *England*, and weary of ſupporting Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*; and ſo was reſolved not to clog his Government any longer with it; and that the conceſſions now made did not ariſe from any tenderneſs we had for them, but from an artifice to preſerve Epiſcopacy: So they were made believe, that their agreeing to them was really a ſtrengthening of that Government, which was otherwiſe ready to fall with its own weight. And becauſe a paſſage of Scripture, according to its general ſound, was apt to work much on them, that of *touch not, taſte not, handle not*, it was often repeated among them. It was generally agreed on to reject the offers made them. The next debate among them was, about the reaſons they were to give for rejecting them; or whether they would comply with another propoſition, which *Leightoun* had made them, that, if they did not like the propoſitions he had made, they would ſee, if they could be more happy than he was, and offer at other propoſitions. In their meetings they named two to maintain the debate, *pro* and *con*. They diſputed about the proteſtation that they were allowed to make: And *Proteſtatio contraria facto* was a maxim that was in great vogue among them. They argued upon the obligation by the Covenant to maintain their Church, as then eſtabliſhed, in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government: And ſo every thing that was contrary to that, was repreſented as a breach of covenant: And none durſt object to that. But that they might make a propoſition, which they were ſure would not be hearkened to, they propoſed, that among the conceſſions to be inſiſted on, one might be a liberty to ordain without the Biſhops. When we heard what their reaſonings were, papers were writ, and ſent among them, in anſwer to them. But it is a vain thing to argue, when a reſolution is taken up, not founded on argument; and arguments are only ſought for, to juſtify that which is already reſolved on. We preſſed them with this, that, notwithſtanding their Covenant, they themſelves had afterwards made many alterations, much more important than this of ſubmitting to a conſtant Moderator, named by the King: *Cromwell* took from them the power of meeting in General Aſſemblies: Yet they went on doing the other duties of their function; tho' this, which they eſteemed the greateſt of all their rights, was denied them: When an order came out to ſequeſter the half of the benefices of ſuch as ſhould ſtill pray for the King, they upon that ſubmitted, tho' before they had aſſerted

ted it as a duty, to which they were bound by their Covenant: They had diſcontinued their miniſtry, in obedience to laws and proclamations now for nine years: And thoſe, who had accepted the Indulgence, had come in by the King's authority, and had only a parochial government, but did not meet in Presbyteries: From all which we inferred, that, when they had a mind to lay down any thing that they thought a duty, or to ſubmit to any thing that they thought an invaſion of their rights, they could find a diſtinction for it: And it was not eaſy to ſhew, why they were not as compliant in this particular. But all was loſt labour: Hot men among them were poſitive: And all of them were full of contention. 1670.

Ducheſs *Hamilton* ſent for ſome of them, *Hutcheſon* in particular. She ſaid, ſhe did not pretend to underſtand nice diſtinctions, and the terms of diſpute: Here was plain ſenſe: The country might be again at quiet, and the reſt of thoſe that were outed admitted to Churches, on terms, that ſeemed to all reaſonable men very eaſy: Their rejecting this would give a very ill character of them, and would have very bad effects, of which they might ſee cauſe to repent, when it would be too late. She told me, all that ſhe could draw from him, that ſhe underſtood, was, that he ſaw the generality of their party was reſolved againſt all treaties, or any agreement; and that, if a ſmall number ſhould break off from them, it would not heal the old breaches, but would create new ones. In concluſion, nothing was like to follow on this whole negotiation. We, who were engaged in it, had loſt all our own ſide by offering at it: And the Presbyterians would not make one ſtep towards us.

Leighton deſired another meeting with them at *Paſley*, to which he carried me and one or two more. They were about thirty. We had two long conferences with them. *Leighton* laid out before them the obligations that lay on them to ſeek for peace at all times, but more eſpecially when we already ſaw the diſmal effects of our contentions: There could be no agreement, unleſs on both ſides there was a diſpoſition to make ſome abatements, and ſome ſteps towards one another: It appeared, that we were willing to make even unreaſonable ones on our ſide: And would they abate nothing in theirs? Was their opinion ſo mathematically certain, that they could not diſpenſe with any part of it, for the peace of the Church, and for the ſaving of ſouls? Many poor things were ſaid on their ſide, which would have made a leſs mild man, than he was, loſe all patience. But he bore with all: And urged this queſtion on them, Would they have held communion with the Church of God at the time of the council

Some conferences upon that ſubject.

1670. council of *Nice*, or not? If they ſhould ſay, not, he would be leſs deſirous of entring into communion with them; ſince he muſt ſay of the Church at that time, *let my ſoul be with theirs:* If they ſaid, they would; then he was ſure, they would not reject the offers now made them, which brought Epiſcopacy much lower than it was at that time. One of the moſt learned among them had prepared a ſpeech full of quotations, to prove the difference between the primitive Epiſcopacy and ours at preſent. I was then full of thoſe matters: So I anſwered all his ſpeech, and every one of his quotations, and turned the whole upon him, with advantages that were too evident to be ſo much as denied by their own party: And, it ſeemed, the perſon himſelf thought ſo; for he did not offer at one word of reply. In concluſion, the Preſbyterians deſired, that the propoſitions might be given them in writing: For hitherto all had paſs'd only verbally; and words, they ſaid, might be miſunderſtood, miſrepeated, and denied. *Leightoun* had no mind to do it: Yet, ſince it was plauſible, to ſay they had nothing but words to ſhew to their brethren, he wrote them down, and gave me the original, which I ſtill have in my hands; but ſuffered them to take as many copies of it as they pleaſed. At parting he deſired them to come to a final reſolution, as ſoon as they could; for he believed, they would be called for by the next *January* to give their anſwers. And by the end of that month they were ordered to come to *Edenburgh*. I went thither at the ſame time upon *Leightoun*'s deſire.

At laſt they refuſed to accept of the conceſſions.

We met at the Earl of *Rothes*'s houſe, where all this treaty came to a ſhort concluſion. *Hutcheſon* in all their names ſaid, they had conſidered the propoſitions made to them, but were not ſatisfied in their conſciences to accept of them. *Leightoun* deſired to know upon what grounds they ſtood out. *Hutcheſon* ſaid, it was not ſafe to argue againſt law. *Leightoun* ſaid, that, ſince the Government had ſet on a treaty with them in order to the altering the laws, they were certainly left to a full freedom of arguing againſt them: Theſe offers were no laws: So the arguing about them could not be called an arguing againſt law: He offered them a publick conference upon them, in the hearing of all that had a mind to be rightly informed: He ſaid, the people were drawn into thoſe matters ſo far, as to make a ſchiſm upon them: He thought, it was therefore very reaſonable, that they ſhould likewiſe hear the grounds examined, upon which both ſides went. *Hutcheſon* refuſed this: He ſaid, he was but one man; and that what he ſaid was in the name of his brethren, who had given him no farther authority. *Leightoun* then aſked,

if they had nothing on their ſide to propoſe towards the healing of our breaches. *Hutcheſon* anſwered, their principles were well enough known, but he had nothing to propoſe. Upon this *Leightoun*, in a long diſcourſe, told what was the deſign he had been driving at in all this negotiation: It was to procure peace, and to promote religion: He had offered ſeveral things, which he was perſuaded were great diminutions of the juſt rights of Epiſcopacy: Yet ſince all Church-power was for edification, and not for deſtruction, he had thought, that in our preſent circumſtances it might have conduced as much to the intereſt of religion, that Epiſcopacy ſhould diveſt it ſelf of a great part of the authority that belonged to it, as the Biſhop's uſing it in former ages had been an advantage to religion: His offers did not flow from any miſtruſt of the cauſe: He was perſuaded, Epiſcopacy was handed down thro' all the ages of the Church from the Apoſtles days: Perhaps he had wronged the order by the conceſſions he had made: Yet he was confident God would forgive it, as he hoped his brethren would excuſe it: Now they thought fit to reject theſe conceſſions, without either offering any reaſon for doing it, or any expedient on their ſide: Therefore the continuance of our diviſions muſt lie at their door, both before God and man: If ill effects followed upon this, he was free of all blame, and had done his part. Thus was this treaty broke off, to the amazement of all ſober and diſpaſſionate people, and to the great joy of *Sharp*, and the reſt of the Biſhops; who now for a while ſeemed even pleaſed with us, becauſe we had all along aſſerted Epiſcopacy, and had pleadedfor it in a high and poſitive ſtrain. 1670.

I hope this will be thought an uſeful part of the hiſtory of that time: None knew the ſteps made in it better than my ſelf. The fierce Epiſcopal men will ſee, how much they were to blame for accuſing that Apoſtolical man *Leightoun*, as they did, on this occaſion; as if he had deſigned in this whole matter to betray his own order, and to ſet up Preſbytery. The Preſbyterians may alſo ſee, how much their behaviour diſguſted all wiſe, moderate and good men, when they rejected propoſitions, that came ſo home even to the maxims they had ſet up, that nothing but the fear of offending, that is of looſing the credit they had with their party, could be ſo much as pretended for their refuſing to agree to them. Our part in the whole negotiation was ſincere and open. We were acted with no other principle, and had no other deſign, but to allay a violent agitation of men's ſpirits, that was throwing us into great diſtractions; and to heal a breach, that was like to let in an inundation of miſeries upon us,

Cenſures paſs'd upon this whole matter.

1670. us, as has appeared but too evidently ever ſince. The high party, keeping ſtill their old biaſs to perſecution, and recovering afterwards their credit with the Government, carried violent proceedings ſo far, that, after they had thrown the Nation into great convulſions, they drew upon themſelves ſuch a degree of fury from enraged multitudes, whom they had oppreſſed long and heavily, that, in concluſion, the Epiſcopal order was put down, as ſhall be told in its proper place. The roughneſs of our own ſide, and the perverſeneſs of the Preſbyterians, did ſo much alienate me from both, that I reſolved to withdraw my ſelf from any farther meddling, and to give my ſelf wholly to ſtudy. I was then, and for three years after that, offered to be made a Biſhop: But I refuſed it. I ſaw the counſels were altering above: So I reſolved to look on, and ſee whither things would turn.

1671. My acquaintance at *Hamilton*, and the favour and friendſhip I met with from both the Duke and Ducheſs, made me offer my ſervice to them, in order to the ſearch of many papers, that were very carefully preſerved by them: Fot the Ducheſs's uncle had charged her to keep them with the ſame care, as ſhe kept the writings of her eſtate; ſince in theſe a full juſtification of her father's pnblick actings, and of his own, would be found, when ſhe ſhould put them in the hands of one that could ſet them in order, and in a due light. She put them all in my hands, which I acknowledge was a very great truſt: And I made no ill uſe of it. I found there materials for a very large hiſtory. I writ it with great ſincerity; and concealed none of their errors. I did indeed conceal ſeveral things that related to the King: I left out ſome paſſages that were in his letters; in ſome of which was too much weakneſs, and in others too much craft and anger. I got thro' that work in a few months. When the Earl of *Lauderdale* heard that I had finiſhed it, he deſired me to come up to him; for he was ſure, he could both rectify many things, and enlarge on a great many more. His true deſign was, to engage me to put in a great deal relating to himſelf in that work. I found another degree of kindneſs and confidence from him upon my coming np, than ever before. I had nothing to aſk for my ſelf, but to be excuſed from the offer of two Biſhopricks. But whatſoever I aſked for any other perſon was granted: And I was conſidered as his favourite. He truſted me with all ſecrets, and ſeemed to have no reſerves with me. He indeed preſſed me to give up with Sir *Robert Murray:* And I ſaw, that upon my doing that I ſhould have as much credit with him as I could deſire. Sir *Robert* himſelf apprehended this would be

The Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton* was writ by me at that time.

put to me; and preſſed me to comply with him in it. But I hated ſervitude, as much as I loved him: So I refuſed it flatly. I told Lord *Lauderdale*, that Sir *Robert* had been as a ſecond father, or governour to me, and therefore I could not break friendſhip with him. But I promiſed to ſpeak to him of nothing that he truſted to me. And this was all that ever he could bring me to, tho' he put it often to me. I was treated by him with an entire confidence. Applications were made to me: And every thing that I propoſed was done. I laid before him the ill ſtate the affairs of *Scotland* were falling into, by his throwing off ſo many of his friends. Duke *Hamilton* and he had been for ſome years in ill terms. I laid down a method for bringing them to a better underſtanding. I got kind letters to paſs on both ſides, and put their reconciliation in ſo fair a way, that upon my return to *Scotland* it was for that time fully made up. I had authority from him to try, how both the Earls of *Argile*, and *Tweedale*, might return to their old friendſhip with him. The Earl of *Argile* was ready to do every thing. But the Earl of *Athol* had propoſed a match between his ſon and Lady *Dyſert*'s daughter, and he had an hereditary hatred to the Lord *Argile* and his family: So that could not be eaſily brought about. Lord *Tweedale* was reſolved to withdraw from buſineſs. The Earl of *Lauderdale* had for many years treated his brother the Lord *Halton* with as much contempt as he deſerved; for he was both weak and violent, inſolent and corrupt. He had promiſed to ſettle his eſtate on his daughter, when the Lord *Tweedale*'s ſon married her. But his brother offered now every thing that Lady *Dyſert* deſired, provided ſhe would get his brother to ſettle his eſtate on him. So Lord *Halton* was now taken into affairs; and had ſo much credit with his brother, that all the dependance was upon him. And thus the breach between the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Tweedale* was irreconcileable; tho' I did all I could to make it up. 1671

As to Church affairs, Lord *Lauderdale* aſked my opinion concerning them. I gave it frankly to this purpoſe: There were many vacances in the diſaffected Counties, to which no conformable men of any worth could be prevailed on to go: So I propoſed, that the Indulgence ſhould be extended to them all; and that the Miniſters ſhould be put into thoſe pariſhes by couples, and have the benefice divided between them; and, in the Churches where the Indulgence had already taken place, that a ſecond Miniſter ſhould be added, and have the half of the benefice: By this means I reckoned, that all the outed Miniſters would be again employed, and kept from going round the uninfected parts of the Kingdom: I alſo propoſed that they ſhould

A farther Indulgence propoſed.

1671. ſhould be confined to their pariſhes, not to ſtir out of them without leave from the Biſhop of the dioceſe, or a Privy Counſellour; and that, upon tranſgreſſing the rules that ſhould be ſet them, a proportion of their benefice ſhould be forfeited, and applied to ſome pious uſe. Lord *Lauderdale* heard me to an end: And then, without arguing one word upon any one branch of this ſcheme, he deſired me to put it in writing; which I did. And the next year, when he came down again to *Scotland*, he made one write out my paper, and turned it into the ſtyle of inſtructions. So eaſily did he let himſelf be governed by thoſe whom he truſted, even in matters of great conſequence. Four Biſhops happened to die that year, of which *Edenburgh* was one. I was deſired to make my own choice: But I refuſed them all. Yet I obtained a letter to be writ, by the King's order, to Lord *Rothes*, that he ſhould call the two Archbiſhops, and four of the Officers of State, and ſend up their opinion to the King of the perſons fit to be promoted: And a private letter was writ to the Lords, to join with *Leightoun* in recommending the perſons that he ſhould name. *Leightoun* was uneaſy, when he found that *Charteris*, and *Nairn*, as well as my ſelf, could not be prevailed on to accept Biſhopricks. They had an ill opinion of the Court, and could not be brought to leave their retirement. *Leightoun* was troubled at this. He ſaid, if his friends left the whole load on him, he muſt leave all to providence. Yet he named the beſt men he could think on. And, that *Sharp* might not have too publick an affront put on him, *Leightoun* agreed to one of his nomination. But now I go to open a ſcene of another nature.

Foreign affairs.

The Court was now going into other meaſures. The Parliament had given the King all the money he had aſked for repairing his fleet, and for ſupplying his ſtores and magazines. Additional revenues were alſo given for ſome years. But at their laſt ſitting, in the beginning of the year 1670, it appeared that the Houſe of Commons were out of countenance for having given ſo much money, and ſeemed reſolved to give no more. All was obtained under the pretence of maintaining the Triple Alliance. When the Court ſaw how little reaſon they had to expect farther ſupplies, the Duke of *Buckingham* told the King, that now the time was come in which he might both revenge the attempt on *Chatham*, and ſhake off the uneaſy reſtraint of a Houſe of Commons. And he got leave from the King to ſend over Sir *Ellis Leightoun* to the Court of *France*, to offer the project of a new alliance, and a new war. Sir *Ellis* told me this himſelf: And was proud to think, that he was the firſt man employed

An alliance with *France* ſet on foot.

4

employed in thoſe black and fatal deſigns. But, in the firſt propoſition made by us, the ſubduing of *England*, and the toleration of Popery, here was offered, as that with which the deſign muſt be begun. *France*, ſeeing *England* ſo inclined, reſolved to puſh the matter farther. 1671.

The King's ſiſter, the Ducheſs of *Orleans*, was thought the wittieſt woman in *France*. The King of *France* had made love to her, with which ſhe was highly incenſed, when ſhe ſaw it was only a pretence to cover his addreſſes to *Madamoiſelle La Valiere*, one of her maids of honour, whom he afterwards declared openly to be his Miſtriſs: Yet ſhe had reconciled her ſelf to the King; and was now ſo entirely truſted by him, that he ordered her to propoſe an interview with her brother at *Dover*. The King went thither, and was ſo much charmed with his ſiſter, that every thing ſhe propoſed, and every favour ſhe aſked, was granted. The King could deny her nothing. She propoſed an alliance in order to the conqueſt of *Holland*. The King had a mind to have begun at home. But ſhe diverted him from that. It could not be foreſeen, what difficulties the King might meet with upon the firſt opening the deſign: As it would alarm all his people, ſo it would ſend a great deal of wealth, and trade, and perhaps much people over to *Holland:* And by ſuch an acceſſion they would grow ſtronger, as he would grow weaker. So ſhe propoſed, that they ſhould begin with *Holland*, and attack it vigorouſly, both by ſea and land: And upon their ſucceſs in that, all the reſt would be an eaſy work. This account of that negotiation was printed twelve years after, at *Paris*, by one Abbot *Primi*. I had that part of the book in my hands, in which this was contained. Lord *Preſton* was then the King's Envoy at *Paris:* So he, knowing how great a prejudice the publiſhing this would be to his maſter's affairs, complained of it. The book was upon that ſuppreſſed; and the writer was put in the *Baſtille*. But he had drawn it out of the papers of Mr. *Le Tellier*'s office: So there is little reaſon to doubt of the truth of the thing. *Madame*, as this book ſays, prevailed to have her ſcheme ſettled, and ſo went back to *France*. The journey proved fatal to her: For the Duke of *Orleans* had heard ſuch things of her behaviour, that it was ſaid he ordered a great doſe of ſublimate to be given her in a glaſs of ſuccory-water, of which ſhe died a few hours after in great torments: And when ſhe was opened, her ſtomach was all ulcerated.

The Ducheſs of *Orleans* came to *Dover*.

Soon after was poyſoned.

Since I mention her death, I will ſet down one ſtory of her, that was told me by a perſon of diſtinction, who had it from ſome who were well informed of the matter. The King of

Some of her intrigues.

1671. *France* had courted Madame *Soiſſons*, and made a ſhew of courting *Madame*. But his affections fixing on *Madamoiſelle La Valiere*, ſhe whom he had forſaken, as well as ſhe whom he had deceived, reſolved to be revenged: And they entred into a friendſhip in order to that. They had each of them a Gallant: *Madame* had the Count *de Guiche*, and the other had the Marquiſs *Des Vardes*, then in great favour with the King, and a very graceful perſon. When the treaty of the King of *France*'s marriage was ſet on foot, there was an opinion generally received, that the Infanta of *Spain* was a woman of great genius, and would have a conſiderable ſtroke in all affairs. So, many young men of Quality ſet themſelves to learn the *Spaniſh* language, to give them the more credit with the young Queen. All that fell to the ground, when it appeared how weak a woman ſhe was. Theſe two were of that number. Count *De Guiche* watched an occaſion, when a letter from the King of *Spain* was given to his daughter by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and ſhe tore the envelope, and let it fall. He gathered up all the parcels of it, together with the ſeal. From theſe they learnt to imitate the King of *Spain*'s writing. And they ſent to *Holland* to get a ſeal engraven from the impreſſion of the wax. When all was prepared, a letter was writ, as in the name of the King of *Spain*, reproaching his daughter for her tameneſs in ſuffering ſuch an affront as the King put on her by his amours, with reflexions full both of contempt and anger upon the King. There was one *Spaniſh* Lady left about the Queen: So they forged another letter, as from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour to her, with that to the Queen incloſed in it, deſiring her to deliver it ſecretly into the Queen's own hand. And they made a livery, ſuch as the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour's pages wore: And a boy was ſent in it with the letter. The Lady ſuſpected no forgery; but fancied, the letter might be about ſome matter of State. She thought it ſafeſt to carry it to the King, who reading it ordered an enquiry to be made about it. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour ſaw he was abuſed in it. The King ſpoke to the Marquis *Des Vardes*, not ſuſpecting that he was in it, and charged him to ſearch after the authour of this abuſe that was intended to be put on him. The two Ladies now rejoyced, that the looking after the diſcovery was put in the hands of a man ſo much concerned in it. He amuſed the King with the enquiries that he was making, tho' he was ever in a wrong ſcent. But in all this time *Madame* was ſo pleaſed with his conduct, that ſhe came to like his perſon; and had ſo little command of her ſelf, that ſhe told Madame *Soiſſons*, ſhe was her rival. The other readily complied

Some of the intrigues.

with her. And, by an odd piece of extravagance, he was ſent for: And Madam *Soiſſons* told him, ſince he was in *Madame*'s favour, ſhe releaſed him from all obligations, and delivered him over to her. The Marquis *Des Vardes* thought, this was only an artifice of gallantry, to try how faithful he was to his amours: So he declared himſelf incapable of changing, in terms full of reſpect for *Madame*, and of paſſion for the other. This raiſed in *Madame* ſo deep a reſentment, that ſhe reſolved to ſacrifice *Des Vardes*, but to ſave the Count *De Guiche*. So ſhe gave him notice, that the King had diſcovered the whole intrigue; and charged him to haſten out of *France*. And, as ſoon as ſhe believed that he was in *Flanders*, ſhe told all to the King of *France*. Upon which *Des Vardes* was not only diſgraced, but kept long a priſoner in *Aigues Mortes*. And afterwards he was ſuffered to come to *Monpelier*. And it was almoſt twenty years after, before he was ſuffered to come to Court. I was at Court when he came firſt to it. He was much broke in his health, but was become a philoſopher, and was in great reputation among all *Des Cartes*'s followers. *Madame* had an Intrigue with another perſon, whom I knew well, the Count of *Treville*. When ſhe was in her agony, ſhe ſaid, *adieu Treville*. He was ſo ſtruck with this accident, that it had a good effect on him; for he went and lived many years among the Fathers of the Oratory, and became both a very learned, and devout man. He came afterwards out into the world. I ſaw him often. He was a man of a very ſweet temper, only a little too formal for a *French* man. But he was very ſincere. He was a Janſeniſt. He hated the Jeſuits. And had a very mean opinion of the King, which appeared in all the inſtances, in which it was ſafe for him to ſhew it. 1671.

Upon *Madame*'s death, as the Marſhal *Belleſonds* came from *France* with the complement to the Court of *England*, ſo the Duke of *Buckingham* was ſent thither on pretence to return the complement, but really to finiſh the treaty. The King of *France* uſed him in ſo particular a manner, knowing his vanity, and careſſed him to ſuch a degree, that he went in without reſerve into the intereſts of *France*. Yet he proteſted to me, that he never conſented to the *French* fleet's coming into our ſeas and harbours. He ſaid, he was offered 40000 *l.* if he could perſuade the King to yield to it: And he appealed to the Earl of *Dorſet* for this, who was on the ſecret. He therefore concluded, ſince, after all the uneaſineſs ſhewed at firſt, the King had yielded to it, that Lord *Arlington* had the money. Lord *Shaftsbury* laid the blame of this chiefly on the Duke of *Buckingham:* For he told me, that he himſelf had writ a peremptory inſtruction to him

The treaty with *France* negotiated.

1671. him from the King, to give up all treaty, if the *French* did inſiſt on the ſending a fleet to our aſſiſtance. And therefore he blamed him, as having yielded it up, ſince he ought to have broke off all farther treaty, upon their inſiſting on this. But the Duke of *York* told me, there was no money given to corrupt the King's Miniſters; that the King and he had long inſiſted on having all their ſupplies from *France* in money, without a fleet; and that the *French* ſhewed them it was not poſſible for them to find out funds for ſo great an expence, unleſs we took a ſquadron of their ſhips; ſince they could not both maintain their own fleet, and furniſh us with the money that would be neceſſary, if we took not their ſquadron. It was agreed, that the King ſhould have 350000 *l.* a year during the war, together with a fleet from *France*. *England* was to attack the *Dutch* by ſea, while the King of *France* ſhould invade them by land with a mighty Army. It was not doubted, but that the States would find it impoſſible to reſiſt ſo great a force, and would therefore ſubmit to the two Kings: So the diviſion they agreed on was, that *England* ſhould have *Zealand*, and that the King of *France* ſhould have all the reſt, except *Holland*, which was to be given to the Prince of *Orange*, if he would come into the alliance: And it ſhould be ſtill a trading country, but without any capital ſhips. Lord *Lauderdale* ſaid upon that occaſion to me, that whatſoever they intended to do, they were reſolved to do it effectually all at once: But he would not go into farther particulars. That the year 1672 might be fatal to other Common-wealths, as well as to the States, the Duke of *Savoy* was encouraged to make a conqueſt of *Genoa*; tho he afterwards failed in the attempt: And the King of *Denmark* was invited into the alliance, with the offer of the town of *Hamburgh*, on which he had long ſet his heart. The Duke of *Richmond* was ſent to give a luſtre to that negotiation, which was chiefly managed by Mr. *Henſhaw*; who told me, that we offered that King ſome ſhips to aſſiſt him in ſeizing that rich town. But he was then in thoſe engagements with the Sates of *Holland*, that even this offer did not prevail on him.

Lockhart ſent to France.

Lockhart was at this time brought to Court by Lord *Lauderdale*, hoping that he would continue in an entire dependance on him, and be his creature. He was under ſo great a jealouſy from the Government for his former actings, that he was too eaſy to enter into any employment, that might bring him into favour, not ſo much out of any ambition to riſe, as from a deſire to be ſafe, and to be no longer looked on as an enemy to the Court: For when a foreign Miniſter aſked the King's leave to treat with

him in his maſter's name, the King conſented; but with this ſevere reflexion, that he believed he would be true to any body but himſelf. He was ſent to the Courts of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh*, either to draw them into the alliance, or, if that could not be done, at leaſt to ſecure them from all apprehenſions. But in this he had no ſucceſs. And indeed when he ſaw into what a negotiation he was engaged, he became very uneaſy: For, tho' the blackeſt part of the ſecret was not truſted to him, as appeared to me by his inſtructions, which I read after his death; yet he ſaw whither things were going. And that affected him ſo deeply, that it was believed to have contributed not a little to the languiſhing he ſoon fell under, which ended in his death two years after. 1671.

Pretended reaſons for the *Dutch* war.

The war being thus reſolved on, ſome pretences were in the next place to be ſought out to excuſe it: For, tho' the King of *France* went more roundly to work, and publiſhed that he was ſo ill ſatisfied with the conduct of the States, that it did not conſiſt with his glory to bear it any longer, yet we thought it decent for us to name ſome particulars. It was ſaid, we had ſome pretenſions on *Surinam*, not yet compleatly ſatisfied; and that the States harboured traitors, that fled from juſtice, and lived in *Holland:* Some medals were complained of, that ſeemed diſhonourable to the King; as alſo ſome pictures: And, tho' theſe were not made by publick order, yet a great noiſe was raiſed about them. But an accident happened, that the Court laid great hold of. The *Dutch* fleet lay off the coaſt of *England* the former year: And one of the King's Yatchs ſailed by, and expected they ſhould ſtrike ſail. They ſaid, they never refuſed it to any man of war: But they thought that honour did not belong to ſuch an inconſiderable veſſel. I was then at Court: And I ſaw joy in the looks of thoſe that were in the ſecret. *Selden* had in his *Mare clauſum* raiſed this matter ſo high, that he made it one of the chief rights and honours of the Crown of *England*, as the acknowledgement of the King's Empire in the four ſeas. The *Dutch* offered all ſatisfaction for the future in this matter: But they would not ſend their Admiral over as a criminal. While *France* was treating with *England*, they continued to amuſe the *Dutch:* And they ſo poſſeſſed *De Groot*, then the *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, or they corrupted him into a belief that they had no deſign on them, that they were too ſecure, and depended too much on his advertiſements. Yet the States entred into a negotiation, both with *Spain* and the Emperour, and with the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the Duke of *Lunenburgh*. The King of

1671. *Sweden* was yet under age: And the Miniſtry there deſired a neutrality. *France* and *England* ſent two Ambaſſadors to them, both men of great probity, *Pompone* and *Coventry*, who were both recalled at the ſame time to be Secretaries of State. *Coventry* was a man of wit and heat, of ſpirit and candor. He never gave bad advices: But when the King followed the ill advices that others gave, he thought himſelf bound to excuſe, if not to juſtify them. For this the Duke of *York* commended him much to me. He ſaid, in that he was a pattern to all good ſubjects, ſince he defended all the King's counſels in publick, even when he had blamed them moſt in private with the King himſelf.

1672. The ſhutting up of the Exchequer.

Our Court having reſolved on a war, did now look out for money to carry it on. The King had been running into a great debt ever ſince his Reſtoration. One branch of it was for the pay of that fleet that brought him over. The main of it had been contracted during the former *Dutch* war. The King in order to the keeping his credit had dealt with ſome Bankers, and had aſſigned over the revenue to them. They drove a great trade, and had made great advantage by it. The King paid them at the rate of 8 *per cent:* And they paid thoſe who put money in their hands only *6 per cent:* And had great credit; for payments were made very punctually. The King had in ſome proclamations given his faith, that he would continue to make good all his aſſignments, till the whole debt ſhould be paid, which was now growing up to almoſt a million and a half. So one of the ways propoſed for ſupplying the King with money was, that he ſhould ſtop theſe payments for a year, it being thought certain that by the end of the year the King would be out of all his neceſſities, by the hopes they had of ſucceſs in the war. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was the chief man in this advice. He excuſed it to me, telling me what advantage the Bankers had made, and how juſt it was for the King to bring them to an account for their uſury and extortions: And added, that he never meant the ſtop ſhould run beyond the year. He certainly knew of it before hand; and took all his own money out of the Bankers hands, and warned ſome of his friends to do the like. Lord *Lauderdale* did about this time marry Lady *Dyſert* upon his own Lady's death: And ſhe writ me a long account of the ſhutting up the Exchequer, as both juſt and neceſſary. The Bankers were broke; and great multitudes, who had truſted their money in their hands, were ruined by this diſhonourable and perfidious action.

action. But this gave the King only his own revenue again. So other ways were to be found for an encreaſe of treaſure. 1672.

By the peace of *Breda* it was provided, that, in order to the ſecurity of trade, no merchant's ſhips ſhould be for the future fallen on, till ſix months after a declaration of war. The *Dutch* had a rich fleet coming from *Smyrna*, and other parts in the *Mediterranean*, under the convoy of a few men of war. Our Court had advice of this. And *Holmes* was ordered to lye for them, and to take them near the Iſle of *Wight* with eight men of war. As he was ſailing thither he met *Spragge*, who was returning from the *Straits* with a ſquadron of our ſhips; and told him, that he had ſailed along with the *Dutch* moſt of the way, and that they would paſs within a day or two. *Holmes* thought, he was much too ſtrong for them; ſo did not acquaint *Spragge* with his deſign: For, if he had ſtopp'd him to aſſiſt in the execution, probably the whole fleet had been taken, which was reckoned worth a million and a half. When they came up, *Holmes* fell upon them: But their convoy did their part ſo well, that not only the whole fleet ſailed away, while they kept him in play, but they themſelves got off at laſt favoured by a miſt: And there were only a few ſhips taken, of ſo ſmall a value, that they were not worth the powder that was ſpent in the action. This was a breach of faith, ſuch as even Mahometans and Pyrates would have been aſhamed of. The unſucceſsfulneſs of it made it appear as ridiculous, as it was baſe. *Holmes* was preſſed to put it on the *Dutch* refuſing to ſtrike ſail. Yet that was ſo falſe, and there were ſo many witneſſes to it, that he had not the impudence to affirm it.

The attempt on the *Dutch Smyrna* fleet.

To crown all, a Declaration was ordered to be ſet out, ſuſpending the execution of all penal laws, both againſt Papiſts and Nonconformiſts. Papiſts were no more to be proſecuted for their way of worſhip in their own houſes, and the Nonconformiſts were allowed to have open Meeting Houſes; for which they were to take out licences, and none were to diſturb thoſe who ſhould meet for worſhip by virtue of thoſe licences. Lord Keeper *Bridgman* had loſt all credit at Court: So they were ſeeking an occaſion to be rid of him, who had indeed loſt all the reputation he had formerly acquired, by his being advanc'd to a poſt of which he was not capable. He refuſed to put the ſeal to the Declaration, as judging it contrary to law. So he was diſmiſs'd, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was made Lord Chancellour. Lord *Clifford* was made Lord Treaſurer: Lord *Arlington* and Lord *Lauderdale* had both of them the Garter: And, as *Arlington* was made an Earl, *Lauderdale* was made a Duke: And this *Junto*, together with the Duke

A Declaration for Toleration.

1672. Duke of *Buckingham*, being called the Cabal, it was obſerved, that Cabal proved a technical word, every letter in it being the firſt letter of thoſe five, *Clifford*, *Aſhly*, *Buckingham*, *Arlington*, and *Lauderdale*. They had all of them great preſents from *France*, beſides what was openly given them: For the *French* Ambaſſadour gave them all a picture of the King of *France* ſet in diamonds, to the value of 3000 *l.* Thus was the Nation, and our religion, as well as the King's faith and honour, ſet to ſale, and ſold. Lord *Shaftsbury* reſolved to recommend himſelf to the confidence of the Court by a new ſtrain never before thought of. He ſaid, the writs for chooſing the members of the Houſe of Commons might be iſſued out in the intervals of a ſeſſion; and the elections made upon them were to be returned into Chancery, and ſettled there. So the writs were iſſued out, but whether any elections were made upon them, and returned, I cannot tell. I know, the Houſe of Commons intended to have impeached him for this among other things: But he had the foreſight and ſkill to prevent it. When the Declaration for Toleration was publiſhed, great endeavours were uſed by the Court to perſuade the Nonconformiſts to make addreſſes and complements upon it. But few were ſo blind, as not to ſee what was aimed at by it.

The Presbyterians gave the King thanks for the Toleration.

The Duke was now known to be a Papiſt: And the Ducheſs was much ſuſpected. Yet the Presbyterians came in a body: And Dr. *Manton* in their name thanked the King for it, which offended many of their beſt friends. There was alſo an order, to pay a yearly penſion of fifty pounds to moſt of them, and of an hundred pounds a year to the chief of the party. *Baxter* ſent back his penſion, and would not touch it. But moſt of them took it. All this I ſay upon Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s, word who aſſured me, he knew the truth of it. And in particular, he told me, that *Pool*, who wrote the Synopſis of the criticks, confeſſed to him, that he had had fifty pounds for two years. Thus the Court hired them to be ſilent: And the greateſt part of them were ſo, and very compliant. But now the pulpits were full of a new ſtrain: Popery was every where preached againſt, and the authority of the laws was much magnified. The Biſhops, the Biſhop of *London* in particular, charged the Clergy to preach againſt Popery, and to inform the people of the controverſy between us and the Church of Rome. This alarmed the Court, as well as the City, and the whole Nation. *Clifford* began to ſhew the heat of his temper; and ſeemed a ſort of Enthuſiaſt for Popery. The King complained to *Sheldon* of this preaching on controverſy, as done on purpoſe to inflame the people, and to alienate them from him, and his government. Upon this *Sheldon* called ſome of the Cler-

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gy together to conſider what anſwer he ſhould make the King, if he preſſed him any farther on that head. *Tillotſon* was one of theſe: And he ſuggeſted this anſwer, that, ſince the King himſelf profeſſed the Proteſtant religion, it would be a thing without a precedent, that he ſhould forbid his Clergy to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, while he himſelf ſaid he was of it. But the King never renewed the motion. 1672.

While things were in this fermentation, the Ducheſs of *York* died. It was obſerved, that for fifteen months before that time ſhe had not received the ſacrament; and that upon all occaſions ſhe was excuſing the errours that the Church of *Rome* was charged with, and was giving them the beſt colours they were capable of. An unmarried Clergy was alſo a common topick with her. *Morly* had been her father confeſſour: For, he told me, ſhe practiſed ſecret confeſſion to him from the time that ſhe was twelve years old: And, when he was ſent away from the Court, he put her in the hands of *Blanford*, who died Biſhop of *Worceſter*. *Morley* alſo told me, that upon the reports that were brought him of her ſlackneſs in receiving the ſacrament, ſhe having been for many years punctual to once a month, he had ſpoken plainly to her about it, and told her what inferences were made upon it. She pretended ill health, and buſineſs; but proteſted to him, ſhe had no ſcruples with relation to her religion, and was ſtill of the Church of *England*; and aſſured him, that no Popiſh Prieſt had ever taken the confidence to ſpeak to her of thoſe matters. He took a ſolemn engagement of her, that, if ſcruples ſhould ariſe in her mind, ſhe would let him know them, and hear what he ſhould offer to her upon all of them. And he proteſted to me, that to her death ſhe never owned to him that ſhe had any ſcruples, tho' ſhe was for ſome days entertained by him at *Farnham*, after the date of the paper which was afterwards publiſhed in her name. All this paſs'd between the Biſhop and me, upon the Duke's ſhewing me that paper all writ in her own hand, which was afterwards publiſhed by *Maimburg*. He would not let me take a copy of it; but he gave me leave to read it twice. And I went immediately to *Morley*, and gave him an account of it; from whom I had all the particulars already mentioned. And upon that he concluded, that that unhappy Princeſs had been prevailed on to give falſewoods under her hand, and to pretend that theſe were the grounds of her converſion. A long decay of health came at laſt to a quicker criſis than had been apprehended. All of the ſudden ſhe fell into the agony of death. *Blanford* was ſent for, to prepare her for it, and to offer her the ſacrament. Before he could come, the Queen came in, and ſat by her. He was

The Ducheſs of *York* died.

1672. modeſt and humble, even to a fault. So he had not preſence of mind enough to begin prayers, which probably would have driven the Queen out of the room. But, that not being done, ſhe pretending kindneſs would not leave her. The Biſhop ſpoke but little and fearfully. He happened to ſay, he hoped ſhe continued ſtill in the truth: Upon which ſhe aſked, what is truth: And then, her agony encreaſing, ſhe repeated the word Truth Truth often: And in a few minutes after ſhe died, very little beloved, or lamented. Her haughtineſs had raiſed her many enemies. She was indeed a firm, and a kind friend: But the change of her religion made her friends reckon her death rather a bleſſing than a loſs at that time to them all. Her father, when he heard of her ſhaking in her religion, was more troubled at it, than at all his own misfortunes. He writ her a very grave and long letter upon it, encloſed in one to the Duke. But ſhe was dead before it came into *England*. I have ſet down all that I know concerning the fatal alliance with *France*, and our preparations for the ſecond Dutch War.

But that I may open the ſcene more diſtinctly, I will give as particular an account as I was able to gather of the affairs of the States of *Holland* at this time. And, becauſe this was the fifth great criſis, under which the whole Proteſtant religion was brought, I will lead my reader thro' a full account of them all; ſince I may probably lay things before him, that he may otherwiſe paſs over, without making due reflections on them.

The firſt criſis of the Proteſtant religion.

The firſt criſis was, when *Charles* V. by the defeating the Duke of *Saxony*, and the getting him and the Landgrave of *Heſſe* into his hands, had ſubdued the *Smalcaldick* league; in which the ſtrength of the Proteſtant religion did then conſiſt, having been weakened by the ſucceeding deaths of *Henry* VIII. and *Francis* I. Upon that defeat all ſubmitted to the Emperor: Only the Town of *Magdeburgh* ſtood out. The Emperor ſhould either not have truſted *Maurice*, or have uſed him better: And it ſeems, that he reckoned *Maurice* had neither religion nor honour, ſince his ambition had made him betray his religion, and abandon his party. When *Maurice* had got the Electorate, he made himſelf ſure of the Army; and entred into an alliance with *France*, and other Princes of the Empire; and made ſo quick a turn on the Emperor, that he had almoſt ſurpriſed him at *Inchſpruck*, and of a ſudden overturned all that deſign, upon which the Emperor had been labouring for many years. This ended in the Edict of *Paſſau*, which ſettled the peace of *Germany* for that time.

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The second Crisis was, towards the end of Queen *Mary*'s reign, when the Protestant religion seemed extinguished in *England*; and the two Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Granvell*, then the chief Ministers of the two Crowns, designed a peace for that very end, that their masters might be at leisure to extirpate heresy, which was then spreading in both their dominions. But, after they had formed their scheme, Queen *Mary* died, and was succeeded by Queen *Elizabeth* in *England*. Soon after that the King of *France* was accidentally killed: So that Kingdom fell under a long continuance of a minority, and a civil war. And the *Netherlands* felt from thence, and from *England*, such encouragement, that they made the longest and bravest resistance that is to be found in all history; which was in a great measure owing to the obstinate and implacable cruelty of *Philip* II, and his great distance from the scene of the war; and was past all possibility of being made up, by reason of his perfidious breach of all agreements, and his using those that served him well in so base a manner, as he did both the Duke of *Alva*, and the Prince of *Parma*. 1672. The second Crisis.

The third Crisis lasted from 1585 to the year 1589. Then began the League of *France*. The Prince of *Parma* was victorious in the *Netherlands*. The Prince of *Orange* was murdered. The States fell under great distractions. And *Spain* entered into a design of dethroning the Queen of *England*, and putting the Queen of *Scots* in her stead. In order to that they were for some years preparing the greatest fleet that the world had ever seen, which came to be called the Invincible Armada. All *Europe* was amazed at these great preparations: And many conjectures were made concerning the design of such a vast fleet. Some thought of *Constantinople*. Others talked of *Ægypt*, in conjunction with the Emperor of the *Abissens*. But that which was most probable was, that King *Philip* intended to make a great effort, and put an end to the war of the *Netherlands* in one campaign. At last the true intent of it was found out. *Walsingham*'s chief spies were Priests: As he used always to say, an active, but vicious, Priest was the best spy in the world. By one of these he had advice, that the King of *Spain* had fixed on a resolution with relation to his fleet; but that it was not yet communicated to any of his Ministers in foreign Courts. The King himself had indeed writ a letter about it to the Pope: But it was not entred in any office: So this was all that the intelligence from *Madrid* could discover. Upon this one was sent to *Venice*, from whence the correspondence with *Rome* was held. And at *Rome* it was found out, that one of the Pope's chief confidents The third Crisis.

1672. confidents had a Miſtriſs, to whom twenty thouſand crowns were given for a ſight and copy of that letter. The copy of it was ſent over ſoon after *Chriſtmaſs*, in the winter 1586. By it the King of *Spain* had acquainted the Pope, that the deſign of his fleet was to land in *England*, to deſtroy Queen *Elizabeth*, and hereſy, and to ſet the Queen of *Scots* on the throne: In this he had the concurrence of the Houſe of *Guiſe:* And he alſo depended on the King of *Scotland*. This proved fatal to the Queen of *Scots*. It is true, King *James* ſent one *Steward*, the anceſtor of the Lord *Blantyre*, who was then of his bedchamber, with an earneſt and threatening meſſage to Queen *Elizabeth* for ſaving his mother. But in one of the intercepted letters of the *French* Ambaſſadours then in *Scotland*, found among *Walſingham*'s papers, it appears, that the King, young as he was then, was either very double, or very inconſtant in his reſolutions. The *French* Ambaſſadour aſſured him, that *Steward* had adviſed the Queen to put a ſpeedy end to that buſineſs, which way ſhe pleaſed; and that as for his maſter's anger, he would ſoon be pacified, if ſhe would but ſend him dogs and deer. The King was ſo offended at this, that he ſaid, he would hang him up in his boots, as ſoon as he came back. Yet when he came back, it was ſo far from that, that he lay all that night in the bedchamber. As for the pompous Embaſſy that was ſent from *France* to proteſt againſt it, *Maurier* has told a very probable ſtory, of *Henry* III, writing a letter with them to the Queen, adviſing her to proceed with all haſte to do that which the Embaſſy was ſent to prevent. He ſaw, the Houſe of *Guiſe* built a great part of their hopes on the proſpect of their couſin's coming to the Crown of *England*, which would cut off all the hopes the Houſe of *Bourbon* had of aſſiſtance from thence. I have ſeen an original letter of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s to the Earl of *Bedford*, who had married his ſiſter, and was then Governour of *Berwick*, telling him, that, how high ſoever the *French* Ambaſſadours had talked in their harangues upon that occaſion, calling any proceeding againſt the Queen of *Scots* an open indignity, as well as an act of hoſtility againſt *France*, ſince ſhe was Queen *Dowager* of *France*; yet all this was only matter of form and decency, that was extorted from the King of *France*; and, how high ſoever they might talk, they were well aſſured he would do nothing upon it. So that unfortunate Queen fell at that time, by reaſon of the *Spaniſh* preparations to conquer *England*, under the pretence of ſetting her on the throne. She died, much more decently than ſhe had lived, in *Febr.* 1587.

But

But the Court of *England* ſaw, that if King *Philip*'s fleet was in a condition to conquer *England*, he would not abandon the deſign for her being put out of the way; and that he certainly intended to conquer it for himſelf, and not for another. So orders were given to make all poſſible haſte with a fleet. Yet they were ſo little provided for ſuch an invaſion, that, tho' they had then twenty good ſhips upon the ſtocks, it was not poſſible to get them in a condition to ſerve that ſummer: And the deſign of *Spain* was to ſail over in 1587. So, unleſs by corruption, or any other method, the attempt could be put off for that year, there was no ſtrength ready to reſiſt ſo powerful a fleet. But, when it ſeemed not poſſible to divert the preſent execution of ſo great a deſign, a merchant of *London* to their ſurpriſe undertook it. He was well acquainted with the ſtate of the revenue of *Spain*, with all their charge, and all that they could raiſe. He knew all their funds were ſo ſwallowed up, that it was impoſſible for them to victual, and ſet out their fleet, but by their credit in the bank of *Genoa*. So he undertook to write to all the places of trade, and to get ſuch remittances made on that bank, that he ſhould by that means have it ſo entirely in his hands, that there ſhould be no money current there, equal to the great occaſion of victualling the fleet of *Spain*. He reckoned, the keeping ſuch a treaſure dead in his hands till the ſeaſon of victualling was over, would be a loſs of 40000 *l.* And at that rate he would ſave *England*. He managed the matter with ſuch ſecrecy, and ſucceſs, that the fleet could not be ſet out that year. At ſo ſmall a price, and with ſo ſkillful a management, was the Nation ſaved at that time. This it ſeems was thought too great a myſtery of State to be communicated to *Cambden*, or to be publiſhed by him, when the inſtructions were put in his hands for writing the hiſtory of that glorious reign. But the famous *Boyle*, Earl of *Cork*, who had then a great ſhare in the affairs of *Ireland*, came to know it; and told it to two of his children, from whom I had it. The ſtory is ſo coherent, and agrees ſo well with the ſtate of affairs at that time, that it ſeems highly credible. And, if it is true, it is certainly one of the curiouſeſt paſſages in our whole *Engliſh* hiſtory. I return from this digreſſion, which I hope will be no unacceptable entertainment to the reader: It is well known, how the deſign of the Armada miſcarried: And ſoon after that the Duke of *Guiſe* was ſtabbed: Not long after *Henry* III. was alſo ſtabbed: And *Henry* IV. ſucceeded, who broke the League, with which the great deſigns of *Spain* fell to the ground. So happily did this third Criſis paſs over.

1672. The *Spaniſh* fleet came not as at firſt intended.

1672. The fourth Criſis was from the battel of *Prague* to the year 1630, in which, as was told in the firſt book, not only the Elector *Palatine* fell, but almoſt all the Empire came under the *Auſtrian* yoke. All attempts to ſhake it off proved unſucceſsful, and fatal to thoſe who undertook it, till the young and great King of *Sweden*, *Guſtavus Adolphus*, engaged in it. The wars of *Rochelle*, together with the loſs of that important place, ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of *France*. *England* fell under thoſe unhappy jealouſies, which began a disjointing between the King and his people. And the States were much preſſed by the *Spaniards* under *Spinola*. *Breda* was taken. But the worſt of all was, a quarrel that was raiſed between Prince *Maurice* and *Barnevelt*, that will require a fuller diſcuſſion, than was offered in the former book. All agree, that *William* Prince of *Orange* was one of the greateſt men in ſtory, who, after many attempts for the recovery of the liberty of the Provinces, was in concluſion ſucceſsful, and formed that Republick. In the doing of it he was guilty of one great error, unleſs he was forced to it by the neceſſity of his affairs; which was the ſettling a negative in every one of the Towns of *Holland*, in the matters of religion, of taxes, and of peace and war. It had been much ſafer, if it had been determined, that the two thirds muſt concur; by which the Government would have been much ſtronger. Some thought, that he brought in ſo many little Towns to balance the greater, of whom he could not be ſure; whereas he could more eaſily manage theſe ſmaller ones. Others have ſaid, that he was forced to it, to draw them to a more hearty concurrence in the war, ſince they were to have ſuch a ſhare in the Government for the future. But, as he ſettled it, the corruption of any one ſmall Town may put all the affairs of *Holland* in great diſorder. He was alſo blamed, becauſe he laboured to raiſe the power of the Stadtholder ſo high, that in many regards it was greater than the power of the Counts of *Holland* had been. But this was balanced by its being made elective, and by the ſmall appointments he took to himſelf. It ſeems, he deſigned to have ſettled that honour in his family: For after his death there were reverſal letters found among his papers from the Duke of *Anjou*, when the Provinces invited him to be their Prince, by which the Duke engaged himſelf to leave *Holland* and *Zealand* in the Prince's hands. Before he died, he had in a great meaſure loſt the affections of the Clergy; becauſe he was very earneſt for the toleration of Papiſts, judging that neceſſary for the engaging men of all perſuaſions in the common concerns of liberty, and for encouraging the other Provinces to come

The fouth Criſis.

come into the union. This was much oppoſed by the preachers in *Holland*, who were for more violent methods. Thoſe, who but a few years before had complained of the cruelty of the Church of *Rome*, were no ſooner delivered from that, than they began to call for the ſame ways of proſecuting thoſe who were of the other ſide. This made that great Prince looſe ground with the zealots of his own ſide before he died. With him all their affairs ſunk ſo faſt, that they ſaw the neceſſity of ſeeking protection elſewhere. Their Miniſters did of themſelves, without the concurrence of the States, ſend to Queen *Elizabeth*, to deſire her to take them under her protection, on ſuch terms as ſhe ſhould preſcribe. And, tho' the States were highly offended at this, yet they durſt not at that time complain of it, much leſs puniſh it; but were forced by the clamour of their people to follow an example that was ſo irregularly ſet them. This I had from *Halewyn* of *Dort*, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to write afterwards. When the Queen ſent over the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with a new title, and an authority greater than was either in the Counts of *Holland*, or in the Stadtholder, by the name of Supreme Governour: He as ſoon as he landed at *Fluſhing* went firſt to Church, where he ordered prayers to be offered up for a bleſſing on his counſels, and deſired that he might receive the Sacrament next day: And there he made ſolemn proteſtations of his integrity and zeal. This pleaſed the people ſo much, that *Barnevelt*, and the States at the *Hague*, thought it neceſſary to ſecure themſelves from the effects of ſuch a threatning popularity: So they ſent for the Count, afterwards Prince, *Maurice*, who was then at *Leyden*, not yet eighteen, and choſe him Stadtholder of *Holland* and *Zealand*. There had been no proviſion made againſt that in their treaty with the Earl of *Leiceſter*. Yet he was highly offended at it. I will go no farther into the errors of his government, and the end that the Queen put to it; which ſhe did, as ſoon as it appeared that he was incapable of it, and was beginning to betray, and to ſell their beſt places. 1672.

Differences between Prince *Maurice* of *Orange* and *Barneveld*.

Prince *Maurice* and *Barnevelt* continued long in a perfect conjunction of counſels: Till upon the negotiation for a peace, or at leaſt for a truce, they differed ſo much, that their friendſhip ended in a moſt violent hatred, and a jealouſy that could never be made up. Prince *Maurice* was for carrying on the war, which ſet him at the head of a great army. And he had ſo great an intereſt in the conqueſts they made, that for that very reaſon *Barnevelt* infuſed it into the States, that they were now ſafe, and needed not fear the *Spaniards* any more; ſo there

was

1672. was no reaſon for continuing the war. Prince *Maurice* on the other hand ſaid, their perſecuted brethren in the Popiſh Provinces wanted their help to ſet them at liberty. The work ſeemed very eaſy, and the proſpect of ſucceſs was great. In oppoſition to this it was ſaid; ſince the ſeven Provinces were now ſafe, why ſhould they extend their territories? Thoſe who loved their religion and liberty in the other Provinces might come and live among them: This would encreaſe both their numbers, and their wealth: Whereas the conqueſt of *Antwerp* might prove fatal to them: Beſides, that both *France* and *England* interpoſed: They would not allow them to conquer more, nor become more formidable. All the zealous preachers were for continuing the war: And thoſe that were for peace were branded as men of no religion, who had only carnal and political views. While this was in debate every where, the diſputes began between *Arminius* and *Gomarus*, two famous Profeſſors at *Leyden*, concerning the decrees of God, and the efficacy of grace; in which thoſe two great men, *Maurice* and *Barnevelt*, went upon intereſt, to lead the two parties, from which they both differed in opinion. Prince *Maurice* in private always talked on the ſide of the *Arminians:* And *Barnevelt* believed predeſtination firmly. But, as he left reprobation out in his ſcheme, ſo he was againſt the unreaſonable ſeverity with which the Miniſters drove thoſe points. He found the *Arminians* were the better patriots: And he thought the other ſide out of their zeal were engaged for carrying on the war, ſo as that they called all the others indifferent as to all religions, and charged them as favourers of *Spain* and Popery. I will go no farther into the differences that followed, concerning the authority of the States General over the ſeveral Provinces. It is certain, that every Province is a ſeparated State, and has an entire ſovereignty within it ſelf; and that the States General are an aſſembly of the deputies of the ſeveral Provinces, but without any authority over them. Yet it was pretended, that extraordinary diſeaſes required extraordinary remedies: And Prince *Maurice*, by the aſſiſtance of a party that the Miniſters made for him among the people, engaged the States to aſſume an authority over the Province of *Holland*, and to put the Government in new hands. A Court was erected by the ſame authority, to judge thoſe who had been formerly in the magiſtracy. *Barnevelt* was accuſed, together with *Grotius*, and ſome others, as fomenters of ſedition, and for raiſing diſtractions in the country. He was condemned, and beheaded. Others were condemned to perpetual impriſonment. And every one of the Judges had a great gold medal given them, in the reverſe of which the Synod of

Dort

Dort was repreſented, which was called by the ſame authority. 1672.
I ſaw one of thoſe medals in the poſſeſſion of the poſterity of one of thoſe Judges. King *James* aſſiſted Prince *Maurice* in all this: So powerfully do the intereſts of Princes carry them to concur in things that are moſt contrary to their own inclinations. The prevailing paſſion of that King was his hatred of the *Puritans:* That made him hate theſe opinions into which they went with great heat: And, tho' he encouraged all that were of the *Arminian* party in his own dominions, yet he helped to cruſh them in *Holland:* He hated *Barnevelt* upon another ſcore; for his getting the cautionary towns out of his hands: And, according to the nature of impotent paſſions, this carried him to procure his ruine. After this victory that Prince *Maurice* had got over the party that oppoſed him, he did not ſtudy to carry it much farther. He found quickly how much he had loſt the hearts of the people, who had before that time made him their idol, and now look'd at him with horrour. He ſtudied to make up matters the beſt he could, that he might engage the States in the *Bohemian* war. But all that was ſoon at an end. It was plain, that he had no deſign upon their liberty: Tho' he could not bear the oppoſition that he began to meet with from a free State.

His death put an end to all jealouſies: And his brother Prince *Henry Frederick* quickly ſettled the diſputes of *Arminianiſm*, by the toleration that was granted them. He was known to be a ſecret favourer of their tenets: He conducted the Armies of the States with ſo much ſucceſs, and left them ſo much at liberty as to all their ſtate affairs, that all the jealouſies which his brother's conduct had raiſed, were quite extinguiſhed by him. The States made him great preſents. He became very rich. And his ſon had the ſurvivance of the Stadtholderſhip. But his ſon had more of his uncle's fire in him, than of his father's temper. He oppoſed the peace of *Munſter* all he could. The States came then to ſee, that they had continued too long in their alliance with *France* againſt *Spain*, ſince *France* had got the aſcendant by too viſible a ſuperiority. So that their intereſt led them now to ſupport *Spain* againſt *France*. Prince *William* fell to be in ill terms with his mother. And ſhe, who had great credit with the States, ſet up ſuch an open oppoſition to her ſon, that the peace of *Munſter* was in a great meaſure the effect of their private quarrel. Prince *William*, being married into the Royal family of *England*, did all he could to embroil the States with the new Common-wealth. But he met with ſuch oppoſition, that, he, finding the States were reſolved to diſmiſs a great part of their

Prince *Henry Frederick's* wife goes to government.

His ſon's heat.

1672 Army, ſuffered himſelf to be carried to violent counſels. I need not enlarge on things that are ſo well known, as his ſending ſome of the States priſoners to *Loveſtein*, and his deſign to change the government of *Amſterdam*; which was diſcovered by the poſt-boy, who gave the alarm a few hours before the Prince could get thither.

Theſe things, and the effects that followed on them, are well known: As is alſo his death which followed a few weeks after, in the moſt unhappy time poſſible for the Princeſs Royal's big-belly. For as ſhe bore her ſon a week after his death, in the eighth month of her time, ſo he came into the world under great diſadvantages. The States were poſſeſſed with great jealouſies of the family; as if the aſpiring to ſubdue the liberties of their country was inherent in it, and inſeparable from it. His private affairs were alſo in a very bad condition: Two great jointures went out of his eſtate, to his mother, and grandmother, beſides a vaſt debt that his father had contracted to aſſiſt the King. Who could have thought that an infant, brought into the world with ſo much ill health, and under ſo many ill circumſtances, was born for the preſervation of *Europe*, and of the Proteſtant religion? So unlike do the events of things prove to their firſt appearances. And, ſince I am writing of his birth, I will ſet down a ſtory, much to the honour of aſtrology, how little regard ſoever I my ſelf have to it. I had it from the late Queen's own mouth: And ſhe directed me to ſome who were of the Prince's Court in that time, who confirmed it to me. An unknown perſon put a paper in the old Princeſs's hands, which ſhe took from him, thinking it was a petition. When ſhe looked into it, ſhe found it was her ſon's nativity, together with the fortunes of his life, and a full deduction of many accidents, which followed very punctually, as they were predicted. But that which was moſt particular was, that he was to have a ſon by a widow, and was to die of the ſmall pox in the twenty fifth year of his age. So thoſe who were apt to give credit to predictions of that ſort fancied, that the Princeſs Royal was to die; and that he was upon that to marry the widow of ſome other perſon. It was a common piece of raillery in the Court, upon the death of any Prince, to aſk what a perſon his widow was. But when he was taken ill of the ſmall pox, then the decyphering the matter was obvious, and it ſtruck his fancy ſo much, that probably it had an ill effect upon him. Thus was the young Prince born; who was ſome years after barred by the Perpetual Edict, from all hopes of arriving at the Stadtholderſhip.

The

The chief error in *De Wit*'s adminiſtration was, that he did not again raiſe the authority of the Council of State; ſince it was very inconvenient to have both the legiſlature and the execution in the ſame hands. It ſeemed neceſſary to put the conduct of affairs in a body of men, that ſhould indeed be accountable to the States, but ſhould be bred to buſineſs. By this means their counſels might be both quick and ſecret; whereas, when all is to be determined by the States, they can have no ſecrets: And they muſt adjourn often to conſult their principals: So their proceedings muſt be ſlow. During *De Wit*'s Miniſtry, the Council of State was ſo ſunk, that it was conſidered only as one of the forms of the government. But the whole execution was brought to the States themſelves. Certainly a great aſſembly is a very improper ſubject of the executive part of power. It is indeed very proper, that ſuch a body ſhould be a check on thoſe, who have the executive power truſted to them. It is true, *De Wit* found it ſo; which was occaſioned by reaſon of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's being once admitted to ſit in that Council. They pretended, indeed, that it was only on the account of the cautionary towns; which moved the States to give *England* a right to ſome ſhare in their counſels. After theſe were reſtored, they did not think it decent to diſpute the right of the Ambaſſador's ſitting any more there. But the eaſier way was, the making that Council to ſignify nothing, and to bring all matters immediately to the States. It had been happy for *De Wit* himſelf, and his country, if he had made uſe of the credit he had in the great turn upon Prince *William*'s death, to have brought things back to the State in which they had been anciently; ſince the eſtabliſhed errors of a conſtitution and government can only be changed in a great revolution. He ſet up on a popular bottom: And ſo he was not only contented to ſuffer matters to go on in the channel in which he found them; but in many things he gave way to the raiſing the ſeparated juriſdiction of the towns, and to the leſſening the authority of the Courts at the *Hague*. This raiſed his credit, but weakened the union of the Provinces. The ſecret of all affairs, chiefly the foreign negotiations, lay in few hands. Others, who were not taken into the confidence, threw all miſcarriages on him; which was fatal to him. The reputation he had got in the war with *England*, and the happy concluſion of it, broke a party that was then formed againſt him. After that he dictated to the States: And all ſubmitted to him. The concluding the Triple Alliance in ſo ſhort a time, and againſt the forms of their government, ſhewed, how ſure he was of a general concurrence with every thing that he propoſed.

1672. The errors of *De Wit*'s government.

In

1672. In the negotiations between the States, and *France*, and *England*, he fell into great errors. He ſtill fancied that the King of *England* muſt ſee his own intereſt ſo viſibly in the exaltation of the Prince of *Orange*, that he reckoned that the worſt that could happen was, to raiſe him to the truſt of Stadtholder; ſince *England* could not gain ſo much by a conjunction with *France*, as by the King's having ſuch an intereſt in their government, as he muſt certainly come to have, when his nephew ſhould be their Stadtholder. So he thought, he had a ſure reſerve to gain *England* at any time over to them. But he had no apprehenſion of the King's being a Papiſt, and his deſign to make himſelf abſolute at home. And he was amazed to find, that, tho' the Court of *England* had talked much of that matter of the Prince of *Orange* when the States were in no diſpoſition to hearken to it, and ſo uſed it as a reproach or a ground of a quarrel, yet when it came more in view, they took no ſort of notice of it, and ſeemed not only cold, but even diſpleaſed with it. The Prince, as his natural reſervedneſs ſaved him from committing many errors, ſo his gravity, and other vertues recommended him much to the Miniſters, and to the body of the people. The family of *De Wit*, and the town of *Amſterdam*, carried ſtill the remembrance of what was paſs'd freſh in their thoughts. They ſet it alſo up for a maxim, that the making of a Stadtholder was the giving up their liberty, and that the conſequence of it would be the putting the ſovereignty of their country in him, or at leaſt in his family. The long continuance of a Miniſtry in one perſon, and that to ſo high a degree, muſt naturally raiſe envy, and beget diſcontent, eſpecially in a popular government. This made many become *De Wit*'s enemies, and by conſequence the Prince's friends. And the Preachers employed all their zeal to raiſe the reſpect of the people for a family, under which they had been ſo long eaſy and happy.

The Prince of *Orange* made General.

When the Prince was of full age, it was propoſed in ſo many places that he ſhould have the ſupream command of their armies and fleets, that *De Wit* ſaw the tide was too ſtrong to be reſiſted. So, after he had oppoſed it long, he propoſed ſome limitations, that ſhould be ſettled previous to his advancement. The hardeſt of all was, that he ſhould bind himſelf by oath never to pretend to be Stadtholder, nor ſo much as to accept of it, tho' it ſhould be offered him. Theſe conditions were not of an eaſy digeſtion. Yet, it was thought neceſſary, that the Prince ſhould be once at the head of their armies: That would create a great dependance on him: And if God bleſs'd him with ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, it would not be poſſible to keep him ſo low, as theſe limitations laid him: And the obligation never to accept of the Stadtholderſhip could only be meant of his not accepting the offer from any tumultuary bodies of the populace, or the army; but could not be a reſtraint on him, if the States ſhould make the offer, ſince his oath was made to them, and by conſequence it was in their power to releaſe the obligation that did ariſe from it to themſelves. The Court of *England* blamed him for ſubmitting to ſuch conditions. But he had no reaſon to rely much on the advices of thoſe, who had taken ſo little care of him during all the credit they had with the States, while the Triple Alliance gave them a great intereſt in their affairs. As ſoon as he was brought into the command of the armies, he told me, he ſpoke to *De Wit*, and deſired to live in an entire confidence with him. His anſwer was cold: So he ſaw that he could not depend upon him. When he told me this, he added, that he was certainly one of the greateſt men of the age, and he believed he ſerved his country faithfully. *De Wit* reckoned, that the *French* could not come to *Holland* but by the *Maeſe*. And he had taken great care of the garriſon of *Maſtricht*; but very little of thoſe that lay on the *Rhine* and the *Iſel*, where the States had many places, but none of them good. They were ill fortified, and ill ſupplied. But moſt of them were worſe commanded, by men of no courage, nor practice in military affairs, who conſidered their governments as places, of which they were to make all the advantage that they could. 1672.

Now I come to give an account of the fifth Criſis brought on the whole Reformation, which has been of the longeſt continuance, ſince we are yet in the agitations of it. The deſign was firſt laid againſt the States. But the method of invading them was ſurprizing, and not look'd for. The Elector of *Colen* was all his life long a very weak man: Yet it was not thought that he could have been prevailed on to put the *French* in poſſeſſion of his country, and to deliver himſelf with all his dominions over into their hands. When he did that, all upon the *Rhine* were ſtruck with ſuch a conſternation, that there was no ſpirit nor courage left. It is true, they could not have made a great reſiſtance. Yet if they had but gained a little time, that had given the States ſome leiſure to look round them, to ſee what was to be done. The fifth Criſis.

The King of *France* came down to *Utrecht*, like a land flood. This ſtruck the *Dutch* with ſo juſt a terror, that nothing but great errors in his management could have kept them from delivering themſelves entirely up to him. Never was more applauſe given with leſs reaſon than the King of *France* had upon The *French* ſucceſs.

1672. this campaign. His ſucceſs was owing rather to *De Wit*'s errors, than to his own conduct. There was ſo little heart or judgment ſhewn in the management of that run of ſucceſs, that, when that year is ſet out, as it may well be, it will appear to be one of the leaſt glorious of his life; tho', when ſeen in a falſe light, it appears one of the moſt glorious in hiſtory. The conqueſt of the *Netherlands* at that time might have been ſo eaſily compaſſed, that, if his underſtanding and his courage had not been equally defective, he could not have miſcarried in it. When his army paſs'd the *Rhine*, upon which ſo much eloquence and poetry have been beſtowed, as if all had been animated by his preſence and direction, he was viewing it at a very ſafe diſtance. When he came to *Utrecht*, he had neither the Prince of *Conde*, nor Mr. *Turenne* to adviſe with: And he was wholly left to his Miniſters. The Prince of *Conde* was ſlightly wounded, as he paſſed the *Rhine:* And *Turenne* was ſent againſt the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who was coming down with his army, partly to ſave his own country of *Cleve*, but chiefly to aſſiſt his allies the *Dutch*. So the King had none about him to adviſe with, but *Pompone* and *Louvoy*, when the *Dutch* ſent to him to know what he demanded. *Pompone*'s advice was wiſe and moderate, and would in concluſion have brought about all that he intended. He propoſed, that the King ſhould reſtore all that belonged to the ſeven Provinces, and require of them only the places that they had without them; chiefly *Maſtricht*, *Bois Le Duc*, *Breda*, and *Bergen-op-zoom:* Thus the King would maintain an appearance of preſerving the ſeven Provinces entire, which the Crown of *France* had always protected. To this certainly the *Dutch* would have yielded, without any difficulty. By this he had the *Spaniſh Netherlands* entirely in his power, ſeparated from *Holland* and the Empire; and might have taken them, whenſoever he pleaſed. This would have an appearance of moderation, and would ſtop the motion that all *Germany* was now in; which could have no effect, if the States did not pay and ſubſiſt the troops. *Louvoy* on the other hand propoſed, that the King ſhould make uſe of the conſternation the *Dutch* were then in, and put them out of a condition of oppoſing him for the future. He therefore adviſed, that the King ſhould demand of them, beſides all that *Pompone* moved, the paying a vaſt ſum for the charge of that campaign; the giving the chief Church in every town for the exerciſe of the Popiſh religion; and that they ſhould put themſelves under the protection of *France*; and ſhould ſend an Embaſſador every year with a medal acknowledging it; and ſhould enter into no treaties, or alliances, but by the directions

But followed by an ill management.

of

of *France*. The *Dutch* Embaſſadors were amazed, when they ſaw that the demands roſe to ſo extravagant a pitch. One of them ſwooned away, when he heard them read: He could neither think of yielding to them, nor ſee how they could reſiſt them. There was an article put in for form, that they ſhould give the King of *England* full ſatisfaction. But all the other demands were made without any concert with *England*, tho' *Lockhart* was then following the Court. 1672.

I ſay nothing of the ſea fight in *Solbay*, in which *De Ruyter* had the glory of ſurprizing the *Engliſh* fleet, when they were thinking leſs of engaging the enemy, than of an extravagant preparation for the uſual diſorders of the twenty ninth of *May:* Which he prevented, engaging them on the twenty eighth, in one of the moſt obſtinate ſea fights that has happened in our age; in which the *French* took more care of themſelves than became gallant men, unleſs they had orders to look on, and leave the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* to fight it out, while they preſerved the force of *France* entire. *De Ruyter* diſabled the ſhip in which the Duke was, whom ſome blamed for leaving his ſhip too ſoon. Then his perſonal courage began firſt to be called in queſtion. The Admiral of the blue ſquadron was burnt by a fire-ſhip, after a long engagement with a *Dutch* ſhip much inferior to him in ſtrength. In it the Earl of *Sandwich* periſhed with a great many about him, who would not leave him, as he would not leave his ſhip, by a piece of obſtinate courage, to which he was provoked by an indecent reflection the Duke made on an advice he had offered, of drawing nearer the ſhore, and avoiding an engagement, as if in that he took more care of himſelf than of the King's honour. The Duke of *Buckingham* came aboard the fleet; tho' it was obſerved, that he made great haſte away, when he heard the *Dutch* fleet was in view. The Duke told me, that he ſaid to him, ſince they might engage the enemy quickly, he intended to make ſure of another world: So he deſired to know who was the Duke's Prieſt, that he might reconcile himſelf to the Church. The Duke told him, *Talbot* would help him to a Prieſt. And he brought one to him. They were for ſome time ſhut up together. And the Prieſt ſaid, he had reconciled him according to their form. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had no religion at heart, did this only to recommend himſelf to the Duke's confidence.

It may be eaſily imagined, that all things were at this time in great diſorder at the *Hague*. The *French* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Naerden:* And a party had entred into *Muyden*, who had the keys of the gates brought to them. But they, ſeeing it was an inconſiderable place, not knowing the importance of it, by the command

The *Dutch* in great extremities.

1672. command of the water that could drown all to *Amſterdam*, flung the keys into the ditch, and went back to *Naerden*. But when the conſequence of the place was underſtood, another party was ſent to ſecure it. But before their return two battalions were ſent from the Prince of *Orange*, who ſecured the place; and by that means preſerved *Amſterdam*, where all were trembling, and thought of nothing but of treating and ſubmiſſion. The States were very near the extremities of deſpair. They had not only loſt many places, but all their garriſons in them. *Guelder*, *Overyſſel*, and *Utrecht*, were quite loſt: And the Biſhop of *Munſter* was making a formidable impreſſion on *Groninghen*, and at laſt beſieged it. All theſe misfortunes came ſo thick one after another, that no ſpirit was left. And, to compleat their ruine, a jealouſy was ſpread thro' all *Holland*, that they were betrayed by thoſe who were in the government; and that *De Wit* intended, all ſhould periſh, rather than the family of *Orange* ſhould be ſet up. *Mombas*, one of their Generals, who married *De Groot*'s ſiſter, had baſely abandoned his poſt, which was to defend the *Rhine* where the *French* paſſed it: And when he was put in arreſt for that, he made his eſcape, and went to the *French* for ſanctuary. Upon this the people complained loudly: And the States were ſo puzzled, that their hearts quite failed them. When they were aſſembled, they looked on one another like men amazed; ſometimes all in tears. Once the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador came, and demanded audience. And when he was brought in, he told them, that out of the affection that he bore them, and the union of his Maſter's intereſt with theirs, he came to blame their conduct: They looked ſad: They never appeared in the *Vorhaut* in their coaches: And upon all occaſions they looked like men deſpairing of their country: This quite diſheartened their people: Therefore he adviſed them to put on another countenance, to publiſh that they had good news, that their allies were in march; and to feed their people with probable ſtories, and ſo to keep up their ſpirits. They thought the advice was ſeaſonable, and followed it.

Embaſſadors ſent to *England*.

They ſent two Embaſſadors, *Dycvelt* and *Halewyn*, to join with *Borel*, who was ſtill in *England* to try if it was poſſible to divide *England* from *France*. And the morning in which they were diſpatch'd away, they had ſecret powers given them to treat concerning the Prince of *Orange*'s being their Stadtholder: For Lord *Arlington* had ſo oft reproached *Borel* for their not doing it, that he in all his letters continued ſtill to preſs that on them. When they came over, they were for form's ſake put under a guard. Yet *Borel* was ſuffered to come to them; and was tranſported with joy, when they told him what powers they had

had in that affair of the Prince. And immediately he went to Lord *Arlington*: But came ſoon back, like one amazed, when he found that no regard was had to that, which he had hoped would have entirely gained the Court. But he was a plain man, and had no great depth. The others were ſent to *Hampton* Court; and were told, that the King would not treat ſeparately, but would ſend over Embaſſadors to treat at *Utrecht*. They met ſecretly with many in *England*, and informed themſelves by them of the ſtate of the Nation. They gave money liberally, and gained ſome in the chief offices to give them intelligence. The Court underſtanding that they were not idle, and that the Nation was much inflamed, ſince all the offers that they made were rejected, commanded them to go back. The Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Arlington* were ordered to go to *Utrecht*. And, to give the Nation ſome ſatisfaction, Lord *Halliſax* was ſent over afterwards. But he was not put on the ſecret. The *Dutch*, hearing that their Embaſſadors were coming over without making peace with *England*, ran together in great numbers to *Maeſland* ſluce, and reſolved to cut them in pieces at their landing; for they heard they were at the *Brill*. But, as they were croſſing the *Maes*, a little boat met them, and told them of their danger, and adviſed them to land at another place, where coaches were ſtaying to carry them to the *Hague*. So they miſſed the ſtorm, that broke out fatally at the *Hague* the next day, where mens minds were in great agitation. 1672.

De Wit was once at night going home from the States, when four perſons ſet on him to murder him. He ſhewed on that occaſion both an intrepid courage, and a great preſence of mind. He was wounded in ſeveral places. Yet he got out of their hands. One of them was taken, and condemned for it. All *De Wit*'s friends preſſed him to ſave his life. But he thought, that ſuch an attempt on a man in his poſt was a crime not to be pardoned; tho', as to his own part in the matter, he very freely forgave it. The young man confeſſed his crime, and repented of it: And proteſted he was led to it by no other conſideration, but that of zeal for his country and religion, which he thought were betrayed. And he died as in a rapture of devotion, which made great impreſſion on the ſpectators. At the ſame time a Barber accuſed *De Wit*'s elder brother of a practice on him, in order to his murdering the Prince. There were ſo many improbabilities in his ſtory, which was ſupported by no circumſtances, that it ſeemed no way credible. Yet *Cornelius de Wit* was put to the torture on it, but ſtood firm to his innocence. The ſentence was accommodated rather to the ſtate of affairs, than to the The tragical end of *De Wit*.

1672. ſtrict rules of juſtice. In the mean time, while his brother had reſigned his charge of Penſionary, and was made one of the Judges of the High Court, *Cornelius De Wit* was baniſhed; which was intended rather as a ſending him out of the way, than as a ſentence againſt him. I love not to deſcribe ſcenes of horror, as was that black and infamous one committed on the two brothers. I can add little to what has been ſo often printed. *De Wit*'s going in his own coach to carry his brother out of town was a great error: And looked like a triumph over a ſentence, which was unbecoming the character of a Judge. Some furious agitators, who pretended zeal for the Prince, gathered the rabble together. And by that vile action that followed they did him more hurt, than they were ever able to repair. His enemies have taken advantages from thence to caſt the infamy of this on him, and on his party, to make them all odious; tho' the Prince ſpoke of it always to me with the greateſt horror poſſible. The Miniſters in *Holland* did upon this occaſion ſhew a very particular violence. In their ſermons, and in ſome printed treaties, they charged the Judges with corruption, who had carried the ſentence no farther than to baniſhment: And compared the fate of the *De Wits* to *Haman*'s.

The Prince of *Orange* made Stadtholder.

I need not relate the great change of the Magiſtracy in all the Provinces; the repealing the Perpetual Edict; and the advancing the Prince of *Orange* to be Stadtholder, after they had voided the obligation of the oath he had taken, about which he took ſome time to deliberate. Both Lawyers and Divines agreed, that thoſe to whom he had made that oath releaſing the obligation of it, he was no longer bound by it. The States gave him, for that time, the full power of peace and war. All this was carried farther by the town of *Amſterdam*; for they ſent a deputation to him, offering him the ſovereignty of their town. When he was pleaſed to tell me this paſſage, he ſaid, he knew the reaſon for which they made it was, becauſe they thought all was loſt: And they choſe to have the infamy of their loſs fall on him, rather than on themſelves. He added, that he was ſure the country could not bear a ſovereign; and that they would contribute more to the war, when it was in order to the preſerving their own liberty, than for any Prince whatſoever. So he told them, that, without taking any time to conſult on the anſwer to be made to ſo great an offer, he did immediately refuſe it. He was fully ſatisfied with the power already lodged with him, and would never endeavour to carry it any farther.

The Prince's advancement gave a new life to the whole country. He, tho' then very young, and little acquainted with the

affairs of State or War, did apply himſelf ſo to both, that, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſtate in which he found matters, he neither loſt heart, nor committed errors. The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Arlington* tried to bring the King of *France* to offer them better terms; but in vain. That Prince was ſo lifted up, that he ſeemed to conſider the King very little. While he was ſo high on the one hand, and the Prince of *Orange* ſo ſteddy on the other, the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors ſoon ſaw, that all the offices they could do were ineffectual. One day the Prince (who told me this himſelf) was arguing with them upon the King's conduct, as the moſt unaccountable thing poſſible, who was contributing ſo much to the exaltation of *France*, which muſt prove in concluſion fatal to himſelf; and was urging this in ſeveral particulars. The Duke of *Buckingham* broke out in an oath, which was his uſual ſtyle, and ſaid, he was in the right; and ſo offered to ſign a peace immediately with the Prince. Lord *Arlington* ſeemed amazed at his raſhneſs. Yet he perſiſted in it, and ſaid poſitively he would do it. The Prince upon that, not knowing what ſecret powers he might have, ordered the articles to be engroſſed. And he believed, if he could poſſibly have got them ready while he was with him, that he would have ſigned them. They were ready by next morning: But by that time he had changed his mind. That Duke at parting preſſed him much to put himſelf wholly in the King's hands; and aſſured him he would take care of his affairs, as of his own. The Prince cut him ſhort: He ſaid, his country had truſted him, and he would never deceive, nor betray them for any baſe ends of his own. The Duke anſwered, he was not to think any more of his country, for it was loſt: If it ſhould weather out the ſummer, by reaſon of the waters that had drowned a great part of it, the winter's froſt would lay them open: And he repeated the words often, do not you ſee it is loſt? The Prince's anſwer deſerves to be remembred: He ſaid, he ſaw it was indeed in great danger: But there was a ſure way never to ſee it loſt, and that was to die in the laſt ditch. 1672.

The *Engliſh* Embaſſadors were wholly in the intereſt of *France*.

The perſon that the Prince relied on chiefly, as to the affairs of *Holland*, was *Fagel*: A man very learned in the law, who had a quick apprehenſion, and a clear and ready judgment. He had a copious eloquence, more popular than correct: And was fit to carry matters with a torrent in a numerous aſſembly. *De Wit* had made great uſe of him; for he joined with him very zealouſly in the carrying the Perpetual Edict, which he negotiated with the States of *Frizeland*, who oppoſed it moſt: And he was made Greffier, or Secretary to the States General, which

The character of *Fagel*.

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1672. is the moſt beneficial place in *Holland*. He was a pious, and vertuous man: Only he was too eager, and violent. He was too apt to flatter himſelf. He had much heart, when matters went well; but had not the courage that became a great Miniſter on uneaſy and difficult occaſions.

Prince *Waldeck.* Prince *Waldeck* was their Chief General: A man of a great compaſs, and a true judgment; equally able in the cabinet, and in the camp. But he was always unſucceſsful, becauſe he was never furniſhed according to the ſchemes that he had laid down. The opinion that Armies had of him, as an unfortunate General, made him really ſo: For ſoldiers cannot have much heart, when they have not an entire confidence in him that has the chief command.

Dickvelt. *Dickvelt* on his return from *England*, ſeeing the ruine of the *De Wits*, with whom he was formerly united, and the progreſs the *French* had made in *Utrecht*, where his eſtate and intereſt lay, deſpaired too ſoon; and went and lived under them. Yet he did great ſervice to his Province. Upon every violation of articles, he went and demanded juſtice, and made proteſtations with a boldneſs, to which the *French* were ſo little accuſtomed, that they were amazed at it. Upon the *French* leaving *Utrecht*, and on the re-eſtabliſhing that Province he was left out of the Government. Yet his great abilities, and the inſinuating ſmoothneſs of his temper, procured him ſo many friends, that the Prince was prevailed on to receive him into his confidence: And he had a great ſhare of it to the laſt, as he well deſerved it. He had a very perfect knowledge of all the affairs of *Europe*, and great practice in many Embaſſies. He ſpoke too long, and with too much vehemence. He was in his private deportment a vertuous and religious man, and a zealous Proteſtant. In the adminiſtration of his Province, which was chiefly truſted to him, there were great complaints of partiality, and of a defective juſtice.

And *Halewyn.* *Halewyn*, a man of great intereſt in the town of *Dort*, and one of the Judges in the Court of *Holland*, was the perſon of them all whom I knew beſt, and valued moſt: And was the next to *Fagel* in the Prince's confidence. He had a great compaſs of learning, beſides his own profeſſion, in which he was very eminent. He had ſtudied divinity with great exactneſs; and was well read in all hiſtory, but moſt particularly in the *Greek* and *Roman* authors. He was a man of great vivacity: He apprehended things ſoon, and judged very correctly. He ſpoke ſhort, but with life. He had a courage and vigour in his counſels, that became one who had formed himſelf upon the beſt models in the

the ancient authors. He was a man of ſevere morals. And as he had great credit in the Court where he ſate, ſo he took care that the partialities of friendſhip ſhould not mix in the adminiſtration of juſtice. He had in him all the beſt notions of a great patriot, and a true Chriſtian philoſopher. He was brought in very early to the ſecret of affairs, and went into the buſineſs of the Perpetual Edict very zealouſly. Yet he quickly ſaw the error of bringing matters of State immediately into numerous aſſemblies. He conſidered the States maintaining in themſelves the ſovereign power, as the baſis upon which the liberty of their country was built. But he thought, the adminiſtration of the government muſt be lodged in a Council. He thought it a great misfortune, that the Prince was ſo young at his firſt exaltation; and ſo poſſeſſed with military matters, to which the extremity of their affairs required that he ſhould be entirely applied, that he did not then correct that error, which could only be done upon ſo extraordinary a conjuncture. He ſaw the great error of *De Wit*'s miniſtry, of keeping the ſecret of affairs ſo much in his own hands. Such a precedent was very dangerous to publick liberty, when it was in the power of one man to give up his country. Their people could not bear the lodging ſo great a truſt with one, who had no diſtinction of birth or rank. Yet he ſaw it was neceſſary to have ſuch an authority, as *De Wit*'s merits and ſucceſs had procured him, lodged ſome where. The factions and animoſities, that were in almoſt all their towns, made it as neceſſary for their good government at home, as it was for the command of their armies abroad, to have this power truſted to a perſon of that eminence of birth and rank, that he might be above the envy that is always among equals, when any one of them is raiſed to a diſproportioned degree of greatneſs above the reſt. He obſerved ſome errors that were in the Prince's conduct. But after all, he ſaid, it was viſible that he was always in the true intereſt of his country: So that the keeping up a faction againſt him was like to prove fatal to all *Europe*, as well as to themſelves. 1672.

The greateſt misfortune in the Prince's affairs was, that the wiſeſt, and the moſt conſiderable men in their towns, that had been acquainted with the conduct of affairs formerly, were now under a cloud, and were either turned out of the Magiſtracy, or thought it convenient to retire from buſineſs. And many hot, but poor men, who had ſignalized their zeal in the turn newly made, came to be called the Prince's friends, and to be put every where in the Magiſtracy. They quickly loſt all credit, having little diſcretion, and no authority. They were very

The Prince ſtudied to correct the errors he fell in at firſt.

1672. partial in the government, and oppreſſive, chiefly of thoſe of the other ſide. The Prince ſaw this ſooner than he could find a remedy for it. But by degrees the men of the other ſide came into his intereſt; and promiſed to ſerve him faithfully, in order to the driving out the *French*, and the ſaving their country. The chief of thoſe were *Halewyn* of *Dort*, *Pats* of *Rotterdam*, and *Van Beuning* of *Amſterdam*.

Van Beuning's character.

The laſt of theſe was ſo well known, both in *France* and *England*, and had ſo great credit in his own town, that he deſerves to be more particularly ſet out. He was a man of great notions. He had a wonderful vivacity, but too much levity in his thoughts. His temper was inconſtant; firm, and poſitive for a while; but apt to change, from a giddineſs of mind, rather than from any falſehood in his nature. He broke twice with the Prince, after he came into a confidence with him. He employed me to reconcile him to him for the third time: But the Prince ſaid, he could not truſt him any more. He had great knowledge in all ſciences, and had ſuch a copiouſneſs of invention, with ſuch a pleaſantneſs, as well as a variety, of converſation, that I have often compared him to the Duke of *Buckingham:* Only he was vertuous, and devout; much in the enthuſiaſtical way. In the end of his days he ſet himſelf wholly to mind the *Eaſt India* trade. But that was an employment not ſo well ſuited to his natural genius. And it ended fatally: For, the actions ſinking on the ſudden on the breaking out of a new war, that ſunk him into a melancholly, which quite diſtracted him. The town of *Amſterdam* was for many years conducted by him as by a dictator. And that had expoſed them to as many errors, as the irregularity of his notions ſuggeſted. The breaking the *Weſt India* company, and the loſs of *Munſter* in the year 1658, was owing to that. It was then demonſtrated, that the loſs of that town laid the States open on that ſide; and that *Munſter*, being in their hands, would not only cover them, but be a fit place for making levies in *Weſtphalia*. Yet *Amſterdam* would not conſent to that new charge; and fancied, there was no danger on that ſide. But they found afterwards, to their coſt, that their unreaſonable managery in that particular drew upon them an expence of many millions, by reaſon of the unquiet temper of that martial Biſhop, who had almoſt ruined them this year on the ſide of *Friſeland*. But his miſcarriage in the ſiege of *Groninghen*, and the taking *Coevorden* by ſurprize in the end of the year, as it was among the firſt things that raiſed the ſpirits of the *Dutch*, ſo both the Biſhop's ſtrength

Errors committed by the town of *Amſterdam*.

ſtrength and reputation ſunk ſo entirely upon it, that he never gave them any great trouble after that. 1672.

Another error, into which the managery of *Amſterdam* drew the States, was occaſioned by the offer that *D'Eſtrades*, the *French* Embaſſador, made them in the year 1663, of a diviſion of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, by which *Oſtend* and a line from thence to *Maſtricht*, within which *Bruges*, *Ghent*, and *Antwerp*, were to be comprehended, was offered to them; the *French* deſiring only St. *Omer*, *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and *Luxemburgh*: And the dominions that lay between thoſe lines were to be a free Common-wealth; as *Halewyn* aſſured me, who ſaid, he was in the ſecret at that time. This was much debated all *Holland* over. It was viſible, that this new Common-wealth, taken out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, muſt naturally have fallen into a dependance on the States; and have become more conſiderable, when put under a better conduct. Yet this would have put the States at that time to ſome conſiderable charge. And, to avoid that, the propoſition was rejected, chiefly by the oppoſition that *Amſterdam* made to it; where the prevailing maxim was, to reduce their expence, to abate taxes, and to pay their publick debts. By ſuch an unreaſonable parſimony matters were now brought to that ſtate, that they were engaged into a war of ſo vaſt an expence, that the yearly produce of their whole eſtates, did not anſwer all the taxes that they were forced to lay on their people.

After the Prince ſaw, that the *French* demands were at this time ſo high, and that it was not poſſible to draw *England* into a ſeparate treaty, he got the States to call an extraordinary aſſembly, the moſt numerous that has been in this age. To them the Prince ſpoke near three hours, to the amazement of all that heard him, which was owned to me by one of the deputies of *Amſterdam*. He had got great materials put in his hands, of which he made very good uſe. He firſt went thro' the *French* propoſitions, and ſhewed the conſequence and the effects that would follow on them; that the accepting them would be certain ruine, and the very treating about them would diſtract and diſpirit their people: He therefore concluded, that the entertaining a thought of theſe was the giving up their country: If any could hearken to ſuch a motion, the lovers of religion and liberty muſt go to the *Indies*, or to any other country where they might be free and ſafe. After he had gone thro' this, near an hour, he in the next place ſhewed the poſſibility of making a ſtand, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſtate to which their affairs ſeemed reduced: He ſhewed the force of all their allies; that

The Prince animates the States to continue the war.

England

1672. *England* could not hold out long without a Parliament; and they were well aſſured, that a Parliament would draw the King to other meaſures: He ſhewed the impoſſibility of the *French* holding out long, and that the *Germans* coming down to the lower *Rhine* muſt make them go out of their country, as faſt as they came into it. In all this he ſhewed, that he had a great inſight into the *French* affairs. He came laſt to ſhew, how it was poſſible to raiſe the taxes that muſt be laid on the country to anſwer ſuch a vaſt and unavoidable expence; and ſet before them a great variety of projects for raiſing money. He concluded, that, if they laid down this for a foundation, that religion and liberty could not be purchaſed at too dear a rate, and that therefore every man among them, and every Miniſter in the country, ought to infuſe into all the people, that they muſt ſubmit to the preſent extremity, and to very extraordinary taxes; by this means, as their people would again take heart, ſo their enemies would looſe theirs, who built their chief hopes on that univerſal dejection among them, that was but too viſible to all the world. Every one that was preſent ſeemed amazed to hear ſo young a man ſpeak to ſo many things, with ſo much knowledge, and ſo true a judgment. It raiſed his character wonderfully, and contributed not a little to put new life in a country, almoſt dead with fear, and diſpirited with ſo many loſſes. They all reſolved to maintain their liberty to the laſt; and, if things ſhould run to extremities, to carry what wealth they could with them to the *Eaſt Indies*. The ſtate of the ſhipping capable of ſo long a voyage was examined: And it was reckoned, that they could tranſport above two hundred thouſand people thither.

The *French* King goes back to *Paris*

Yet all their courage would probably have ſerved them in little ſtead, if the King of *France* could have been prevailed on to ſtay longer at *Utrecht*. But he made haſte to go back to *Paris*. Some ſaid, it was the effect of his amours, and that it was haſtened by ſome quarrels among his Miſtriſſes. Others thought, he was haſtening to receive the flatteries that were preparing for him there. And indeed in the outward appearances of things there was great occaſion for them; ſince he had a run of ſucceſs beyond all expectation, tho' he himſelf had no ſhare in it, unleſs it was to ſpoil it. He left a garriſon in every place he took, againſt *Turenne*'s advice, who was for diſmantling them all, and keeping his army ſtill about him. But his Miniſters ſaw ſo far into his temper, that they reſolved to play a ſure game, and to put nothing to hazard. Upon the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s coming down, *Monſieur Turenne* was ſent againſt him:

By which means the army about the King was ſo diminiſhed, 1672.
that he could undertake no great deſign, beſides the ſiege of *Nimeguen*, that held out ſome weeks, with ſo ſmall a force. And tho' the Prince of *Orange* had not above eight thouſand men about him, employed in keeping a paſs near *Woerden*, yet no attempt was made to force him from it. Another probable reaſon of his returning back ſo ſoon was, a ſuggeſtion of the deſperate temper of the *Dutch*, and that they were capable of undertaking any deſign, how black ſoever, rather than periſh. Some told him of vaults under the ſtreets of *Utrecht*, where gun-powder might be laid to blow him up, as he went over them: And all theſe were obſerved to be avoided by him. He would never lodge within the town, and came but ſeldom to it. He upon one or other of theſe motives went back. Upon which the Prince of *Conde* ſaid, he ſaw he had not the ſoul of a conqueror in him; and that his Miniſters were the beſt *Commis*, but the pooreſt Miniſters in the world, who had not ſouls made for great things, or capable of them.

If the King had a mind to be flattered by his people, he found at his return enough even to ſurfeit him. Speeches, verſes, inſcriptions, triumphal arches, and medals were prepared with a profuſion, and exceſs of flattery, beyond what had been offered to the worſt of the *Roman* Emperors, baiting the ceremony of adoration. But blaſphemous impieties were not wanting to raiſe, and feed his vanity. A ſolemn debate was held all about *Paris*, what title ſhould be given him. *Le Grand* was thought too common. Some were for *Invincible*. Others were for *Le Conquerant*. Some, in imitation of *Charlemagne*, for *Lewis Le magne*. Others were for *Maximus*. But *Tres Grand* founded not ſo well: No more did *Maxime*. So they ſettled on *Le Grand*. And all the bodies of *Paris* ſeemed to vie in flattery. It appeared, that the King took pleaſure in it: So there has followed upon it the greateſt run of the moſt fulſom flattery that is in hiſtory. Had the King of *France* left ſuch a man as *Turenne* at *Utrecht*, it might have had ill effects on the reſolutions taken by the *Dutch*. But he left *Luxemburgh* there, who had no regard to articles; but made all people ſee what was to be expected, when they ſhould come under ſuch a yoke, that was then ſo intolerable a burden, even while it ought to have been recommended to thoſe who were yet free by a gentle adminiſtration. This contributed not a little to fix the *Dutch* in thoſe obſtinate reſolutions they had taken up.

1672. There was one very extraordinary thing that happened near the *Hague* this ſummer: I had it from many eye witneſſes: And no doubt was made of the truth of it by any at the *Hague*. Soon after the *Engliſh* fleet had refitted themſelves, (for they had generally been much damaged by the engagement in *Solbay*,) they appeared in ſight of *Schevelling*, making up to the ſhore. The tide turned: But they reckoned that with the next flood they would certainly land the forces that were aboard, where they were like to meet with no reſiſtance. So they ſent to the Prince for ſome regiments to hinder the deſcent. He could not ſpare many men, having the *French* very near him. So between the two the country was given for loſt, unleſs *De Ruyter* ſhould quickly come up. The flood returned, which they thought was to end in their ruine. But to all their amazement, after it had flowed two or three hours, an ebb of many hours ſucceeded, which carried the fleet again to the ſea. And, before that was ſpent, *De Ruyter* came in view. This they reckoned a miracle wrought for their preſervation. Soon after that they eſcaped another deſign, that otherwiſe would very probably have been fatal to them.

The *Dutch* ſaved by ſome extraordinary Providence.

Offory intended to ſurpriſe *Helvoetſluys*.

The Earl of *Offory*, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of *Ormond*, a man of great honour, generoſity, and courage, had been oft in *Holland:* And, coming by *Helvoetſluys*, he obſerved, it was a place of great conſequence, but very ill looked to. The *Dutch* truſting to the danger of entring into it, more than to any ſtrength that defended it, he thought it might be eaſy to ſeize, and fortify that place. The King approved this. So ſome ſhips were ſheathed, and victualled, as for a voyage to a great diſtance. He was to have five men of war, and tranſport ſhips for twelve or fifteen hundred men. And a ſecond ſquadron, with a farther ſupply, if he ſucceeded in the attempt, was to follow. He had got two or three of their pilots brought out on a pretended errand: And theſe he kept very ſafe to carry him in. This was communicated to none, but to the Duke, and to Lord *Arlington:* And all was ready for the execution. Lord *Offory* went to this fleet, and ſaw every thing ready as was ordered, and came up to receive the King's ſailing orders. But the King, who had ordered him to come next morning for his diſpatch, diſcovered the deſign to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who hated both the Duke of *Ormond*, and Lord *Offory*, and would have ſeen the King and all his affairs periſh, rather than that a perſon whom he hated ſhould have the honour of ſuch a piece of merit. He upon that did turn all his wit to make the thing appear ridiculous,

and

and impracticable. He repreſented it as unſafe on many accounts; and as a deſperate ſtroke, that put things, if it ſhould ſucceed, out of a poſſibility of treaty or reconciliation. The King could not withſtand this. Lord *Offory* found next morning that the King had changed his mind. And it broke out, by the Duke of *Buckingham*'s looſe way of talking, that it was done by his means. So the deſign was laid aſide. But when the peace was made, Lord *Offory* told it to the *Dutch* Embaſſadors: And ſaid, ſince he did not deſtroy them by touching them in that weak and ſore part, he had no mind they ſhould lye any longer open to ſuch another attack. When the Embaſſadors wrote this over to their maſters, all were ſenſible, how eaſy it had been to have ſeized, and ſecured that place; and what a terrible diſorder it would have put them in: And upon this they gave order to put the place in a better poſture of defence for the future. So powerfully did ſpite work on thoſe about the King: And ſo eaſy was he to the man of wit and humour. The Duke ſtaid long at ſea, in hopes to have got the *Eaſt India* fleet. But they came ſailing ſo near the *German* coaſt, that they paſſed him before he was aware of it. So he came back after a long and inglorious campaign. He loſt the honour of the action that was at *Solbay*; and miſſed the wealth of that fleet, which he had long waited for. 1672.

I will compleat the tranſactions of this memorable year with an account of the impreſſion that *Luxemburgh* made on the *Dutch* near the end of it; which would have had a very tragical concluſion, if a happy turn of weather had not ſaved them. *Stoupe* was then with him, and was on the ſecret. By many feints, that amuſed the *Dutch* ſo ſkillfully that there was no ſuſpicion of the true deſign, all was prepared for an invaſion, when a froſt ſhould come. It came at laſt: And it froze and thawed by turns for ſome time, which they reckon makes the ice firmeſt. At laſt a froſt continued ſo ſtrong for ſome days, that upon piercing and examining the ice, it was thought it could not be diſſolved by any ordinary thaw in leſs than two days. So about midnight *Luxemburgh* marched out of *Utrecht* towards *Leyden* with about ſixteen thouſand men. Thoſe of *Utrecht* told me, that, in the minute in which they began to march, a thaw wind blew very freſh. Yet they marched on till day light, and came to *Summerdam* and *Bodegrave*, which they gained not without difficulty. There they ſtopt, and committed many outrages of crying luſt and barbarous cruelty; and vented their impiety in very blaſphemous expreſſions, upon the continuance of the thaw, which now had quite melted the ice,

An army from *Utrecht* came on the ice to *Holland*.

1672. ſo that it was not poſſible to go back, the way that they came, where all had been ice, but was now diſſolved to about three foot depth of water. There were cauſe-ways: And they were forced to march on theſe. But there was a fort, thro'which they muſt paſs. And one *Painevine* with two regiments was ordered to keep it, with ſome cannon in it. If he had continued there, they muſt all have been taken priſoners, which would have put an end to the war. But, when he ſaw them march to him in the morning, he gave all for loſt; and went to *Tergow*, where he gave the alarm, as if all was gone. And he offered to them, to come to help them by that garriſon to a better capitulation. So he left his poſt, and went thither. The *French* army, not being ſtopt by that fort, got ſafe home. But their behaviour in thoſe two villages was ſuch, that, as great pains was taken to ſpread it over the whole country, ſo it contributed not a little to the eſtabliſhing the *Dutch* in their reſolutions, of not only venturing but of looſing all, rather than come under ſo cruel a yoke.

Painevine's ſentence.

Painevine's withdrawing had loſt them an advantage never to be regained. So the Prince ordered a Council of war to try him. He pleaded, that the place was not tenable; that the enemy had paſs'd it; ſo he thought the uſe it was intended for was loſt: And if the enemy had come to attack him, he muſt have ſurrendered upon diſcretion: And he pleaded farther, that he went from it upon the deſire of one of their towns to ſave it. Upon this defence, he was acquitted as to his life, but condemned to infamy, as a coward, and to have his ſword broke over his head, and to be for ever baniſhed the States dominions. But an appeal lay, according to their diſcipline, to a Council of war compoſed of General Officers: And they confirmed the ſentence. The towns of *Holland* were highly offended at theſe proceedings. They ſaid, they ſaw the officers were reſolved to be gentle to one another, and to ſave their fellow officers, how guilty ſoever they might be. The Prince yielded to their inſtances, and bronght him to a third trial before himſelf, and a Court of the ſupreme officers, in which they had the aſſiſtance of ſix Judges. *Painevine* ſtood on it, that he had undergone two trials, which was all that the martial law ſubjected him to; and in thoſe he was acquitted. Yet this was over-ruled. It was urged againſt him, that he himſelf was preſent in the Council of war that ordered the making that fort; and he knew, that it was not intended to be a place tenable againſt an army, but was only meant to make a little ſtand for ſome time, and was intended for a deſperate ſtate of affairs; and that therefore he ought

not

not to have left his poſt, becauſe of the danger he was in: He ſaw the thaw began; and ſo ought to have ſtaid, at leaſt till he had ſeen how far that would go: And being put there by the Prince, he was to receive orders from none but him. Upon theſe grounds he was condemned, and executed, to the great ſatisfaction of the States, but to the general diſguſt of all the officers, who thought they were ſafe in the hands of an ordinary council of war, and did not like this new method of proceeding. 1672.

They were alſo not a little troubled at the ſtrict diſcipline that the Prince ſettled, and at the ſevere execution of it. But by this means he wrought up his army to a pitch of obedience and courage, of ſobriety and good order, that things put on another face: And all men began to hope that their armies would act with another ſpirit, now that the diſcipline was ſo carefully look'd to. It ſeems, the *French* made no great account of them: For they releaſed twenty five thouſand priſoners, taken in ſeveral places, for fifty thouſand crowns.

Thus I have gone far into the ſtate of affairs of *Holland* in this memorable year. I had moſt of theſe particulars from *Dyckvelt* and *Halewyn*. And I thought this great turn deſerved to be ſet out with all the copiouſneſs, with which my informations could furniſh me. This year the King declared a new Miſtriſs, and made her Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*. She had been maid of honour to *Madame*, the King's ſiſter and had come over with her to *Dover*; where the King had expreſſed ſuch a regard to her, that the Duke of *Buckingham*, who hated the Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, intended to put her on the King. He told him, that it was a decent piece of tenderneſs for his ſiſter to take care of ſome of her ſervants. So ſhe was the perſon the King eaſily conſented to invite over. That Duke aſſured the King of *France*, that he could never reckon himſelf ſure of the King, but by giving him a Miſtriſs that ſhould be true to his intereſts. It was ſoon agreed to. So the Duke of *Buckingham* ſent her with a part of his equipage to *Dieppe*; and ſaid, he would preſently follow. But he, who was the moſt inconſtant and forgetful of all men, never thought of her more; but went to *England* by the way of *Calais*. So *Montague*, then Embaſſador at *Paris*, hearing of this, ſent over for a Yacht for her, and ſent ſome of his ſervants to wait on her, and to defray her charge, till ſhe was brought to *Whitehall:* And then Lord *Arlington* took care of her. So the Duke of *Buckingham* loſt the merit he might have pretended to; and brought over a Miſtreſs, whom his own ſtrange conduct threw into the hands of his enemies. The King was

A *French* Miſtriſs made Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*.

1672. preſently taken with her. She ſtudied to pleaſe and obſerve him in every thing: So that he paſs'd away the reſt of his life in a great fondneſs for her. He kept her at a vaſt charge. And ſhe by many fits of ſickneſs, ſome believed real, and others thought only pretended, gained of him every thing ſhe deſired. She ſtuck firm to the *French* intereſt, and was its chief ſupport. The King divided himſelf between her and Miſtriſs *Gwyn*; and had no other avowed amour. But he was ſo entirely poſſeſſed by the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*, and ſo engaged by her in the *French* intereſt, that this threw him into great difficulties, and expoſed him to much contempt and diſtruſt.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

I do now return to the affairs of *Scotland*, to give an account of a ſeſſion of Parliament, and the other tranſactions there in this critical year. About the end of *May*, Duke *Lauderdale* came down with his Lady in great pomp. He was much lifted up with the *French* ſucceſs; and took ſuch pleaſure in talking of *De Wit*'s fate, that it could not be heard without horror. He treated all people with ſuch ſcorn, that few were able to bear it. He adjourned the Parliament for a fortnight, that he might carry his Lady round the country; and was every where waited on, and entertained, with as much reſpect, and at as great a charge, as if the King had been there in perſon. This enraged the Nobility. And they made great applications to Duke *Hamilton*, to lead a party againſt him, and to oppoſe the tax, that he demanded, of a whole year's aſſeſſment. I ſoon grew ſo weary of the Court, tho' there was ſcarce a perſon ſo well uſed by him as I my ſelf was, that I went out of town. But Duke *Hamilton* ſent for me; and told me, how vehemently he was ſolicited by the majority of the Nobility to oppoſe the demand of the tax. He had promiſed me not to oppoſe taxes in general: And I had aſſured Duke *Lauderdale* of it. But he ſaid, this demand was ſo extravagant, that he did not imagine it would go ſo far: So he did not think himſelf bound, by a promiſe made in general words, to agree to ſuch a high one. Upon this I ſpoke to Duke *Lauderdale*, to ſhew him the inclinations many had to an oppoſition to that demand, and the danger of it. He rejected it in a brutal manner, ſaying, they durſt as ſoon be damned as oppoſe him. Yet I made him ſo ſenſible of it, that he appointed the Marquiſs of *Athol* to go and talk in his name to Duke *Hamilton*, who moved that I might be preſent: And that was eaſily admitted. Lord *Athol* preſſed Duke *Hamilton* to come into an entire confidence with Duke *Lauderdale*; and promiſed, that he ſhould have the chief direction of all affairs in *Scotland* under the other. Duke *Hamilton*

Lauderdale's great inſolence.

aſked, how ſtood the Parliament of *England* affected to the war. 1672.
Lord *Athol* aſſured him, there was a ſettled deſign of having no more Parliaments in *England*. The King would be maſter, and would be no longer curbed by a Houſe of Commons. He alſo laid out the great advantages that *Scotland*, more particularly the great Nobility, might find by ſtriking in heartily with the King's deſigns, and in making him abſolute in *England*. Duke *Hamilton* anſwered very honeſtly, that he would never engage in ſuch deſigns: He would be always a good and faithful ſubject: But he would be likewiſe a good country man. He was very unwilling to concur in the land tax. He ſaid, *Scotland* had no reaſon to engage in the war, ſince as they might ſuffer much by it, ſo they could gain nothing, neither by the preſent war, nor by any peace that ſhould be made. Yet he was prevailed on, in concluſion, to agree to it. And upon that the buſineſs of the ſeſſion of Parliament went on ſmoothly without any oppoſition.

The Ducheſs of *Lauderdale*, not contented with the great appointments they had, ſet her ſelf by all poſſible methods to raiſe money. They lived at a vaſt expence: And every thing was ſet to ſale. She carried all things with a haughtineſs, that could not have been eaſily born from a Queen. She talked of all people with an ungoverned freedom, and grew to be univerſally hated. I was out of meaſure weary of my attendance at their Court, but was preſſed to continue it. Many found I did good offices. I got ſome to be conſidered, and advanced, that had no other way of acceſs. But that which made it more neceſſary was, that I ſaw *Sharp* and his creatures were making their Court with the moſt abject flattery, and all the ſubmiſſions poſſible. *Leightoun* went ſeldom to them, tho' he was always treated by them with great diſtinction. So it was neceſſary for me to be about them, and keep them right: Otherwiſe all our deſigns were loſt without recovery. This led me to much uneaſy compliance; tho' I aſſerted my own liberty, and found ſo often fault with their proceedings, that once or twice I uſed ſuch freedom, and it was ſo ill taken, that I thought it was fit for me to retire. Yet I was ſent for, and continued in ſuch high favour, that I was again tried if I would accept of a Biſhoprick, and was promiſed the firſt of the two Archbiſhopricks that ſhould fall. But I was ſtill fixed in my former reſolutions, not to engage early, being then but nine and twenty: Nor could I come into a dependance on them.

Duke *Lauderdale* at his coming down had expected, that the Preſbyterians ſhould have addreſſed themſelves to him for a ſhare in

He expected addreſſes for a Toleration.

1672. in that liberty, which their brethren had now in *England*; and which he had aſſerted in a very particular manner at the Council table in *White-hall*. One *Whatley*, a Juſtice of peace in *Lincolnſhire*, if I remember the County right, had diſturbed one of the Meeting-houſes, that had got a licence purſuant to the declaration for a Toleration: And he had ſet fines on thoſe that met in it, conformably to the Act againſt Conventicles. Upon which he was brought up to Council, to be reprimanded for his high contempt of his Majeſty's declaration. Some Privy Counſellours ſhewed their zeal in ſevere reflections on his proceedings. Duke *Lauderdale* carried the matter very far: He ſaid, the King's edicts were to be conſidered, and obeyed as laws, and more than any other laws. This was writ down by ſome that heard it, who were reſolved to make uſe of it againſt him in due time. He looked on near two months after he came down to *Scotland*, waiting ſtill for an application for liberty of conſcience. But the deſigns of the Court were now clearly ſeen into. The Preſbyterians underſtood, they were only to be made uſe of in order to the introducing of Popery. So they reſolved to be ſilent and paſſive. Upon this he broke out into fury and rage againſt them. Conventicles abounded in all places of the country. And ſome furious zealots broke into the houſes of ſome of the Miniſters, wounding them, and robbing their goods, forcing ſome of them to ſwear that they would never officiate any more in their Churches. Some of theſe were taken, and executed. I viſited them in priſon; and ſaw in them the blind madneſs of ill grounded zeal, of which they were never fully convinced. One of them ſeemed to be otherwiſe no ill man. Another of them was a bold villain. He juſtified all that they had done, from the *Iſraelites* robbing the *Ægyptians*, and deſtroying the *Canaanites*.

Deſigns from *Holland* to raiſe a rebellion in *Scotland*.

That which gave Duke *Lauderdale* a juſter ground of offence was, that one *Carſtairs*, much employed ſince that time in greater matters, was taken in a ſhip that came from *Rotterdam*. He himſelf eſcaped out of their hands: But his letters were taken. They had a great deal writ in white ink; which ſhewed, that the deſign of ſending him over was, to know in what diſpoſition the people were, promiſing arms and other neceſſaries, if they were in a condition to give the Government any diſturbance. But the whole was ſo darkly writ, much being referred to the bearer, that it was not poſſible to underſtand what lay hid under ſo many myſterious expreſſions. Upon this a ſevere proſecution of Conventicles was ſet on foot: And a great deal of money was raiſed by arbitrary fines. Lord *Athol* made of this in one week 1900 *l. ſter.* I did all I could

to

to moderate this fury: But all was in vain. Duke *Lauderdale* broke out into the moſt frantick fits of rage poſſible. When I was once ſaying to him, was that a time to drive them into a rebellion? Yes, ſaid he, would to God they would rebel, that ſo he might bring over an army of *Iriſh* Papiſts to cut all their throats. Such a fury as this ſeemed to furniſh work for a phyſician, rather than for any other ſort of men. But after he had let himſelf looſe into theſe fits for near a month, he calmed all on the ſudden: Perhaps upon ſome ſignification from the King; for the party complained to their friends in *London*, who had ſtill ſome credit at Court. 1672.

He called for me all on the ſudden, and put me in mind of the project I had laid before him, of putting all the outed Miniſters by couples into pariſhes: So that inſtead of wandring about the country, to hold Conventicles in all places, they might be fixed to a certain abode, and every one might have the half of a benefice. I was ſtill of the ſame mind: And ſo was *Leightoun*; who compared this to the gathering the coals that were ſcattered over the houſe, ſetting it all on fire, into the chimney, where they might burn away ſafely. Duke *Lauderdale* ſet about it immediately: And the benefit of the Indulgence was extended to forty more Churches. This, if followed as to that of doubling them in a pariſh, and of confining them within their pariſhes, would have probably laid a flame that was ſpreading over the Nation, and was like to prove fatal in concluſion. But Duke *Lauderdale*'s way was, to govern by fits, and to paſs from hot to cold ones, always in extreams. So this of doubling them, which was the chief part of our ſcheme, was quite neglected. Single Miniſters went into thoſe Churches: And thoſe, who were not yet provided for, went about the country holding Conventicles very boldly, without any reſtraint: And no care at all was taken of the Church. A further Indulgence.

Sharp and his inſtruments took occaſion from this to complain, that the Church was ruined by *Leightoun*'s means. And I wanted not my ſhare in the charge. And indeed the remiſſneſs of the government was ſuch, that there was juſt cauſe of complaint. Great numbers met in the fields. Men went to thoſe meetings with ſuch arms as they had. And we were blamed for all this. It was ſaid, that things went ſo far beyond what a principle of moderation could ſuggeſt, that we did certainly deſign to ruine and overturn the conſtitution. *Leightoun* upon all this concluded he could do no good on either ſide: He had gained no ground on the Preſbyterians, and was ſuſpected and hated by the Epiſcopal party. So he reſolved *Leightoun* reſolved to retire, and to leave his See.

1672. to retire from all publick employments, and to ſpend the reſt of his days in a corner, far from noiſe and buſineſs, and to give himſelf wholly to prayer and meditation, ſince he ſaw he could not carry on his great deſigns of healing and reforming the Church, on which he had ſet his heart. He had gathered together many inſtances out of Church hiſtory of Biſhops that had left their Sees, and retired from the world: And was much pleaſed with theſe. He and I had many diſcourſes on this argument. I thought a man ought to be determined by the providence of God, and to continue in the ſtation he was in, tho' he could not do all the good in it that he had propoſed to himſelf: He might do good in a private way by his example, and by his labours, more than he himſelf could know: And as a man ought to ſubmit to ſickneſs, poverty, or other afflictions, when they are laid on him by the hand of providence; ſo I thought the labouring without ſucceſs was indeed a very great trial of patience, yet ſuch labouring in an ungrateful employment was a croſs, and ſo was to be born with ſubmiſſion; and that a great uneaſineſs under that, or the forſaking a ſtation becauſe of it, might be the effect of ſecret pride, and an indignation againſt providence. He on the other hand ſaid, his work ſeemed to be at an end: He had no more to do, unleſs he had a mind to pleaſe himſelf with the lazy enjoying a good revenue. So he could not be wrought on by all that could be laid before him; but followed Duke *Lauderdale* to Court, and begged leave to retire from his Archbiſhoprick. The Duke would by no means conſent to this. So he deſired, that he might be allowed to do it within a year. Duke *Lauderdale* thought ſo much time was gained: So to be rid of his importunities he moved the King to promiſe him, that, if he did not change his mind, he would within the year accept of his reſignation. He came back much pleaſed with what he had obtained; and ſaid to me upon it, there was now but one uneaſy ſtage between him and reſt, and he would wreſtle thro' it the beſt he could.

And now I am come to the period that I ſet out for this book. The world was now in a general combuſtion, ſet on by the ambition of the Court of *France*, and ſupported by the feebleneſs and treachery of the Court of *England*. A ſtand was made by the Prince of *Orange*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*. But the latter, not being in time aſſiſted by the Emperor, was forced to accept of ſuch conditions as he could obtain. This winter there was great practice in all the Courts of *Europe*, by the Agents of *France*, to lay them every where aſleep;

asleep; and to make the world look on their King's design in that campaign, as a piece of glory, for the humbling of a rich and proud Common-wealth; and that, as soon as that was done suitably to the dignity of the Great Monarch, he would give peace to the world, after he had shewn that nothing could stand before his arms. But the opening the progress of these negotiations, and the turn that the affairs of *Europe* took, belongs to the next period. 1672.

THE

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK III.

Of the reſt of King Charles II*'s. reign, from the year* 1673 *to the year* 1685, *in which he died.*

1673. Great jealouſies of the King.

HItherto the reign of King *Charles* was pretty ſerene and calm at home. A Nation weary of a long civil war was not eaſily brought into jealouſies and fears, which were the ſeeds of diſtraction, and might end in new confuſions and troubles. But the Court had now given ſuch broad intimations of an ill deſign, both on our religion and the civil conſtitution, that it was no more a jealouſy: All was now open and barefaced. In the King's preſence the Court-flatterers were always

always magnifying abſolute government, and reflecting on the 1673.
inſolence of a Houſe of Commons. The King ſaid once to the
Earl of *Eſſex*, as he told me, that he did not wiſh to be like a
Grand Signior, with ſome mutes about him, and bags of bow-
ſtrings to ſtrangle men, as he had a mind to it: But he did not
think he was a King, as long as a company of fellows were
looking into all his actions, and examining his Miniſters, as
well as his accounts. He reckoned, now he had ſet the Church
party at ſuch a diſtance from the Diſſenters, that it was impoſſible
to make them join in oppoſition to his deſigns. He hoped, the
Church party would be always ſubmiſſive: And he had the Diſſen-
ters at mercy.

The proceedings of the former year had opened all mens
eyes. The King's own religion was ſuſpected, as his brother's
was declared: And the whole conduct ſhewed a deſign to go-
vern by the *French* model. A *French* General was brought over
to command our armies. Count *Schomberg*, who was a *German* *Schomberg*
by birth, (but his mother was an *Engliſh* woman,) was ſent over. brought to command
He was a firm Proteſtant, and ſerved at firſt in *Holland*. But the Army.
upon the Prince of *Orange*'s death he went into *France*, where
he grew into ſo high a reputation, that he was kept under, and
not raiſed to be a Marſhal, only on the account of his religion.
He was a calm man, of great application and conduct. He
thought much better than he ſpoke. He was a man of true
judgment, of great probity, and of an humble and obliging
temper: And at any other time of his life he would have been
very acceptable to the *Engliſh*. But now he was looked on as
one ſent over from *France* to bring our army under a *French*
diſcipline: And ſo he was hated by the Nation, and not much
loved by the Court. He was always preſſing the King to de-
clare himſelf the head of the Proteſtant party. He preſs'd him
likewiſe to bring his brother over from Popery: But the King
ſaid to him, you know my brother long ago, that he is as ſtiff as
a mule. He liked the way of *Charenton* ſo well, that he went
once a week to *London* to the *French* Church there, that was
according to that form: So the Duke and Lord *Clifford* looked on
him as a Preſbyterian, and an unfit man for their purpoſe. The
Duke of *Buckingham* hated him; for he hoped to have com-
manded the Army. And as an army is a very unacceptable thing
to the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo it came to be the more odious, when
commanded by a General ſent over from *France*. *Schomberg*
told me, he ſaw it was impoſſible that the King could bring
any great deſign to a good effect: He loved his eaſe ſo much,
that he never minded buſineſs: And every thing that was ſaid

1673. to him of affairs was heard with ſo little attention, that it made no impreſſion.

The Court was much divided.

The Miniſtry was all broke to pieces. The Duke of *Buckingham* was alone, hated by all, as he hated all the reſt. But he went ſo entirely into all their ill deſigns, that the King conſidered him, and either loved or feared him ſo much, that he had a deep root with him. Lord *Clifford* ſtuck firm to the Duke, and was heated with the deſign of bringing in Popery, even to enthuſiaſm. It was believed, if the deſign had ſucceeded, he had agreed with his wife to take orders, and to aſpire to a Cardinal's hat. He grew violent; and could ſcarce ſpeak with patience of the Church of *England*, and of the Clergy. The Earl of *Arlington* thought, that the deſign was now loſt, and that it was neceſſary for the King to make up with his people in the beſt manner he could. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was reſolved to ſave himſelf on any terms.

A ſeſſion of Parliament.

The money was exhauſted: So it was neceſſary to have a ſeſſion of Parliament. And one was called in the beginning of the year. At the opening it, the King excuſed the iſſuing out the writs, as done to ſave time, and to have a full Houſe at the firſt opening: But he left that matter wholly to them: He ſpoke of the Declaration for liberty of conſcience in another ſtyle: He ſaid, he had ſeen the good effects of it; and that he would ſtick to it, and maintain it: He ſaid, he was engaged in a war for the honour of the Nation, and therefore he demanded the ſupplies that were neceſſary to carry it on. On theſe heads Lord *Shaftsbury* enlarged. But no part of his ſpeech was more amazing than that, ſpeaking of the war with the *Dutch*, he ſaid, *Delenda eſt Carthago*. Yet, while he made a baſe complying ſpeech in favour of the Court, and of the war, he was in a ſecret management with another party.

The Declaration was voted illegal.

The Houſe of Commons was upon this all in a flame. They ſaw Popery and ſlavery lay at the bottom. Yet, that they might not graſp at too much at once, they reſolved effectually to break the whole deſign of Popery. They argued the matter of the Declaration; whether it was according to law, or not. It was plainly an annulling of the penal Law, made both againſt Papiſts and Diſſenters. It was ſaid, that tho' the King had a power of pardoning, yet he had not a power to authoriſe men to break laws. This muſt infer a power to alter the whole government. The ſtrength of every law was the penalty laid upon offenders: And, if the King could ſecure offenders by indemnifying them before hand, it was a vain thing to make laws; ſince by that maxim they had no force, but at the King's diſcretion. Thoſe who pleaded for the Declaration

tion pretended to put a difference between penal Laws in ſpiritual matters, and all others: And ſaid, that the King's ſupremacy ſeemed to give him a peculiar authority over theſe: By vertue of this it was, that the ſynagogue of the *Jews*, and the *Walloon* Churches, had been ſo long tolerated. But to this it was anſwered, that the intent of the law in aſſerting the ſupremacy was only to exclude all foreign juriſdiction, and to lodge the whole authority with the King: But that was ſtill to be bounded, and regulated by law: And a difference was to be made between a connivance, ſuch as that the *Jews* lived under, by which they were ſtill at mercy, and a legal authority: The Parliament had never diſputed the legality of the Patent for the *Walloon* congregations, which was granted to encourage ſtrangers, profeſſing the ſame religion, to come among us, when they were perſecuted for it in their own country: It was at firſt granted only to ſtrangers: But afterwards in the days of their children, who were natives, it had been made void: And now they were excepted by a ſpecial clauſe out of the Act of Uniformity. The Houſe came quickly to a very unanimous reſolution, that the Declaration was againſt law. And they ſet that forth in an addreſs to the King, in which they prayed that it might be called in. Some were ſtudying to divert this, by ſetting them on to enquire into the iſſuing out the writs. And the Court ſeemed willing that the ſtorm ſhould break on Lord *Shaftsbury*, and would have gladly compounded the matter by making him the ſacrifice. He ſaw into that; and ſo was reſolved to change ſides with the firſt opportunity. 1673.

A bill for a new teſt.

The Houſe was not content with this: But they brought in a bill diſabling all Papiſts from holding any employment, or place at Court; requiring all perſons in publick truſt to receive the Sacrament in a pariſh Church, and to carry an atteſted certificate of that, with witneſſes to prove it, into Chancery, or the County Seſſions; and there to make a declaration renouncing Tranſubſtantiation in full and poſitive words. Great pains was taken by the Court to divert this. They propoſed that ſome regard might be had to Proteſtant Diſſenters, and that their Meetings might be allowed. By this means they hoped to have ſet them and the Church party into new heats; for now all were united againſt Popery. *Love* who ſerved for the city of *London*, and was himſelf a Diſſenter, ſaw what ill effects any ſuch quarrels might have: So he moved, that an effectual ſecurity might be found againſt Popery, and that nothing might interpoſe till that was done. When that was over, then they would try to deſerve ſome favour: But at preſent they were willing to lye under the ſeverity of the laws, rather than clog a more neceſſary work with their concerns. The

The prudence of the Diſſenters.

chief

1673. chief friends of the ſects agreed to this. So a vote paſs'd to bring in a bill in favour of Proteſtant Diſſenters, tho' there was not time enough, nor unanimity enough, to finiſh one this ſeſſion: For it went no farther than a ſecond reading, but was dropt in the Committee. But this prudent behaviour of theirs did ſo ſoften the Church party, that there was no more votes nor bills offered at againſt them, even in that angry Parliament, that had been formerly ſo ſevere upon them.

Debates in the Houſe of Lords.

The Court was now in great perplexity. If they gave way to proceedings in the Houſe of Commons, there was a full ſtop put to the deſign for Popery: And if they gave not way to it, there was an end of the war. The *French* could not furniſh us with ſo much money, as was neceſſary: And the ſhutting up the Exchequer had put an end to all credit. The Court tried what could be done in the Houſe of Lords. Lord *Clifford* reſolved to aſſert the Declaration with all the force, and all the arguments, he could bring for it. He ſhewed the heads he intended to ſpeak on to the King, who approved of them, and ſuggeſted ſome other hints to him. He began the debate with rough words: He called the vote of the Commons *Monſtrum Horrendum Ingens*, and run on in a very high ſtrain. He ſaid all that could be ſaid, with great heat, and many indecent expreſſions. When he had done, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, to the amazement of the whole Houſe, ſaid, he muſt differ from the Lord that ſpoke laſt *toto cœlo*. He ſaid, while thoſe matters were debated out of doors, he might think with others, that the Supremacy, aſſerted as it was by law, did warrant the Declaration: But now that ſuch a Houſe of Commons, ſo loyal and affectionate to the King were of another mind, he ſubmitted his reaſons to theirs: They were the King's great Council: They muſt both adviſe and ſupport him: They had done it; and would do it ſtill, if their laws and their religion were once ſecure to them. The King was all in fury to be thus forſaken by his Chancellor: And told Lord *Clifford*, how well he was pleaſed with his ſpeech, and how highly he was offended with the other. The debate went on, and upon a diviſion the Court had the majority. But againſt that vote about thirty of the moſt conſiderable of the Houſe proteſted. So the Court ſaw, they had gained nothing in carrying a vote, that drew after it ſuch a proteſtation.

This matter took ſoon after that a quick turn. It had been much debated in the cabinet, what the King ſhould do. Lord *Clifford* and Duke *Lauderdale* were for the King's ſtanding his ground. Sir *Ellis Leightoun* aſſured me, that the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Berkeley* offered to the King, if he would bring the army to town, that they would take out of both Houſes the Members

Members that made the oppoſition. He fancied, the thing might have been eaſily brought about, and that, if the King would have acted with the ſpirit that he ſometimes put on, they might have carried their buſineſs. Duke *Lauderdale* talked of bringing an army out of *Scotland*, and ſeizing on *Newcaſtle*; and preſs'd this with as much vehemence, as if he had been able to have executed it. Lord *Clifford* ſaid to the King, his people did now ſee thro' all his deſigns: And therefore he muſt reſolve to make himſelf maſter at once, or be for ever ſubject to much jealouſy and contempt. The Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington* preſſed the King on the other hand to give the Parliament full content: And they undertook to procure him money for carrying on the war: And, if he was ſucceſsful in that, he might eaſily recover what he muſt in this extremity part with. This ſuited the King's own temper. Yet the Duke held him in ſuſpence. 1673.

The variety of opinions in the King's Council.

Colbert's brother, *Croiſſy*, was then the *French* Embaſſador here. Lord *Arlington* poſſeſſed him with ſuch an apprehenſion of the madneſs of violent counſels, and that the leaſt of the ill effects they might have would be the leaving the war wholly on the *French* King, and that it would be impoſſible to carry it on, if the King ſhould run to ſuch extremities, as ſome were driving him to at home; that he gained him both to preſs the King and his brother to comply with the Parliament, and to ſend an expreſs to his own maſter, repreſenting the whole matter in the light in which Lord *Arlington* had ſet it before him.

The *French* adviſe the King to yield to the Parliament.

In the afternoon of the day in which the matter had been argued in the Houſe of Lords, the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington* got all thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons on whom they had any influence, (and who had money from the King, and were his ſpies, but had leave to vote with the party againſt the Court, for procuring them the more credit,) to go privately to him, and to tell him that upon Lord *Clifford*'s ſpeech the Houſe was in ſuch fury, that probably they would have gone to ſome high votes and impeachments: But the Lord *Shaftsbury* ſpeaking on the other ſide reſtrained them: They believed, he ſpoke the King's ſenſe, as the other did the Duke's: This calmed them. So they made the King apprehend, that the Lord Chancellor's ſpeech, with which he had been ſo much offended, was really a great ſervice done him: And they perſuaded him farther, that he might now ſave himſelf, and obtain an indemnity for his Miniſters, if he would part with the Declaration, and paſs the bill. This was ſo dextrouſly managed by Lord *Arlington*, who got a great number of the Members to go one after another to the King, who by concert ſpoke all the ſame language, that before night the King was quite changed, and

The King went into that ſuddenly.

1673. ſaid to his brother, that Lord *Clifford* had undone himſelf, and had ſpoiled their buſineſs by his mad ſpeech; and that, tho' Lord *Shaftsbury* had ſpoke like a rogue, yet that had ſtopt a fury which the indiſcretion of the other had kindled, to ſuch a degree that he could ſerve him no longer. He gave him leave to let him know all this. The Duke was ſtruck with this; and imputed it wholly to Lord *Arlington*'s management. In the evening he told Lord *Clifford* what the King had ſaid. The Lord *Clifford*, who was naturally a vehement man, went upon that to the King, who ſcarce knew how to look him in the face. Lord *Clifford* ſaid, he knew how many enemies he muſt needs make to himſelf by his ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords: But he hoped that in it he both ſerved and pleaſed the King, and was therefore the leſs concerned in every thing elſe: But he was ſurpriſed to find by the Duke, that the King was now of another mind. The King was in ſome confuſion: He owned, that all he had ſaid was right in it ſelf: But he ſaid, that he, who ſat long in the Houſe of Commons, ſhould have conſidered better what they could bear, and what the neceſſity of his affairs required. Lord *Clifford* in his firſt heat was inclined to have laid down his white ſtaff, and to have expoſtulated roundly with the King. But a cooler thought ſtop'd him. He reckoned he muſt now retire: And therefore he had a mind to take ſome care of his family in the way of doing it: So he reſtrained himſelf; and ſaid, he was ſorry that his beſt meant ſervices were ſo ill underſtood. Soon after this, letters came from the *French* King, preſſing the King to do all that was neceſſary to procure money of his Parliament, ſince he could not bear the charge of the war alone. He alſo writ to the Duke, and excuſed the advice he gave upon the neceſſity of affairs; but promiſed faithfully to eſpouſe his concerns, as ſoon as he got out of the war, and that he would never be eaſy, till he recovered that which he was now forced to let go. Some parts of theſe tranſactions I had from the Duke, and from Duke *Lauderdale:* The reſt, that related to the Lord *Clifford*, *Titus* told me, he had from his own mouth.

Clifford diſgraced.

As ſoon as Lord *Clifford* ſaw he muſt looſe the white ſtaff, he went to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had contributed much to the procuring it to him; and told him, he brought him the firſt notice that he was to loſe that place to which he had helped him, and that he would aſſiſt him to procure it to ſome of his friends. After they had talked round all that were in any ſort capable of it, and had found great objections to every one of them, they at laſt pitched on Sir *Thomas Osborn*, a Gentleman of *Yorkſhire*, whoſe eſtate was much ſunk. He was a very plauſible ſpeaker, but too copious, and could not eaſily make an end of his diſcourſe.

Osborn made Lord Treaſurer.

courſe. He had been always among the high Cavaliers: And miſſing preferment he had oppoſed the Court much, and was one of Lord *Clarendon*'s bittereſt enemies. He gave himſelf great liberties in diſcourſe, and did not ſeem to have any regard to truth, or ſo much as to the appearances of it; and was an implacable enemy: But he had a peculiar way to make his friends depend on him, and to believe he was true to them. He was a poſitive, and undertaking man: So he gave the King great eaſe, by aſſuring him all things would go according to his mind in the next ſeſſion of Parliament. And when his hopes failed him, he had always ſome excuſe ready to put the miſcarriage upon. And by this means he got into the higheſt degree of confidence with the King, and maintained it the longeſt, of all that ever ſerved him. 1673.

The King now went into new meaſures. He called for the Declaration, and ordered the ſeal put to it to be broken. So the Act for the taking the Sacrament, and the Teſt againſt Tranſubſtantiation went on: And together with it an Act of Grace paſs'd, which was deſired chiefly to cover the Miniſtry, who were all very obnoxious by their late actings. The Court deſired at leaſt 1200000 *l.* for that ſum was neceſſary to the carrying on the war. The great body of thoſe who oppoſed the Court had reſolved to give only 600000 *l.* which was enough to procure a peace, but not to continue the war. *Garroway* and *Lee* had led the oppoſition to the Court all this ſeſſion in the Houſe of Commons: So they were thought the propereſt to name the ſum. Above eighty of the chief of the party had met over night, and had agreed to name 600000*l.* But *Garroway* named 1200000, and was ſeconded in it by *Lee*. So this ſurpriſe gained that great ſum, which enabled the Court to carry on the war. When their party reproached theſe perſons for it, they ſaid, they had tried ſome of the Court as to the ſum intended to be named, who had aſſured them, the whole agreement would be broke, if they offered ſo ſmall a ſum: And this made them venture on the double of it. They had good rewards from the Court: And yet they continued ſtill voting on the other ſide. They ſaid, they had got good pennyworths for their money: A ſure law againſt Popery, which had clauſes in it never uſed before; for all that continued in office after the time lapſed, they not taking the Sacrament, and not renouncing Tranſubſtantiation (which came to be called the Teſt, and the Act from it the Teſt Act,) were rendred incapable of holding any office: All the Acts they did in it were declared invalid and illegal, beſides a fine of 500 *l.* to the diſcoverer. Yet upon that Lord *Cavendiſh*, now Duke of *Devonſhire*, ſaid, that when much money was given to buy a law againſt Popery, the force of the money would be ſtronger in order to the bringing

A great ſupply was given.

1673. bringing it in, than the law could be for keeping it out. I never knew a thing of this nature carried ſo ſuddenly, and ſo artificially, in the Houſe of Commons, as this was, to the great amazement of the *Dutch*, who relied on the Parliament, and did not doubt but that a peace with *England* would be procured by their interpoſition.

The Duke laid down all his Commiſſions.

Thus this memorable ſeſſion ended. It was indeed much the beſt ſeſſion of that long Parliament. The Church party ſhewed a noble zeal for their religion: And the Diſſenters got great reputation by their ſilent deportment. After the ſeſſion was over, the Duke carried all his commiſſions to the King, and wept as he delivered them up: But the King ſhewed no concern at all. Yet he put the Admiralty in a Commiſſion compoſed wholly of the Duke's creatures: So that the power of the navy was ſtill in his hands. Lord *Clifford* left the Treaſury, and was ſucceeded by *Osborn*, who was ſoon after made Earl of *Danby*. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had loſt the King's favour quite. But it was not thought fit to lay him aſide, till it ſhould appear what ſervice he could do them in another ſeſſion of Parliament. Lord *Arlington* had loſt the Duke more than any other. He looked on him as a pitiful coward, who would forſake and betray any thing, rather than run any danger himſelf. Prince *Rupert* was ſent to command the fleet. But the Captains were the Duke's creatures: So they croſs'd him all they could, and complained of every thing he did. In a word they ſaid, he had neither ſenſe nor conduct left. Little could be expected from a fleet ſo commanded, and ſo divided. He had two or three engagements with the *Dutch*, that were well fought on both ſides, but were of no great conſequence, and were drawn battels. None of the *French* ſhips engaged, except one, who charged their Admiral for his ill conduct: But, inſtead of reward, he was clapt in the *Baſtille* upon his return to *France*. This opened the eyes and mouths of the whole Nation. All men cried out, and ſaid, we were engaged in a war by the *French*, that they might have the pleaſure to ſee the *Dutch* and us deſtroy one another, while they knew our ſeas and ports, and learned all our methods, but took care to preſerve themſelves. Count *Schomberg* told me, he preſs'd the *French* Embaſſador to have the matter examined. Otherwiſe, if ſatisfaction was not given to the Nation, he was ſure the next Parliament would break the alliance. But by the Embaſſador's coldneſs he ſaw, the *French* Admiral had acted according to his inſtructions. So *Schomberg* made haſte to get out of *England*, to prevent an addreſs to ſend him away: And he was by that time as weary of the Court, as the Court was of him.

The Duke treats for a ſecond marriage.

The Duke was now looking for another wife. He made addreſ-

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ſes to the Lady *Bellaſis*, the widow of the Lord *Bellaſis*'s ſon. She was a zealous Proteſtant, tho' ſhe was married into a Popiſh family. She was a woman of much life, and great vivacity, but of a very ſmall proportion of beauty; as the Duke was often obſerved to be led by his amours to objects that had no extraordinary charms. Lady *Bellaſis* gained ſo much on the Duke, that he gave her a promiſe under his hand to marry her. And he ſent *Coleman* to her to draw her over to Popery: But in that ſhe could not be moved. When ſome of her friends reproached her for admitting the Duke ſo freely to ſee her, ſhe could not bear it, but ſaid, ſhe could ſhew that his addreſſes to her were honourable. When this came to the Lord *Bellaſis*'s ears, who was her father in law, and was a zealous Papiſt, and knew how intractable the Lady was in thoſe matters, he gave the whole deſign of bringing in their religion for gone, if that was not quickly broke: So he, pretending a zeal for the King, and the Duke's honor, went and told the King all he had heard. The King ſent for the Duke, and told him, it was too much that he had plaid the fool once: That was not to be done a ſecond time, and at ſuch an age. The Lady was alſo ſo threatened, that ſhe gave up the promiſe, but kept an atteſted copy of it, as ſhe her ſelf told me. There was an Archdutcheſs of *Inſpruck*, to whom marriage was ſolemnly propoſed: But, the Empreſs happening to die at that time, the Emperor himſelf married her. After that a match was propoſed to the Duke of *Modena*'s daughter, which took effect. But becauſe thoſe at *Rome* were not willing to conſent to it, unleſs ſhe might have a publick Chapel, which the Court would not hearken to, another marriage was propoſed for a daughter of the Duke of *Crequi*'s. I ſaw a long letter of the Duke's writ to Sir *William Lockhart* upon this ſubject with great anxiety. He apprehended, if he was not married before the ſeſſion of Parliament, that they would fall on that matter, and limit him ſo, that he ſhould never be able to marry to his content: He was vexed at the ſtiffneſs of the Court of *Rome*, who were demanding terms that could not be granted: He had ſent a poſitive order to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who was negotiating the buſineſs at *Modena*, to come away by ſuch a day, if all was not conſented to: In the mean while he hoped, the King of *France* would not put that mortification on him, as to expoſe him to the violence of the Parliament, (I uſe his own words;) but that he would give order for diſpatching that matter with all poſſible haſte. But, while he was thus perplexed, the Court of *Rome* yielded: And ſo the Duke married that Lady by proxy: And the Earl of *Peterborough* brought her over thro' *France*. 1673.

The *Swedes* offered at this time a mediation in order to a peace: A treaty opened at *Cologn*.

1673. And *Cologn* was propoſed to be the place of treaty. The King ordered the Earl of *Sunderland*, Sir *Leolin Jenkins*, and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, thither, to be his Plenipotentiaries. Lord *Sunderland* was a man of a clear and ready apprehenſion, and a quick deciſion in buſineſs. He had too much heat both of imagination and paſſion, and was apt to ſpeak very freely both of perſons and things. His own notions were always good: But he was a man of great expence. And, in order to the ſupporting himſelf, he went into the prevailing counſels at Court: And he changed ſides often, with little regard either to religion, or the intereſt of his country. He raiſed many enemies to himſelf by the contempt with which he treated thoſe who differed from him. He had indeed the ſuperior genius to all the men of buſineſs that I have yet known. And he had the dexterity of inſinuating himſelf ſo entirely into the greateſt degree of confidence with three ſucceeding Princes, who ſet up on very different intereſts, that he came by this to loſe himſelf ſo much, that even thoſe who eſteemed his parts, depended little on his firmneſs.

Lord *Sunderland*'s character.

The treaty broke off. The treaty of *Cologn* was of a ſhort continuance: For the Emperor, looking on *Furſtenberg*, the Dean of *Cologn*, and Biſhop of *Strasbourg*, afterwards advanced to be Cardinal, who was the Elector's Plenipotentiary at that treaty, as a ſubject of the Empire, who had betrayed it, ordered him to be ſeized on. The *French* look'd on this as ſuch a violation of the paſs-ports, that they ſet it up for a preliminary, before they would enter upon a treaty, to have him ſet at liberty.

Maſtricht was taken this ſummer; in which the Duke of *Monmouth* diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo eminently, that he was much conſidered upon it. The King of *France* was there. After the taking of *Maſtricht* he went to *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, and left the Prince of *Conde* with the army in *Flanders*, *Turenne* having the command of that on the upper *Rhine* againſt the *Germans*; for the Emperor and the whole Empire were now engaged.

The affairs of *Scotland*. But I return now to the intrigues of our Court. I came up this ſummer, in order to the publiſhing the Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. I had left *Scotland* under an univerſal diſcontent. The whole adminiſtration there was both violent and corrupt, and ſeemed to be formed on a *French* model. The Parliament had in the year 1663, in order to the bringing our trade to a balance with *England*, given the King in truſt a power to lay impoſitions on foreign commodities. So upon that a great duty was lately laid upon *French* ſalt, in order to the better vending the ſalt made at home: Upon which it was ſold very dear. And that raiſed great complaints: For, as the ſalt was exceſſive dear, ſo it did not ſerve

all

all purpoſes. All people looked on this, as the beginning of a ga- 1673.
bel. An impoſition was alſo laid on *Tobacco:* And all brandy was prohibited to be imported, but not to be retailed: So thoſe who had the grant of the ſeizures ſold them, and raiſed the price very much. Theſe occaſioned monopolies: And the price of thoſe things that were of great conſumption among the Commons was much raiſed: So that a truſt lodged with the Crown was now abuſed in the higheſt degree. As theſe things provoked the body of the people, ſo Duke *Lauderdale*'s inſolence, and his engroſſing every thing to himſelf, and to a few of his friends, and his wife and his brother ſetting all things to ſale, raiſed a very high diſcontent all over the Nation. The affairs of the Church were altogether neglected: So that in all reſpects we were quite out of joint.

I went up with a full reſolution to do my country all the ſervice I could, and to deal very plainly with the Duke of *Lauderdale*, reſolving if I could do no good, to retire from all affairs, and to meddle no more in publick buſineſs. I loſt indeed my beſt friend at Court. Sir *Robert Murray* died ſuddenly at that time. He was the wiſeſt, and worthieſt man of the age, and was as another father to me. I was ſenſible how much I loſt in ſo critical a conjuncture, being bereft of the trueſt and faithfulleſt friend I had ever known: And ſo I ſaw, I was in danger of committing great errors for want of ſo kind a monitor.

At my coming to Court, Duke *Lauderdale* took me into his cloſet, and aſked me the ſtate of *Scotland.* I upon that gave him a very punctual and true account of it. He ſeemed to think that I aggravated matters; and aſked me, if the King ſhould need an army from *Scotland* to tame thoſe in *England,* whether that might be depended on? I told him, certainly not: The Commons in the ſouthern parts were all Preſbyterians: And the Nobility thought they had been ill uſed, and were generally diſcontented, and only waited for an occaſion to ſhew it. He ſaid, he was of another mind: The hope of the ſpoil of *England* would fetch them all in. I anſwer'd, the King was ruined if ever he truſted to that: And I added, that with relation to other more indifferent perſons, who might be otherwiſe ready enough to puſh their fortunes without any anxious enquiries into the grounds they went on, yet even theſe would not truſt the King, ſince he had ſo lately ſaid, he would ſtick to his Declaration, and yet had ſo ſoon after given it up. He ſaid, *Hinc illæ Lacrymæ:* But the King was forſaken in that matter, for none ſtuck to him but Lord *Clifford,* and himſelf: And then he ſet himſelf into a fit of railing at Lord *Shaftsbury.* I was ſtruck with this converſation: And by it I clearly ſaw into the deſperate deſigns of the Court, which were as fooliſh, as they were wicked: *Lauderdale's deſign.*

1673. wicked: For I knew, that upon the leaſt diſorder in *England* they were ready in *Scotland* to have broke out into a rebellion: So far were they from any inclination to have aſſiſted the King in the maſtering of *England*. I was much perplexed in my ſelf what I ought to do, whether I ought not to have tried to give the King a truer view of our affairs: But I reſolved to ſtay for a fit opportunity. I tried the Ducheſs of *Lauderdale*, and ſet before her the injuſtice and oppreſſion that *Scotland* was groaning under: But I ſaw ſhe got too much by it to be any way concerned at it. They talked of going down to hold a ſeſſion of Parliament in *Scotland:* I warned them of their danger. But they deſpiſed all I could ſay: Only great offers were made to my ſelf, to make me wholly theirs, which made no impreſſion on me.

The King liked my Memoirs.

He carried me to the King, and propoſed the licenſing my Memoirs to him. The King bid me bring them to him; and ſaid, he would read them himſelf. He did read ſome parts of them, particularly the account I gave of the ill conduct of the Biſhops, that occaſioned the beginning of the wars; and told me, that he was well pleaſed with it. He was at that time ſo much offended with the *Engliſh* Biſhops for oppoſing the toleration, that he ſeemed much ſharpened againſt them. He gave me back my book to carry it to Secretary *Coventry*, in order to the licenſing it. The Secretary ſaid, he would read it all himſelf: So this obliged me to a longer ſtay than I intended. Sir *Ellis Leightoun* carried me to the Duke of *Buckingham*, with whom I paſs'd almoſt a whole night; and happened ſo far to pleaſe him, that he, who was apt to be fired with a new acquaintance, gave ſuch a character of me to the King, that ever after that he took much notice of me, and ſaid, he would hear me preach. He ſeemed well pleaſed with my ſermon; and ſpoke of it in a ſtrain that drew much envy on me.

And ſhewed me great favour.

He ordered me to be ſworn a Chaplain, and admitted me to a long private audience, that laſted above an hour, in which I took all the freedom with him that I thought became my profeſſion. He run me into a long diſcourſe about the authority of the Church, which he thought we made much of in our diſputes with the Diſſenters, and then took it all away when we dealt with the Papiſts. I ſaw plainly what he aimed at in this: And I quickly convinced him, that there was a great difference between an authority of government in things indifferent, and a pretence to infallibility. He complained heavily of the Biſhops for neglecting the true concerns of the Church, and following Courts ſo much, and being ſo engaged in parties. I went thro' ſome other things with relation to his courſe of life, and entred into many particulars with much freedom. He bore it all very well; and thank'd me

me for it: Some things he freely condemned, ſuch as living with another man's wife: Other things he excuſed, and thought God would not damn a man for a little irregular pleaſure. He ſeemed to take all I had ſaid very kindly: And during my ſtay at Court he uſed me in ſo particular a manner, that I was conſidered as a man growing into a high degree of favour. 1673.

My converſation with the Duke.

At the ſame time Lord *Ancram*, a *Scotiſh* Earl, but of a ſmall fortune, and of no principles, either as to religion or vertue, whoſe wife was a Papiſt, and himſelf a member of the Houſe of Commons, told the Duke that I had a great intereſt in *Scotland*, and might do him ſervice in that Kingdom. He depended on Duke *Lauderdale*; but hated him, becauſe he did nothing for him. We were acquainted there: And, he having ſtudied the moſt divinity of any man of quality I ever knew, we found many ſubjects of diſcourſe. He ſaw, I did not flatter Duke *Lauderdale:* And he fancied he might make a tool of me. So he ſeemed to wonder that I had not been carried to wait on the Duke; and brought me a meſſage from him, that he would be glad to ſee me: And upon that he carried me to him. The Duke received me very graciouſly. Lord *Ancram* had a mind to engage me to give him an account of the affairs of *Scotland:* But I avoided that, and very bluntly entred into much diſcourſe with him about matters of religion. He ſaid ſome of the common things, of the neceſſity of having but one Church, otherwiſe we ſaw what ſwarms of ſects did riſe up on our revolt from *Rome*, and theſe had raiſed many rebellions, and the ſhedding much blood: And he named both his father's death, and his great grandmother's, *Mary* Queen of *Scots:* He alſo turned to ſome paſſages in *Heylin*'s hiſtory of the Reformation, which he had lying by him: And the paſſages were marked, to ſhew upon what motives and principles men were led into the changes that were then made. I enlarged upon all theſe particulars; and ſhewed him the progreſs that ignorance and ſuperſtition had made inmany dark ages, and how much bloodſhed was occaſioned by the Papal pretenſions, for all which the opinion of infallibility was a ſource never to be exhauſted. And I ſpoke long to ſuch things as were beſt ſuited to his temper, and his capacity. I ſaw Lord *Ancram* helped him all he could, by which I perceived how he made his Court; for which when I reproached him afterwards, he ſaid, it was ill breeding in me to preſs ſo hard on a Prince. The Duke upon this converſation expreſſed ſuch a liking to me, that he ordered me to come oft to him: And afterwards he allowed me to come to him in a private way, as oft as I pleaſed. He deſired to know the ſtate of affairs in *Scotland.* I told him how little that Kingdom could be depended on. I turn-

1673. ed the diſcourſe often to matters of religion. He broke it very gently; for he was not at all rough in private converſation. He wiſhed, I would let thoſe matters alone: I might be too hard for him, and ſilence him, but I could never convince him. I told him, it was a thing he could never anſwer to God nor the world, that, being born and baptized in our Church, and having his father's laſt orders to continue ſtedfaſt in it, he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced, and as it were ſtollen out of it, hearing only one ſide, without offering his ſcruples to our divines, or hearing what they had to ſay in anſwer to them; and that he was now ſo fixed in his Popery, that he would not ſo much as examine the matter. He ſaid to me, he had often picqueered out (that was his word) on *Sheldon*, and ſome other Biſhops; by whoſe anſwers he could not but conclude, that they were much nearer the Church of *Rome*, than ſome of us young men were.

Stillingfleet had a little before this time publiſhed a book of the idolatry and fanaticiſm of the Church of *Rome*. Upon that the Duke ſaid, he aſked *Sheldon*, if it was the doctrine of the Church of *England*, that Roman Catholicks were idolaters: Who anſwered him, it was not; but that young men of parts would be popular; and ſuch a charge was the way to it. He at that time ſhewed me the Ducheſs's paper, that has been ſince printed: It was all writ with her own hand. He gave me leave to read it twice over: But would not ſuffer me to copy it. And upon the mention made in it of her having ſpoke to Biſhops concerning ſome of her ſcruples, and that ſhe had ſuch anſwers from them, as confirmed and heightened them, I went from him to *Morley*, as was ſaid formerly, and had from him the anſwer there ſet down. I aſked the Duke's leave to bring Doctor *Stillingfleet* to him. He was averſe to it; and ſaid, it would make much noiſe, and could do no good. I told him, even the noiſe would have a good effect: It would ſhew he was not ſo obſtinate, but that he was willing to hear our divines. I preſſed it much: For it became neceſſary to me, on my own account, to clear my ſelf from the ſuſpicion of Popery, which this extraordinary favour had drawn upon me. I at laſt prevailed with the Duke to conſent to it: And he aſſigned an hour of audience. *Stillingfleet* went very readily, tho' he had no hopes of ſucceſs. We were about two hours with him, and went over moſt of the points of controverſy. *Stillingfleet* thought, the point that would go the eaſieſt, and be the beſt underſtood by him, was the Papal pretenſions to a power over Princes, in depoſing them, and giving their dominions to others: And upon that, he ſhewed him, that Popery was calculated to make the Pope the ſovereign of all Chriſtendom. The Duke ſhifted the diſcourſe from one

I carried Doctor *Stillingfleet* to him.

one point to another; and did not ſeem to believe the matters of fact, and hiſtory alledged by us. So we deſired, he would call for ſome Prieſts, and hear us diſcourſe of thoſe matters with them in his preſence. He declined this; and ſaid, it would make a noiſe. He aſſured us, he deſired nothing, but to follow his own conſcience, which he impoſed on no body elſe, and that he would never attempt to alter the eſtabliſhed religion. He loved to repeat this often. But when I was alone with him, I warned him of the great difficulties his religion was like to caſt him into. This was no good argument to make him change: But it was certainly a very good argument to make him conſider the matter ſo well, that he might be ſure he was in the right. He objected to me the doctrine of the Church of *England* in the point of ſubmiſſion, and of paſſive obedience. I told him, there was no truſting to a diſputable opinion: There were alſo diſtinctions and reſerves, even in thoſe who had aſſerted theſe points the moſt: And it was very certain, that when men ſaw a viſible danger of being firſt undone, and then burnt, they would be inclined to the ſhorteſt way of arguing, and to ſave themſelves the beſt way they could: Intereſt and ſelf-preſervation were powerful motives. He did very often aſſure me, he was againſt all violent methods, and all perſecution for conſcience ſake, and was better furniſhed to ſpeak well on that head, than on any other. I told him, all he could ſay that way would do him little ſervice: For the words of Princes were looked on as arts to lay men aſleep: And they had generally regarded them ſo little themſelves, that they ought not to expect that others ſhould have great regard to them. I added, he was now of a religion, in which others had the keeping of his conſcience, who would now hide from him this point of their religion, ſince it was not ſafe to own it, till they had it in their power to put it in practice: And whenever that time ſhould come, I was ſure, that the principles of their Church muſt carry him to all the extremities of extirpation. I carried a volume of Judge *Crook*'s to him, in which it is reported, that King *James* had once in Council complained of a ſlander caſt on him, as if he was inclined to change his religion; and had ſolemnly vindicated himſelf from the imputation; and prayed, that if any ſhould ever ſpring out of his loins that ſhould maintain any other religion than that which he truly maintained and profeſſed, that God would take him out of the world. He read it: But it made no impreſſion. And when I urged him with ſome things in his father's book, he gave me the account of it that was formerly mentioned. He entered into great freedom with me about all his affairs: And he ſhewed me the journals he took of buſineſs every day with his own 1673.

1673. own hand: A method he ſaid, that the Earl of *Clarendon* had ſet him on. The Ducheſs had begun to write his life. He ſhewed me a part of it in a thin volume in folio. I read ſome of it, and found it writ with a great deal of ſpirit. He told me, he intended to truſt me with his journals, that I might draw a hiſtory out of them. And thus, in a few weeks time, I had got far into his confidence. He did alſo allow me to ſpeak to him of the irregularities of his life, ſome of which he very freely confeſſed: And when I urged him, how ſuch a courſe of life did agree with the zeal he ſhewed in his religion; he anſwered, muſt a man be of no religion, unleſs he is a ſaint? Yet he bore my freedon very gently, and ſeemed to like me the better for it. My favour with him grew to be the obſervation of the whole Court. Lord *Ancram* ſaid, I might be what I pleaſed, if I would be a little ſofter in the points of religion. Sir *Ellis Leightoun* brought me a meſſage from F. *Sheldon*, and ſome of his Prieſts, aſſuring me, they heard ſo well of me, that they offered me their ſervice. He preſſed me to improve my preſent advantages to the making my fortune: The See of *Durham* was then vacant: And he was confident, it would be no hard matter for me to compaſs it. But I had none of thoſe views, and ſo was not moved by them. The Duke of *Buckingham* aſked me, what I meant in being ſo much about the Duke? If I fancied I could change him in point of religion, I knew him and the world very little: If I had a mind to raiſe my ſelf, a ſure method for that was, to talk to him of the Reformation, as a thing done in heat and haſte, and that in a calmer time it might be fit to review it all. He ſaid, I needed go no farther; for ſuch an intimation would certainly raiſe me. And when I was poſitive not to enter into ſuch a compliance, he told me, he knew Courts better than I did: Princes thought their favours were no ordinary things: They expected great ſubmiſſions in return: Otherwiſe they thought they were deſpiſed: And I would feel the ill effects of the favour I then had, if I did not ſtrike into ſome compliances: And, ſince I was reſolved againſt theſe, he adviſed me to withdraw from the Court; the ſooner the better. I imputed this to his hatred of the Duke: But I found afterwards the advice was ſound and good. I likewiſe ſaw thoſe things in the Duke's temper, from which I concluded, I could not maintain an intereſt in him long. He was for ſubjects ſubmitting in all things to the King's notions; and thought, that all who oppoſed him, or his Miniſters in Parliament, were rebels in their hearts; and he hated all popular things, as below the dignity of a King. He was much ſharpened at that time by the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.

The Duke's marriage oppoſed by the Commons.

In the former ſeſſion it was known, that he was treating a marriage

riage with the Archducheſs: And yet no addreſs was made to the King to hinder his marrying a Papiſt. His honour was not then engaged: So it had been ſeaſonable, and to good purpoſe to have moved in it then. But now he was married by proxy, and Lord *Peterborough* had brought the Lady to *Paris*. Yet the Houſe of Commons reſolved to follow the pattern the King of *France* had lately ſet. He treated with the Elector Palatine for a marriage between his brother and the Elector's daughter; in which one of the conditions agreed to was, that ſhe ſhould enjoy the freedom of her religion, and have a private Oratory for the exerciſe of it. When ſhe came on her way as far as *Metz*, an order was ſent to ſtop her, till ſhe was better inſtructed: Upon which ſhe changed, at leaſt as to outward appearance. It is true, the Court of *France* gave it out that the Elector had conſented to this method, for the ſaving his own honour. And he had given the world cauſe to believe, he was capable of that, tho' he continued openly to deny it. The Houſe of Commons reſolved to follow this precedent, and to make an addreſs to the King, to ſtop the Princeſs of *Modena*'s coming to *England*, till ſhe ſhould change her religion. Upon this the Duke moved the King to prorogue the Parliament for a week: And a Commiſſion was ordered for it. The Duke went to the Houſe on that day, to preſs the calling up the Commons before they could have time to go on to buſineſs. Some Peers were to be brought in. The Duke preſſed Lord *Shaftsbury* to put that off, and to prorogue the Parliament. He ſaid coldly to him, there was no haſte. But the Commons made more haſte: For they quickly came to a vote for ſtopping the marriage. And by this means they were engaged, (having put ſuch an affront on the Duke,) to proceed farther. He preſently told me, how the matter went, and how the Lord Chancellor had uſed him: He was confident the King would take the Seals from him, if he could not manage the ſeſſions ſo as to procure him money, of which there was indeed ſmall appearance. I told him, I looked on that as a fatal thing, if the Commons began once to affront him: That would have a ſad train of conſequences, as ſoon as they thought it neceſſary for their own preſervation to ſecure themſelves from falling under his revenges. He ſaid, he was reſolved to ſtand his ground, and to ſubmit to the King in every thing: He would never take off an enemy: But he would let all the world ſee, rhat he was ready to forgive every one, that ſhould come off from his oppoſition, and make applications to him. When the week of the prorogation was ended, the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech of the King's, which had ſuch various ſtrains in it, that it was plain it was made by different perſons. The Duke told me, that Lord *Clarendon* 1673.

1673. during his favour, had penned all the King's ſpeeches; but that now they were compoſed in the Cabinet, one Miniſter putting in one period, while another made another; ſo that all was not of a piece. He told me, Lord *Arlington* was almoſt dead with fear: But Lord *Shaftsbury* reckoned himſelf gone at Court, and acted more roundly. In his ſpeech he ſtudied to correct his *Delenda eſt Carthago*, applying it to the *Loeveſtein* party, whom he called the *Carthaginians:* But this made him as ridiculous, as the other had made him odious. The Houſe of Commons took up again the matter of the Duke's marriage, and moved for an addreſs about it. But it was ſaid, the King's honour was engaged. Yet they addreſſed to him againſt it. But the King made them no anſwer. By that time I had obtained a licence of Secretary *Coventry* for my book, which the King ſaid ſhould be printed at his charge.

A Parliament in *Scotland.*

But now I muſt give an account of a ſtorm raiſed againſt my ſelf, the effects of which were very ſenſible to me for many years. The Duke of *Lauderdale* had kept the *Scotiſh* Nation in ſuch a dependance on himſelf, that he was not pleaſed with any of them that made any acquaintance in *England*, and leaſt of all in the Court: Nor could he endure, that any of them ſhould apply themſelves to the King, or the Duke, but thro' him. So he looked on the favour I had got into with a very jealous eye. His Ducheſs queſtioned me about it. Thoſe who know what Court jealouſies are will eaſily believe, that I muſt have ſaid ſomewhat to ſatisfy them, or break with them. I told her, what was very true as to the Duke, that my converſation with him was about religion; and that with the King I had talked of the courſe of life he led. I obſerved a deep jealouſy of me in them both; eſpecially, becauſe I could not go with them to *Scotland*. I ſaid, I would follow, as ſoon as the Secretary would diſpatch me. And as ſoon as that was done I took poſt, and by a great fall of ſnow was ſtopt by the way. But I unhappily got to *Edenburgh* the Night before the Parliament met. Duke *Hamilton*, and many others, told me how ſtrangely Duke *Lauderdale* talked of my intereſt at Court; as if I was ready to turn Papiſt. Duke *Hamilton* alſo told me, they were reſolved next day to attack Duke *Lauderdale*, and his whole adminiſtration in Parliament. I was troubled at this; and argued with him againſt the fitneſs of it all I could. But he ſaid he was engaged: The Earls of *Rothes*, *Argile*, and *Tweedale*, and all the Cavalier party, had promiſed to ſtick by him. I told him, what afterwards happened, that moſt of theſe would make their own terms, and leave him in the lurch: And the load would lye on him. When I ſaw the thing was paſt remedy, I reſolved to go home, and follow my

my ſtudies; ſince I could not keep Duke *Lauderdale* and him any longer in a good underſtanding. 1673.

Next day, when the Parliament was opened, the King's letter was read, deſiring their aſſiſtance in carrying on the war with *Holland*, and aſſuring them of his affection to them in very kind words. This was ſeconded by Duke *Lauderdale* in a long ſpeech. And immediately it was moved to appoint a Committee to prepare an anſwer to the King's letter, as was uſual. Duke *Hamilton* moved, that the ſtate of the Nation might be firſt conſidered, that ſo they might ſee what grievances they had: And he hinted at ſome. And then, as it had been laid, about twenty men, one after another, ſpoke to ſeveral particulars. Some mentioned the ſalt, others the tobacco, and the brandy: Some complained of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and others of the coin. With this the Duke of *Lauderdale* was ſtruck, as one dead; for he had raiſed his credit at Court by the opinion of his having all *Scotland* in his hand, and in a dependance on him: So a diſcovery of this want of credit with us he ſaw muſt ſink him there. He had not looked for this; tho' I had warned him of a great deal of it. But he reflecting on that, and on the credit I had got at Court, and on the haſte I made in my journey, and my coming critically the night before the ſeſſion opened; he laid all this together, and fancied I was ſent upon deſign, as the agent of the party, and that the licenſing my book was only a blind: He believed Sir *Robert Murray* had laid it, and that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had managed it. And becauſe it was a common artifice of King *Charles*'s Miniſters, to put the miſcarriage of affairs upon ſome accident that had not been foreſeen by them, but ſhould be provided againſt for the future; he aſſured the King, that I had been the incendiary, that I had my uncle's temper in me, and that I muſt be ſubdued, otherwiſe I would embroil all his affairs. The King took all things of that kind eaſily from his Miniſters, without hearing any thing to the contrary: For he was wont to ſay, all apologies were lies: Upon which one ſaid to him once, then he would always believe the firſt lye. But all this was much encreaſed, when Duke *Lauderdale* upon his coming up told the King, that I had boaſted to his wife of the freedom that I had uſed with him upon his courſe of life. With this the King was highly offended: Or at leaſt he made much uſe of it, to juſtify many hard things that he ſaid of me: And for many years he allowed himſelf a very free ſcope in talking of me. I was certainly to blame for the freedom I had uſed with the Ducheſs of *Lauderdale:* But I was ſurprized by her queſtion: And I could not bring my ſelf to tell a lye: So I had no other ſhift ready to ſatisfy her. But the Duke kept up ſtill a very good opinion of me. I went home to *Glaſcow*, where

A party formed againſt *Lauderdale*.

1673. where I profecuted my ſtudies till the *June* following, when I went again to *London*.

He offers to redreſs grievances in Council.

Duke *Lauderdale* put off the ſeſſion of Parliament for ſome time; and called a Council, in which he ſaid, great complaints had been made in Parliament of grievances: He had full authority to redreſs them all in the King's name: Therefore he charged the Privy Counſellors to lay all things of that kind before that board, and not to carry them before any other aſſembly, till they ſaw what redreſs was to be had there. Duke *Hamilton* ſaid, the regular way of complaints was to make them in Parliament, which only could redreſs them effectually; ſince the putting them down by the authority of Council, was only laying them aſide for a while, till a fitter opportunity was found to take them up again. Upon this Duke *Lauderdale* proteſted, that he was ready in the King's name to give the ſubject eaſe and freedom, and that thoſe who would not aſſiſt and concur with him in this were wanting in duty and reſpect to the King; and ſince he ſaw the matter of the ſalt, the tobacco, and the brandy, had raiſed much clamour, he would quaſh theſe. But the party had a mind to have the inſtruments of their oppreſſion puniſhed, as well as the oppreſſion it ſelf removed; and were reſolved to have theſe things condemned by ſome exemplary puniſhments, and to purſue Duke *Lauderdale* and his party with this clamour.

1674. Next ſeſſion of Parliament new complaints were offered. Duke *Lauderdale* ſaid, theſe ought to be made firſt to the Lords of the Articles, to whom all petitions and motions ought to be made firſt; and that they were the only Judges, what matters were fit to be brought into Parliament. The other ſide ſaid, they were only a Committee of Parliament, to put motions into the form of Acts; but that the Parliament had ſtill an entire authority to examine into the ſtate of the Nation. In this debate, they had the reaſon of things on their ſide: But the words of the Act favoured Duke *Lauderdale*. So he lodged it now where he wiſhed it might be, in a point of prerogative. He valued himſelf to the King on this, that he had drawn the Act that ſettled the power of the Lords of the Articles; who being all upon the matter named by the King, it was of great concern to him to maintain that, as the check upon factious ſpirits there; which would be no ſooner let go, than the Parliament of *Scotland* would grow as unquiet, as a Houſe of Commons was in *England:* That was a conſideration which at this time had great weight with the King. I now return to give an account of this year's ſeſſion in *England*.

A diſpute raiſed about the Lords of the Articles.

The proceedings in the Parliament of *England*.

In the beginning of it, the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Shaftsbury*, and *Arlington*, and Secretary *Coventry*, offered an advice to the

the King, for ſending the Duke for ſome time from the Court, as a good expedient both for himſelf and the Duke. The King hearkened ſo far to it, that he ſent them to move it to the Duke. He was highly incenſed at it: He ſaid, he would obey all the King's orders, but would look on thoſe as his enemies, who offered him ſuch advices. And he never forgave this to any of them; no not to *Coventry*, for all his good opinion of him. He preſſed the King vehemently to take the ſeals from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. So it was done: And they were given to *Finch*, then Attorney General, made afterwards Earl of *Nottingham*. He was a man of probity, and well verſed in the laws. He was long much admired for his eloquence: But it was laboured and affected: And he ſaw it as much deſpiſed before he died. He had no ſort of knowledge in foreign affairs: And yet he loved to talk of them perpetually: By which he expoſed himſelf to thoſe who underſtood them. He thought he was bound to juſtify the Court in all debates in the Houſe of Lords, which he did with the vehemence of a pleader, rather than with the ſolemnity of a ſenator. He was an incorrupt Judge: And in his Court he could reſiſt the ſtrongeſt applications even from the King himſelf, tho' he did it no where elſe. He was too eloquent on the bench, in the Houſe of Lords, and in common converſation. One thing deſerves to be remembred of him: He took great care of filling the Church livings that belonged to the Seal with worthy men: And he obliged them all to reſidence. Lord *Shaftsbury* was now at liberty to open himſelf againſt the Court; which he did with as little reſerve as decency. 1674. *Finch's character.*

The Houſe of Commons were reſolved to fall on all the Miniſtry. They began with Duke *Lauderdale*, and voted an addreſs to remove him from the King's Councils and preſence for ever. They went next upon the Duke of *Buckingham*: And, it being moved in his name, that the Houſe would hear him, he was ſuffered to come to the Houſe. The firſt day of his being before them he fell into ſuch a diſorder, that he pretended he was taken ill, and deſired to be admitted again. Next day he was more compoſed. He juſtified his own deſigns, laying all the ill counſels upon others, chiefly on Lord *Arlington*, intimating plainly that the root of all errors was in the King and the Duke. He ſaid, hunting was a good diverſion, but if a man would hunt with a brace of lobſters, he would have but ill ſport. He had uſed that figure to my ſelf; but had then applied it to Prince *Rupert* and Lord *Arlington*: But it was now underſtood to go higher. His ſpeech ſignified nothing towards the ſaving of himſelf: But it loſt him the King's favour ſo entirely, that he never recovered it afterwards. Lord *Arlington* was next attack'd: He appeared alſo before the Commons, and ſpoke much

1674. better than was expected: He excuſed himſelf, but without blaming the King: And this had ſo good an effect, that tho' he, as Secretary of State, was more expoſed than any other, by the many warrants and orders he had ſigned, yet he was acquitted, tho' by a ſmall majority. But the care he took to preſerve himſelf, and his ſucceſs in it, loſt him his high favour with the King, as the Duke was out of meaſure offended at him: So he quitted his poſt, and was made Lord Chamberlain.

The Houſe of Commons was reſolved to force the King to a peace with the *Dutch*. The Court of *France* recalled *Croiſſy*, finding that the Duke was offended at his being led by Lord *Arlington*. *Rouvigny* was ſent over: A man of great practice in buſineſs, and in all intrigues. He was ſtill a firm Proteſtant, but in all other reſpects a very dextrous Courtier, and one of the greateſt Statesmen in *Europe*. He had the appointments of an Embaſſador, but would not take the character, that he might not have a Chapel, and Maſs ſaid in it. Upon his coming over, as he himſelf told me, he found all the Miniſters of the Allies were perpetually plying the Members of the Houſe of Commons with their memorials. He knew he could gain nothing on them: So he never left the King.

A peace concluded with the States.

The King was in great perplexity: He would have done any thing, and parted with any perſons, if that would have procured him money for carrying on the war. But he ſaw little appearance of that. He found he was indeed at the mercy of the States. So Lord *Arlington* preſſed the *Spaniſh* Miniſters to prevail with the States, and the Prince of *Orange*, to get a propoſition for a peace to be ſet on foot. And that it might have ſome ſhew of a peace both beg'd and bought, he propoſed that a ſum of money ſhould be offered the King by the States, which ſhould be made over by him to the Prince for the payment of the debt he owed him. *Rouvigny* preſs'd the King much to give his Parliament all ſatisfaction in points of religion. The King anſwered him, if it was not for his brother's folly, (*La Sottiſe de mon Frere,*) he would get out of all his difficulties. *Rouvigny* drew a memorial for informing the Houſe of Commons of the modeſty of his maſter's pretenſions: For now the *French* King was ſenſible of his errors in making ſuch high demands, as he had made at *Utrecht*; and was endeavouring to get out of the war on eaſier terms. The States committed a great error in deſiring a peace with *England*, without deſiring at the ſame time, that the King ſhould enter into the alliance for reducing the *French* to the terms of the Triple Alliance. But the Prince of *Orange* thought, that if he could once ſeparate the King from his alliance with *France*, the other point would be ſoon brought about. And the States were much ſet on the having a peace with *England*, hoping then both to be freed

freed of the great trouble of ſecuring the coaſt at a vaſt charge, and alſo by the advantage of their fleet to ruine the trade, and to inſult the coaſt of *France*. The States did this winter confer a new and extraordinary dignity on the Prince of *Orange*. They made him Hereditary Stadtholder. So that this was entailed on him, and his iſſue male. He had in a year and a half's time changed the whole face of their affairs. He had not only taken *Naerden*, which made *Amſterdam* eaſy: But by a very bold undertaking he had gone up the *Rhine* to *Bon*, and had taken it in a very few days: And in it had cut off the ſupplies that the *French* ſent down to their garriſons on the *Rhine* and the *Iſel*. So that the *French* finding they could not ſubſiſt longer there, were now reſolved to evacuate all thoſe places, and the three Provinces of which they were poſſeſſed; which they did a few months after. An alliance was alſo made with the Emperor. And by this means both the Elector of *Cologn*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, were brought to a peace with the States. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* was likewiſe returning to the alliance with the States: For in the treaty, to which he was forced to ſubmit, with *Turenne* for a truce of a year, he had put an article, reſerving to himſelf a liberty to act in concurrence with the Empire, according to ſuch reſolutions as ſhould be taken in the Diet. This change of the affairs of the States had got the Prince of *Orange* the affections of the people to ſuch a degree, that he could have obtained every thing of them that he would have deſired: And even the loſs of ſo important a place as *Maſtricht* was not at all charged on him. So he brought the States to make applications to the King in the ſtyle of thoſe who beg'd a peace, tho' it was viſible they could have forced it. In concluſion, a project of a peace with *England* was formed, or rather the peace of *Breda* was writ over again, with the offer of 2 or 300000 *l.* for the expence of the war. And the King ſigned it at Lord *Arlington*'s office. 1674.

He came up immediately into the drawing room; where ſeeing *Rouvigny* he took him aſide, and told him, he had been doing a thing that went more againſt his heart, than the loſing of his right hand: He had ſigned a peace with the *Dutch*, the project being brought him by the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador: He ſaw nothing could content the Houſe of Commons, or draw money from them: And Lord *Arlington* had preſſed him ſo hard, that he had ſtood out till he was weary of his life: He ſaw it was impoſſible for him to carry on the war without ſupplies, of which it was plain he could have no hopes. *Rouvigny* told him, what was done could not be helped: But he would let him ſee how faithfully he would ſerve him on this occaſion: He did not doubt but his maſter would ſubmit all his pretenſions to him, and make him the arbiter and mediator of the peace.

The King became the mediator of the peace.

1674. peace. This the King received with great joy; and ſaid, it would be the moſt acceptable ſervice that could be done him. The *French* reſolved upon this to accept of the King's mediation. And ſo the King got out of the war, very little to his honour, having both engaged in it upon unjuſt grounds, and managed it all along with ill conduct, and bad ſucceſs: And now he got out of it in ſo poor and ſo diſhonourable a manner, that with it he loſt his credit both at home and abroad. Yet he felt little of all this. He and his brother were now at their eaſe. Upon this, the Parliament was quickly prorogued: And the Court delivered it ſelf up again to its ordinary courſe of ſloth and luxury. But Lord *Arlington*, who had brought all this about, was ſo entirely loſt by it, that tho' he knew too much of the ſecret to be ill uſed, yet he could never recover the ground he had loſt.

The Ducheſs's character.

The Ducheſs of *York* came over that winter. She was then very young, about ſixteen, but of a full growth. She was a graceful perſon, with a good meaſure of beauty, and ſo much wit and cunning, that during all this reign ſhe behaved her ſelf in ſo obliging a manner, and ſeemed ſo innocent and good, that ſhe gained upon all that came near her, and poſſeſſed them with ſuch impreſſions of her, that it was long before her behaviour after ſhe was a Queen could make them change their thoughts of her. So artificially did this young *Italian* behave her ſelf, that ſhe deceived even the eldeſt and moſt jealous perſons, both in the Court and Country. Only ſometimes a ſatyrical temper broke out too much, which was imputed to youth and wit not enough practiſed to the world. She avoided the appearances of a zealot, or a meddler in buſineſs; and gave her ſelf up to innocent cheerfulneſs; and was univerſally eſteemed and beloved, as long as ſhe was Ducheſs.

Coleman's character.

She had one put about her to be her Secretary, *Coleman*; who became ſo active in the affairs of the party, and ended his life ſo unfortunately, that ſince I had much converſation with him, his circumſtances may deſerve that his character ſhould be given, tho' his perſon did not. I was told, he was a Clergyman's ſon: But he was early catched by the Jeſuits, and bred many years among them. He underſtood the art of managing controverſies, chiefly that great one of the authority of the Church, better than any of their Prieſts. He was a bold man, reſolved to raiſe himſelf, which he did by dedicating himſelf wholly to the Jeſuits: And ſo he was raiſed by them. He had a great eaſineſs in writing in ſeveral languages; and writ many long letters, and was the chief correſpondent the party had in *England*. He lived at a vaſt expence. And talked in ſo poſitive a manner, that it looked like one who knew he was well ſupported. I ſoon ſaw into his temper; and I warned the Duke of it: For I looked on him, as a man much liker to ſpoil buſineſs, than to carry

ry it on dextrouſly. He got into the confidence of *P. Ferrier* the King of *France*'s confeſſor; and tried to get into the ſame pitch of confidence with *P. de la Chaiſe*, who ſucceeded him in that poſt. He went about every where, even to the jayls among the criminals, to make proſelytes. He dealt much both in the giving and taking of bribes. But now the affairs of *England* were calmed, I look again to *Scotland*, which was yet in a ſtorm. 1674.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

The King writ to Duke *Hamilton* to come up. And when he and Lord *Tweedale* arrived, they were ſo well received, that they hoped to carry their point. But the King's deſign in this was, that, if he could have brought the Houſe of Commons to have given money, he was reſolved to have parted with Duke *Lauderdale*, and have employed them. And his kind uſage of them was on deſign to perſuade the Commons to uſe himſelf better, by ſhewing that he was ready to comply with them. He gave them ſo good a hearing, that they thought they had fully convinced him: And he blamed them only for not complaining to himſelf of thoſe grievances. But, as ſoon as he ſaw it was to no purpoſe to look for money from the Houſe of Commons, and had ſigned the peace, he ſent them down with full aſſurances that all things ſhould be left to the judgment of the Parliament. They came down thro' the greateſt fall of ſnow that has been in all my life time. When they got home, inſtead of a ſeſſion, there was an order for a prorogation; which gave ſuch an univerſal diſcontent, that many offered at very extravagant propoſitions, for deſtroying Duke *Lauderdale* and all his party. Duke *Hamilton*, who told me this ſome years after, when an Act of Grace was publiſhed, was neither ſo bad nor ſo bold as to hearken to theſe. The King writ him a cajoling letter, deſiring him to come up once more, and to refer all matters to him: And he aſſured him, he would make up all differences.

The Parliament was prorogued.

Dalrimple's character.

In the mean while Duke *Lauderdale* took all poſſible methods to become more popular. He connived at the inſolence of the Preſbyterians, who took poſſeſſion of one of the vacant Churches of *Edenburgh*, and preached in it for ſome months. The Earl of *Argile* and Sir *James Dalrimple* were the men on whom the Preſbyterians depended moſt. Duke *Lauderdale* returned to his old kindneſs with the former: And Lord *Argile* was very ready to forget his late unkindneſs. So matters were made up between them. *Darlimple* was the Preſident of the ſeſſion, a man of great temper, and of a very mild deportment, but a cunning man. He was now taken into the chief confidence. He told the Preſbyterians, if they would now ſupport Duke *Lauderdale*, this would remove the prejudice the King had againſt them, as enemies to his ſervice. This wrought on many of them.

The Clergy was much provoked.

What influence ſoever this might have on the Preſbyterians, the

1674. ſtrange conduct with relation to them provoked the Clergy out of meaſure. Some hot men, that were not preferred as they thought they deſerved, grew very mutinous, and complained that things were let fall into much confuſion. And they raiſed a grievous outcry for the want of a National Synod to regulate our worſhip and government: And ſo moved in the Dioceſan Synods, that a petition ſhould be offered to the Privy Council, ſetting forth the neceſſity of having a National Synod. I liked no part of this. I knew the temper of our Clergy too well, to depend much on them. Therefore I went out of the way on purpoſe when our Synod was to meet. Petitions were offered for a National Synod, which was thought an innocent thing. Yet, it being done on deſign to heighten the fermentation the Kingdom was in, great exceptions were taken to it. One Biſhop, and four of the Clergy, were turned out by an order from the King, purſuant to the Act aſſerting the Supremacy. After a year, upon their ſubmiſſion, they were reſtored. Tho' I was not at all concerned in this, (for I was ever of *Nazianzen*'s opinion, who never wiſhed to ſee any more Synods of the Clergy,) yet the King was made believe, that I had laid the whole matter, even tho' I did not appear in any part of it.

A great diſtraction in *Scotland.*

Another diſorder broke out, which had greater effects. A cauſe being judged in the ſupreme Court of Seſſion, the party appealed to the Parliament. This was looked on as a high contempt, done on deſign to make the Parliament a Court of judicature, that ſo there might be a neceſſity of frequent Parliaments. So the Judges required all the lawyers to condemn this, as contrary to law. And they had the words of a law on their ſide: For there lay no ſuch appeal: as ſtopt proceſs, nor was there a writ of error in their law: But upon petitions, Parliaments had, tho' but ſeldom, reviewed and reverſed the judgments of the Courts. So the debate lay about the ſenſe of the word *Appeal.* Sir *George Lockhart*, brother to the Embaſſador, was the moſt learned lawyer, and the beſt pleader I have ever yet known in any Nation; and he had all the lawyers almoſt in a dependance on him. He was engaged with the party, and reſolved to ſtand it out. The King ſent down an order to put all men from the bar, that did not condemn appeals. And, when that wrought not on them, they were by proclamation baniſhed *Edenburgh*, and twelve miles about it: And a new day was aſſigned them for making their ſubmiſſion; the King in a very unuſual ſtyle declaring, on the word of a Prince, that, if they ſubmitted not by that day, they ſhould never be again admitted to their practice. They ſtood it out: And the day lapſed without their ſubmitting. Yet afterwards they renounced appeals in the ſenſe of the *Roman* law: And, notwithſtanding the unuſual threatning in the proclamation, they were again reſtored to practice.

tice. But this made a ſtop for a whole year in all legal proceedings. 1674.

The government of the city of *Edenburgh* was not ſo compliant, as was expected. So Duke *Lauderdale* procured a letter from the King to turn out twelve of the chief Magiſtrates, and to declare them for ever incapable of all publick truſts: So entirely had he forgot his complaints formerly made againſt incapacity, even when paſs'd in an Act of Parliament. The boroughs of *Scotland* have by law a privilege of meeting once a year in a body, to conſider of trade, and of by-laws relating to it. At a convention held this year a petition was agreed on, and ſent to the King, complaining of ſome late Acts that hindered trade, for the repeal of which there was great need of a ſeſſion of Parliament: They therefore prayed, that when the King ſent down a Commiſſioner to hold a ſeſſion, he might be inſtructed in order to that repeal. This was judged a legal thing by the lawyers there; for this was a lawful aſſembly: They did not petition for a Parliament, but only for inſtructions to the ſeſſion. Yet it was condemned as ſeditious: And thoſe who promoted it were fined and impriſoned for it. Thus Duke *Lauderdale* was lifted up out of meaſure, and reſolved to cruſh all that ſtood in his way. He was made Earl of *Guilford* in *England*, and had a penſion of 3000 *l.* And he let himſelf looſe into a very ungoverned fury. When Duke *Hamilton*, and ſome other Lords came up, the King deſired they would put their complaints in writing. They ſaid, the laws were ſo oddly worded, and more oddly executed, in *Scotland*, that the modeſteſt paper they could offer might be condemned as leaſing-making, and miſrepreſenting the King's proceedings: So they would not venture on it. The King promiſed them, that no ill uſe ſhould be made of it to their prejudice. But they did not think it ſafe to truſt him; for he ſeemed to be entirely delivered up to all Duke *Lauderdale*'s paſſions.

Lauderdale's proceedings there.

It is no wonder then that I could not ſtand before him; tho' at my coming up the Duke of *York* received me with great kindneſs, and told me, how he had got out of great difficulties, and added, that the King was very firm to him: He commended likewiſe his new Ducheſs much: He was troubled at our diſorders: He was firm to Duke *Lauderdale:* But he would have endeavoured to reconcile matters, if there had been room for it. He told me, the King was highly incenſed againſt me; and was made believe, that I was the chief ſpring of all that had happened: He himſelf believed me more innocent; and ſaid, he would endeavour to ſet me right with him: And he carried me to the King, who received me coldly. Some days after, when the Duke was a hunting, the Lord Chamberlain told me, he had orders to ſtrike my name out of the liſt of the Chaplains; and that the King forbad me the Court, and expected I ſhould go back

I was diſgraced.

1674. back to *Scotland*. The Duke ſeemed troubled at this, and ſpoke to the King about it: But he was poſitive. Yet he admitted me to ſay to him what I had to offer in my own juſtification. I ſaid all that I thought neceſſary; and appealed to Duke *Hamilton*, who did me juſtice in it. But the King ſaid, he was afraid I had been too buſy; and wiſhed me to go home to *Scotland*, and be more quiet. The Duke upon this told me, that, if I went home without reconciling my ſelf to Duke *Lauderdale*, I ſhould be certainly ſhut up in a cloſe priſon, where I might perhaps lye too long. This I look'd on as a very high obligation: So I reſigned my employment, and reſolved to ſtay in *England*. I preached in many of the Churches of *London*; and was ſo well receiv'd, that it was probable I might be accepted of in any that was to be diſpoſed of by a popular election. So a Church falling to be given in that way, the electors had a mind to chooſe me: But yet they were not willing to offend the Court. The Duke ſpoke to Duke *Lauderdale*, and told him that he had a mind I ſhould be ſettled in *London*, and deſired he would not oppoſe it. Duke *Lauderdale* ſaid, all this was a trick of the party in *Scotland*, to ſettle me, that I might be a correſpondent between the factions in both Kingdoms. Yet, upon the Duke's undertaking that I ſhould not meddle in thoſe matters, he was contented that the King ſhould let the electors know, he was not againſt their chooſing me. Upon this Duke *Lauderdale*, ſeeing what a root I had with the Duke, ſent a meſſage to me, that, if I would promiſe to keep no farther correſpondence with Duke *Hamilton*, I ſhould again be reſtored to his favour. I ſaid, I had promiſed the Duke to meddle no more in *Scotiſh* affairs: But I could not forſake my friends, nor turn againſt them. By this he judged I was inflexible. So he carried a ſtory to the King the very night before the election, that upon enquiry was found to be falſe, when it was too late to help what was done. Upon that, the King ſent a ſevere meſſage to the electors. So I miſſed that. And ſome time after a new ſtory was invented, of which *Sharp* was indeed the author, by which the King was made believe that I was poſſeſſing both Lords and Commons againſt Duke *Lauderdale*. Upon that, the King ordered *Coventry* to command me to leave *London*, and not to come within twenty miles of it. The Duke told me what the particulars were, which were all falſe: For Lord *Faulconbridge* and Lord *Carliſle* were the Lords, into whom it was ſaid I was infuſing thoſe prejudices. Now I was known to neither of them; for, tho' they had deſired my acquaintance, I had declined it. So I told all this to Secretary *Coventry*, who made report of it to the King in the Duke's preſence: And thoſe Lords juſtified me in the matter. I hoped the King would upon all this recall his order. But he would not do it. So I aſked to have it in writing. The Secre-

tary knew it was againſt law: So he would not do it. But I was forbid the Court. The Duke brought Duke *Lauderdale* and me once together, to have made us friends. But nothing would do, unleſs I would forſake all my friends, and diſcover ſecrets. I ſaid, I knew no wicked ones: And I could not break with perſons, with whom I had lived long in great friendſhip. The Duke ſpoke to the Lord Treaſurer, to ſoften Duke *Lauderdale* with relation to me; and ſent me to him. He undertook to do it; but ſaid afterwards, Duke *Lauderdale* was intractable. 1674.

This violent and groundleſs proſecution laſted ſome months. And during that time I ſaid to ſome, that Duke *Lauderdale* had gone ſo far in opening ſome wicked deſigns to me, that I perceived he could not be ſatisfied, unleſs I was undone. So I told what was mentioned before of the diſcourſes that paſs'd between him and me. This I ought not to have done, ſince they were the effects of confidence and friendſhip. But ſuch a courſe of provocation might have heated a cooler and elder man than I was, being then but thirty, to forget the caution that I ought to have uſed. The perſons who had this from me, reſolved to make uſe of it againſt him, in the next ſeſſion of Parliament: For which the Earl of *Danby* and he were preparing, by turning to new methods.

Lord *Danby* ſet up to be the patron of the Church-party, and of the old Cavaliers: And Duke *Lauderdale* joined himſelf to him. It was ſaid, the King had all along neglected his beſt and ſureſt friends: So a new meaſure was taken up, of doing all poſſible honours to the memory of King *Charles* I, and to all that had been in his intereſts. A ſtatue of braſs on horſe back, that had been long neglected, was bought, and ſet up at *Charing-croſs*: And a magnificent funeral was deſigned for him. The building of St. *Paul*'s in *London* was now ſet on foot with great zeal. *Morley* and ſome of the Biſhops were ſent for: And the new Miniſtry ſettled a ſcheme with them, by which it was offered to cruſh all the deſigns of Popery. The Miniſters expreſſed a great zeal in this; and openly accuſed all the former Miniſters for neglecting it ſo long. But, to excuſe this to the Duke, they told him, it was a great misfortune, that the Church party and the Diſſenters were now run into one; that the Church party muſt have ſome content given them; and then a teſt was to be ſet on foot, that ſhould for ever ſhut out all Diſſenters, who were an implacable ſort of people. A Declaration renouncing the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance in any caſe whatſoever, and an engagement to endeavour no alteration in Church or State, was deſigned to be a neceſſary qualification of all that might chooſe, or be choſen Members of Parliament. If this could be carried, the King's party would be for ever ſeparated from the Diſſenters, and be ſo much the more united to him. In order to this, it was neceſſary to put out ſevere

The Miniſters turned to the Church party.

1674. orders of Council againſt all convicted or ſuſpected Papiſts. The Duke acquainted me with this ſcheme. He diſliked it much. He thought, this would raiſe the Church party too high. He looked on them as intractable in the point of Popery. Therefore he thought, it was better to keep them under by ſupporting the Papiſts. He looked on the whole project, as both knaviſh and fooliſh. And upon this he ſpoke ſeverely of Duke *Lauderdale*, who he ſaw would do any thing to ſave himſelf: He had been all along in ill terms both with *Sheldon* and *Morley:* But now he reconciled himſelf to them: He brought *Sharp* out of *Scotland*, who went about aſſuring all people, that the party ſet againſt him was likewiſe ſet againſt the Church. This, tho' notoriouſly falſe, paſſed for true among ſtrangers. And, *Leightoun* coming up at the year's end to quit his Archbiſhoprick of *Glaſcow*, *Burnet* had made ſuch ſubmiſſions that he was reſtored to it. So that wound, which had been given to Epiſcopacy in his perſon, was now healed. And *Leightoun* retired to a private houſe in *Suſſex*, where he lived ten years in a moſt heavenly manner, and with a ſhining converſation. So now Duke *Lauderdale* was at the head of the Church party.

Correſpondence with *Holland* diſcovered.

The Court was ſomewhat diſturbed with diſcoveries that were made at this time. When Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* came back from *Cologn*, he ſecretly met with *Wicquefort*, who has publiſhed a work about Embaſſadors. He was the *Dutch* Secretary, that tranſlated the intelligence that came from *England*. And ſometimes the originals were left in his hands. *Williamſon* prevailed with him to deliver theſe to him. Moſt of them were writ by the Lord *Howard*'s brother, who upon his brother's death was afterwards Lord *Howard*. He was a man of wit and learning, bold and poor, who had run thro' many parties in religion. In *Cromwell*'s time he was rebaptized, and had preached in *London*. He ſet up in oppoſition to *Cromwell*, as a great Common-wealth's man, and did ſome ſervice in the Reſtoration. But he was always poor, and ready to engage in any thing that was bold. He went over in the beginning of the war, and offered to ſerve *De Wit*. But he told me, he found him a dry man. As ſoon as the Prince was raiſed, he waited on him, and on *Fagel*; and undertook not only to ſend them good intelligence, but to make a great party for them. He preſſed the Prince to make a deſcent on *England*, only to force the King to call a Parliament, and to be adviſed by it. And he drew ſuch a *Manifeſto*, as he believed would be acceptable to the Nation. He, and one of the *Du Moulins*, that was in Lord *Arlington*'s office, joined together, and gave the States very good intelligence. *Du Moulin*, fearing that he was diſcovered, took the alarm in time, and got beyond ſea. Moſt of the papers that *Wicquefort* delivered were of *Howard*'s writing. So upon

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upon his examination in the Tower, it appeared they had his letters againſt him. And, when notice was ſent of this to *Holland*, *Wicquefort* was called on to bring before them all the original letters that were truſted to him. And, upon his not doing it, he was clapt up. And the States ſent word to the King, that, if any perſon ſuffered in *England* on the account of the letters betray'd by him, his head ſhould go for it. *Halewyn* told me, when it was put to the Judges to know what ſort of crime this could be made; ſince the papers were given up after the peace was concluded, (otherwiſe the betraying the ſecrets of the State to enemies was a manifeſt crime,) they came to this reſolution, that as by the *Roman* law every thing was made capital that was *contra ſalutem Populi Romani*, ſo the delivering up ſuch papers was a capital crime. This threatning ſaved *Howard*. But yet *Wicquefort* was kept very long in priſon, and ruined by it. He had a ſort of a character from one of the Princes of *Germany*, upon which he inſiſted. But the States thought, that his coming into their ſervice was the throwing up of that character. Upon this occaſion *Caſtairs*, mentioned in the year 1672, was ſent over from *Holland* to *England*. And he was ſeized on with a paper of inſtructions, that were drawn ſo darkly, that no wonder if they gave a jealouſy of ſome ill deſigns then on foot. The Prince ſaid, when aſked about it, that it was only meant for a direction for carrying on the levies of ſome regiments that the King had allowed the *Dutch* to make in *Scotland*, which the King did the better to excuſe his letting ſo many continue in the *French* ſervice. Howſoever, mention being made of money to be paid, and of men to be raiſed, and a complement being ordered to be made to Duke *Hamilton*, this looked ſuſpicious. *Howard* had confeſſed all he knew upon promiſe of pardon. So that and this laid together gave the Court ſome apprehenſions. Duke *Lauderdale* made uſe of it to heighten the King's ill opinion of the party againſt him. And, becauſe Lieutenant General *Drummond* was of all the military men he that had the beſt capacity, and the greateſt reputation, he moved that he might be ſecured. The method he took in doing it ſhewed, that he neither ſuſpected him, nor regarded the law. The ancient method was to require men to render themſelves priſoners by ſuch a day. This was a ſnare to many, who, tho' innocent, yet hating reſtraint went out of the way, and were proceeded againſt in an outlawry: But an Act of Parliament had been made, condemning that method for the future. Yet Duke *Lauderdale* reſolved to follow it. And *Drummond*, knowing his innocence, rendred himſelf as required; and was kept a year in a very cold and inconvenient priſon, at *Dunbarton*, on the top of a high rock. This, coming after a whole life of loyalty and zeal, was thought a very extraordinary reward to ſuch high pretenſions.

1674.

Jealouſies of the Prince of Orange.

Drummond was ordered to priſon.

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1674. One thing on this occaſion may be fit to be told. Lord *Kincardin* had ſerved Duke *Lauderdale* faithfully, even longer than he could do with a good conſcience: For he had ſtuck to him, and was left by him with the King, when he went to *Scotland*, who knew well with how much zeal he had ſupported his intereſt, and excuſed his faults. When Duke *Lauderdale* was hotly puſhed at, he then promiſed to all his friends, that he would avoid all former errors, if he got out of his trouble: And that made Lord *Kincardin* ſo earneſt to ſerve him. But, when he ſaw into how much fury he was running, he tried to have perſuaded him to more temper; but found it was in vain. Then he confeſſed to me, that I had judged truer than he had done; for I believed he would grow worſe than ever. When Lord *Kincardin* found, he could not hinder things in private, he oppoſed them at Council: And ſo they broke with him. He came up to juſtify himſelf to the King, who minded thoſe matters very little; but thought it was neceſſary to give a full ſcope to Duke *Lauderdale*'s motions, who had told the King there was a ſpirit of rebellion that run thro' all ſorts of people, and that was to be ſubdued by acts of power, tho' perhaps neither legal nor juſt: And when that evil ſpirit was once broken, then it would be fit to return to more legal and moderate counſels. So Lord *Kincardin* found, there was no arguing with the King upon particulars. Therefore he beg'd leave to ſtay ſome time at Court, that he might not be obliged to oppoſe that, which the King was made believe his ſervice required. The King conſented to this; and upon all occaſions uſed him very well. Duke *Lauderdale* could not bear that, and preſſed the King often to command him home; which he refuſed to do. Once he urged it with much vehemence: And the King anſwered as poſitively, that he ſaw no reaſon for it, and he would not do it. Upon this he came home as in a fit of diſtraction, and was gathering together all his commiſſions to deliver them up to the King. Upon that the Marquiſs of *Athol*, who was then in high favour with him, went to the King; and told him that he had ſent Duke *Lauderdale* home half dead, and half mad; and beg'd the King to take pity on him. So the King ſent a meſſage to Lord *Kincardin*, ordering him to go home. This Lord *Athol* himſelf told me afterwards.

The battel of *Seneff*. Towards the end of ſummer the battel of *Seneff* was fought: In the beginning of which the *French* had a great advantage: But the Prince of *Conde* puſhed it too far: And the Prince of *Orange* engaged the whole army with ſo much bravery, that it appeared that the *Dutch* army was now brought to another ſtate than he had found it in. He charged himſelf in many places, with too great a neglect of his perſon, conſidering how much depended upon it. He once

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was engaged among a body of *French*, thinking they were his own men, and bid them charge: They told him, they had no more powder: He, perceiving they were none of his men, with great presence of mind got out of their hands, and brought up a body of his army to charge them; who quickly routed them. The action in the afternoon recovered the loss that was made in the morning; and possessed all the world, the Prince of *Conde* in particular, with a great esteem of the Prince's conduct and courage. I will say little of foreign affairs; because there are many copious accounts of them in print; and I can add little to them. With relation to the battel of *Seneff*, the Prince himself told me that the day before he saw a Capuchin, that came over from the *French* army, and had a long conversation with *Zouch*, the Emperor's General; who behaved himself so ill on the day of battel, that the Prince said to his son at night, that his father had acted so basely, that, if it had not been for the respect he bore the Emperor, he would have shot him thro' the head. He was disgraced on this. But the success of the campaign was lost by it. They had a noble army; and might have done much more than they did. *Grave* was retaken in the end of the campaign. So the Provinces were now safe on that side. And the Prince had gained so much credit with the States, that he was now more than ever the master of their counsels. 1674.

The alarm that those discoveries from *Holland* gave our Court, made Lord *Arlington* offer at one trial more for recovering the King's confidence. He offered to go over to *Holland* with the Earl of *Offory*: For they fancied they had a great interest in the Prince, by their having married two of *Beevervardt*'s daughters: And the Prince had always a particular affection to Lord *Offory*. Lord *Arlington* said, he would go to the bottom of every thing with the Prince; and did not doubt, but he would bring him into an entire dependance on his uncle, and particularly dispose him to a general peace; on which the King was much set, it being earnestly desired by the *French*. It was likewise believed, that he had leave to give the Prince the hope of marrying her, whom he afterwards married. The Duke told me, he knew nothing of the matter: He had heard, Lord *Arlington* had talked, as if the managing that was his chief errand: And upon that he had asked the King, who assured him that he had a positive order not so much as to speak of that matter. Yet, whether notwithstanding this he had a secret order, or whether he did it without order, he certainly talked a great deal of it to the Prince, as a thing which he might depend on, if he would in all other things be governed by the King. *Arlington* went to *Holland*.

Sir *William Temple* had been sent over the summer before, as Embassador: And his chief instructions were, to dispose all peo- *Temple* sent Embassador to *Holland*.

1674. ples minds, chiefly the Prince's, to a peace. But the Prince had avoided the ſeeing him till the end of the campaign. Lord *Arlington* had thrown him off, when he went into the *French* intereſt: And *Temple* was too proud to bear contempt, or forget ſuch an injury ſoon. He was a vain man, much blown up in his own conceit, which he ſhewed too indecently on all occaſions. He had a true judgment in affairs, and very good principles with relation to government; but in nothing elſe. He ſeemed to think that things were as they are from all eternity: At leaſt he thought religion was fit only for the mob. He was a great admirer of the ſect of *Confuſius* in *China*, who were atheiſts themſelves, but left religion to the rabble. He was a corrupter of all that came near him. And he delivered himſelf up wholly to ſtudy eaſe and pleaſure. He entred into a cloſe friendſhip with Lord *Danby*, who depended much on him: And was directed in all his notions as to foreign affairs by him; for no man ever came into the Miniſtry, that underſtood the affairs of *Europe* ſo little as he did.

I will henceforth leave the account of our affairs beyond ſea wholly to *Temple*'s letters, in which they are very truly and fully ſet forth. And in them it appears, that the Prince of *Orange*, even while ſo young, and ſo little practiſed in affairs, had ſo clear and ſo juſt a view of them, that nothing could miſguide him; and that the bad proſpect he had from the ill condition of affairs did not frighten him to accept of any mean or baſe conditions of peace. His fidelity to his country, and the publick intereſt, was ſo firm, that no private conſiderations of his own could biaſs him, or indeed be much conſidered by him. Theſe letters give him a character that is ſo ſublime, as well as ſo genuine, that it raiſes him much above all the performances of rhetorick or panegyrick. I will mention very little that is to be found in them. *Holland* was in great expectation, when they ſaw two ſuch men, as the Earls of *Offory* and *Arlington*, come over, together with the Earl of *Danby*'s eldeſt ſon, tho' the laſt only made the ſhew a little greater. Lord *Arlington* for ſome days inſiſted vehemently on the Prince's diſmiſſing *Du Moulin*, who had diſcovered the ſecrets of his office to him. In this the Prince complied: And *Du Moulin* was ſent to one of their plantations. As to all other things, Lord *Arlington* talked to him in the ſtrain of a governour; and ſeemed to preſume too much on his youth, and on his want of experience. But, inſtead of prevailing on the Prince, he loſt him ſo entirely, that all his endeavours afterwards could never beget any confidence in him. So he came back; and reckoned this was his laſt eſſay, which ſucceeding ſo ill, he ever after that withdrew from all buſineſs. He made himſelf eaſy to the King, who continued to be ſtill very kind to him.

1675. Affairs in *England.* At *Eaſter* a piece of private news came from *France*, which the Duke

Duke was much delighted with, becauſe it did an honour to the order of the Jeſuits, to whom he had devoted himſelf. The new Confeſſor had ſo preſſed the King of *France* in Lent to ſend away his Miſtriſs, *Monteſpan*, that he prevailed at laſt. She was ſent to a Nunnery. And ſo the King received the Sacrament, as was ſaid, in a ſtate of contrition. This was writ to the Duke, and ſet out with ſuch circumſtances, as the *French* uſually do every thing that relates to their King. The Duke was much pleaſed with it. He told me, he had related it with all its circumſtances to the King in the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*'s hearing; and ſaid, they both heard it with great uneaſineſs, and were much out of countenance at it. The Duke himſelf was then in the beſt temper I had ever known him in. He was reading *Nurembergius* of the difference of things temporal and things eternal: And we had much good diſcourſe on that ſubject. Lord *Arlington* ran ſo much in his mind, that he once ſaid to me, if Lord *Arlington* would read that book, he would not meddle in ſo many affairs as he did. I ſaw he was very jealous of him, and of his intereſt in the King. Thus I have given a full account of my acquaintance with the Duke. 1675.

I loſt his favour ſoon after this. For in *April* 1675 a ſeſſion of Parliament was held, as preparatory to one that was deſigned next winter, in which money was to be aſked: But none was now aſked; it being only called to heal all breaches, and to beget a good underſtanding between the King and his people. The Houſe of Commons fell upon Duke *Lauderdale*. And thoſe who knew what had paſs'd between him and me, moved that I ſhould be examined before a Committee. I was brought before them. I told them how I had been commanded out of town. But tho' that was illegal, yet, ſince it had been let fall, it was not inſiſted on. I was next examined concerning his deſign of arming the *Iriſh* Papiſts. I ſaid, I, as well as others, had heard him ſay, he wiſhed the Preſbyterians in *Scotland* would rebel, that he might bring over the *Iriſh* Papiſts to cut their throats. I was next examined concerning the deſign of bringing a *Scotiſh* army into *England*. I deſired to be excuſed, as to what had paſſed in private diſcourſe; to which I thought I was not bound to anſwer, unleſs it were high treaſon. They preſſed me long: And I would give them no other anſwer. So they all concluded, that I knew great matters; and reported this ſpecially to the Houſe. Upon that I was ſent for, and brought before the Houſe. I ſtood upon it as I had done at the Committee, that I was not bound to anſwer; that nothing had paſſed that was high treaſon; and as to all other things, I did not think my ſelf bound to diſcover them. I ſaid farther, I knew Duke *Lauderdale* was apt to ſay things in a heat, which he did not intend to do. And, ſince he had uſed my ſelf ſo ill, I thought my

I was examined by the Houſe of Commons.

1675. my ſelf the more obliged not to ſay any thing that looked like revenge for what I had met with from him. I was brought four times to the bar. At laſt I was told, the Houſe thought they had a right to examine into every thing that concerned the ſafety of the Nation, as well as into matters of treaſon: And they looked on me as bound to ſatisfy them: Otherwiſe they would make me feel the weight of their heavy diſpleaſure, as one that concealed what they thought was neceſſary to be known. Upon this I yielded, and gave an account of the diſcourſe formerly mentioned. They laid great weight on this, and renewed their addreſs againſt Duke *Lauderdale*.

I was much blamed for what I had done. Some, to make it look the worſe, added, that I had been his Chaplain, which was falſe; and that I had been much obliged to him, tho' I had never received any real obligation from him, but had done him great ſervices, for which I had been very unworthily requited. Yet the thing had an ill appearance, as the diſcloſing of what had paſs'd in confidence; tho' I make it a great queſtion, how far even that ought to bind a man, when the deſigns are very wicked, and the perſon continued ſtill in the ſame poſt, and capacity of executing them. I have told the matter as it was, and muſt leave my ſelf to the cenſure of the reader. My love to my country, and my private friendſhips carried me perhaps too far; eſpecially ſince I had declared much againſt Clergymen's meddling in ſecular affairs, and yet had run my ſelf ſo deep in them.

This broke me quite with the Court, and in that reſpect proved a great bleſſing to me. It brought me out of many temptations; the greateſt of all being the kindneſs that was growing upon me from the Duke, which might have involved me into great difficulties, as it did expoſe me to much cenſure; all which went off upon this occaſion. And I applied my ſelf to my ſtudies, and my function, being then ſettled preacher at the Rolls, and ſoon after Lecturer of St. *Clements*. I lived many years under the protection of St. *Harbottle Grimſtone*, Maſter of the Rolls, who continued ſteady in his favour to me, tho' the King ſent Secretary *Williamſon* to deſire him to diſmiſs me. He ſaid, he was an old man, fitting himſelf for another world, and he found my miniſtry uſeful to him; ſo he prayed that he might be excuſed in that. He was a long, and very kind patron to me. I continued ten years in that poſt, free from all neceſſities: And, I thank God, that was all I deſired. But, ſince I was ſo long happy in ſo quiet a retreat, it ſeems but a juſt piece of gratitude, that I ſhould give ſome account of that venerable old man.

Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone's* character.

He was deſcended from a long-lived family; for his great grandfather lived till he was ninety eight, his grand-father to eighty ſix, and his father to ſeventy eight, and himſelf to eighty two. He had

to the laſt a great ſoundneſs of health, of memory, and of judgment. 1675.
He was bred to the ſtudy of the law, being a younger brother. Upon his elder brother's death he threw it up. But falling in love with Judge *Crook*'s daughter, the father would not beſtow her on him, unleſs he would return to his ſtudies; which he did with great ſucceſs. That Judge was one of thoſe who delivered his judgment in the Exchequer-chamber againſt the ſhip money, which he did with a long and learned argument. And Sir *Harbottle*'s father, who ſerved in Parliament for *Eſſex*, lay long in priſon, becauſe he would not pay the loan-money. Thus both his family, and his wife's, were zealous for the intereſt of their country. In the beginning of the long Parliament he was a great aſſerter of the laws; and inveigh'd ſeverely againſt all that had been concerned in the former illegal oppreſſion. His principle was, that allegiance and protection were mutual obligations; and that the one went for the other. He thought the law was the meaſure of both; and that when a legal protection was denied to one that paid a legal allegiance, the ſubject had a right to defend himſelf. He was much troubled, when preachers aſſerted a divine right of regal government. He thought it had no other effect, but to give an ill impreſſion of them as aſpiring men: No body was convinced by it: It inclined their hearers rather to ſuſpect all they ſaid beſides: It looked like the ſacrificing their country to their own preferment; and an encouraging of Princes to turn tyrants. Yet when the long Parliament engaged into the league with *Scotland*, he would not ſwear the Covenant. And he diſcontinued ſitting in the Houſe till it was laid aſide. Then he came back, and joined with *Hollis*, and the other Preſbyterians, in a high oppoſition to the Independents, and to *Cromwell* in particular, as was told in the firſt book. And he was one of the ſecluded Members, that were forced out of the Houſe. He followed afterwards the practice of the law, but was always looked at as one who wiſhed well to the ancient government of *England*. So he was choſen Speaker of that Houſe that called home the King; and had ſo great a merit in that whole affair, that he was ſoon after, without any application of his own, made Maſter of the Rolls: In which poſt he continued to his death with a high reputation, as he well deſerved it. For he was a juſt Judge; very ſlow, and ready to hear every thing that was offered, without paſſion or partiality. I thought his only fault was, that he was too rich: And yet he gave yearly great ſums in charity, diſcharging many priſoners by paying their debts. He was a very pious and devout man, and ſpent every day at leaſt an hour in the morning, and as much at night, in prayer and meditation. And even in winter, when he was obliged to be very early on the bench, he took care to riſe ſo ſoon, that he had always the command of that time, which he gave to thoſe exerciſes. He was much ſharpened againſt Popery; but had always a tender-

1675. neſs to the Diſſenters, tho' he himſelf continued ſtill in the communion of the Church. His ſecond wife, whom I knew, was niece to the great Sir *Francis Bacon:* And was the laſt heir of that family. She had all the high notions for the Church and the Crown, in which ſhe had been bred; but was the humbleſt, the devouteſt, and beſt tempered perſon I ever knew of that ſort. It was really a pleaſure to hear her talk of religion: She did it with ſo much elevation and force. She was always very plain in her clothes: And went oft to jayls, to conſider the wants of the priſoners, and relieve, or diſcharge them; and by the meanneſs of her dreſs ſhe paſs'd but for a ſervant truſted with the charities of others. When ſhe was travelling in the country, as ſhe drew near a village, ſhe often ordered her coach to ſtay behind till ſhe had walked about it, giving orders for the inſtruction of the children, and leaving liberally for that end. With two ſuch perſons I ſpent ſeveral of my years very happily. But I now return to the ſeſſion of Parliament.

Danby attaek'd, but in vain.

In the Houſe of Commons the buſineſs againſt Duke *Lauderdale* was taken up warmly at three ſeveral times: And three ſeveral addreſſes were made to the King againſt him. The King's anſwer was, that he would protect no man againſt law and juſtice; but would condemn none without ſpecial matter well made out. There was no money offered: So addreſſes were feeble things. The next attempt was againſt the Earl of *Danby*, who had begun to invert the uſual methods of the Exchequer. But the majority were for him: So that charge came to nothing. Only thoſe who begun it formed a party againſt him, that grew in concluſion to be too hard for him. He took a different method from thoſe who were in the Miniſtry before him. They had taken off the great and leading men: And left the herd as a deſpiſed company, who could do nothing, becauſe they had none to head them. But Lord *Danby* reckoned that the major number was the ſurer game: So he neglected the great men, who he thought raiſed their price too high; and reckoned, that he could gain ten ordinary men, cheaper than one of thoſe. This might have ſucceeded with him, if they that did lead his party had been wiſe and ſkilful men. But he ſeemed to be jealous of all ſuch, as if they might gain too much credit with the King. The chief men that he made uſe of were of ſo low a ſize, that they were baffled in every debate. So that many, who were inclined enough to vote in all obedience, yet were aſhamed to be in the vote on the ſide that was manifeſtly run down in the debate.

Seimour's character.

The ableſt man of his party was *Seimour*, who was the firſt Speaker of the Houſe of Commons that was not bred to the law. He was a man of great birth, being the elder branch of the *Seimour* family; and was a graceful man, bold and quick. But he had a ſort of a pride ſo peculiar to himſelf, that I never ſaw any thing like it.

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He had neither ſhame nor decency with it. He was violent againſt the Court, till he forced himſelf into good poſts. He was the moſt aſſuming Speaker that ever ſate in the chair. He knew the Houſe, and every man in it ſo well, that by looking about he could tell the fate of any queſtion. So, if any thing was put, when the Court party was not well gathered together, he would have held the Houſe from doing any thing, by a wilful miſtaking or miſtating the queſtion. By that he gave time to thoſe, who were appointed for that mercenary work, to go about and gather in all their party. And he would diſcern when they had got the majority. And then he would very fairly ſtate the queſtion, when he ſaw he was ſure to carry it. 1675.

A great many of the Court grew to be ſo uneaſy, eſpecially when they ſaw the King was under the influence of *French* and Popiſh counſels, that they were glad to be out of the way at critical times. On ſome occaſions they would venture to vote againſt the Court: Of which the memorable anſwer of *Harvey*'s, who was Treaſurer to the Queen, was a noted inſtance. He was one whom the King loved perſonally: And yet upon a great occaſion he voted againſt that which the King deſired. So the King chid him ſeverely for it. Next day, another important queſtion falling in, he voted as the King would have him. So the King took notice of it at night; and ſaid, you were not againſt me to day. He anſwered, no, Sir, I was againſt my conſcience to day. This was ſo gravely delivered, that the King ſeemed pleaſed with it: And it was much talked of. While things went thus in the Houſe of Commons, there was the greateſt and longeſt debate in the Houſe of Lords, that has been in all my time. They ſate upon it often till midnight.

Debates concerning a teſt.

It was about the teſt that Lord *Danby* had contrived, as was formerly mentioned. Lord *Danby*, and Lord *Finch*, and ſome of the Biſhops, were the chief arguers for it. They ſaid, it was neceſſary that a method ſhould be found out, to diſcriminate the good ſubjects from the bad: We had been lately involved in a long civil war, occaſioned by the ill principles that ſome had taken up with relation to government: It was fit to prevent the return of ſuch miſeries: The King had granted a very full indemnity, and had obſerved it religiouſly: But there was no reaſon, while ſo much of the old leaven ſtill remained, to leave the Nation expoſed to men of ſuch principles: It was not fit to make a Parliament perpetual: Yet that was a leſs evil, than to run the hazard of a bad election; eſpecially when jealouſies and fears had been blowed about the Nation: A good conſtitution was to be preſerved by all prudent methods: No man was to be preſſed to take this teſt: But, as they, who were not willing to come into ſuch an engagement, ought to have the modeſty to be contented with the favour and connivance of the Government, ſo, if that did not teach them good manners, it might be fit

1675. fit to uſe ſeverer tools. To all this great oppoſition was made. It was plain, the Duke did not like it: But the King was ſo ſet on it, that he did not declare himſelf againſt it. But all the Papiſts were againſt it: They thought the bringing any teſt in practice, would certainly bring on one that would turn them out of the Houſe. The Lords *Shaftsbury*, *Buckingham*, *Hollis*, *Halliſax*, and all thoſe who were thought the Country party, oppoſed this extremely. They thought, there ought to be no teſts, beyond the oath of allegiance, upon the elections to Parliament: That it being the great privilege of *Engliſh* men, that they were not to be taxed but by their repreſentatives; it was therefore thought a diſinheriting men of the main part of their birthright, to do any thing that ſhould ſhut them out from their votes in electing: All teſts in publick aſſemblies were thought dangerous, and contrary to publick liberty: For if a Parliament thought any law inconvenient for the good of the whole, they muſt be ſuppoſed ſtill free to alter it: And no previous limitation could bind up their legiſlature: A great deal was ſaid, to ſhew that the peace of the world was beſt ſecured by good laws, and good government; and that oaths or teſts were no ſecurity: The ſcrupulous might be fettered by them: Yet the bulk of the world would boldly take any teſt, and as boldly break thro' it; of which the late times had given large proofs: The matter of this teſt was very doubtful: For, tho' generally ſpeaking the King's perſon and his power were not to be diſtinguiſhed, yet that was not univerſally true: An infant King, or a lunatick, were exceptions: As alſo a King in his enemies hands; which was the caſe of *Henry* VI, for whoſe power his own party fought even againſt his perſon: So an exception was to be underſtood; otherwiſe the propoſition, that affirmed it was a traiterous poſition to ſeparate them, was not true: Nor could it be reaſonable to bind up men againſt alterations: Every new law was an alteration: It was not eaſy to define how far the power of making alterations might go, and where it muſt ſtop: Theſe things were beſt left at large: Upon the whole matter, as they were againſt any Parliamentary teſts, ſo they were more particularly againſt this. Lord *Shaftsbury* diſtinguiſhed himſelf more in this ſeſſion, than ever he had done before. He ſpoke once a whole hour, to ſhew the inconvenience of Condemning all reſiſtance upon any pretence whatſoever. He ſaid, it might be proper to lay ſuch ties upon thoſe who ſerved in the militia, and in Corporations, becauſe there was ſtill a ſuperior power in Paliament to declare the extent of the oath: But it might be of very ill conſequence to lay it on a Parliament: Since there might be caſes, tho' ſo far out of view that it was hard to ſuppoſe them, in which he believed no man would ſay, it was not lawful to reſiſt. If a King would make us a Province, and tributary to *France*, and ſubdue the Nation by a *French* army, or to the

6 Papal

Papal authority, muſt we be bound in that caſe tamely to ſubmit? 1675.
Upon which he ſaid many things, that did cut to the quick. And yet, tho' his words were watched, ſo that it was reſolved to have ſent him to the Tower if any one word had fallen from him that had made him liable to ſuch a cenſure, he ſpoke both with ſo much boldneſs and ſo much caution, that tho' he provoked the Court extreamly no advantage could be taken againſt him. The Court carried every queſtion in favour of the teſt, tho' with great oppoſition, and a proteſtation made upon every ſtep that was carried. So that the bill was in a fair way to have paſs'd: And very probably it would have paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons, when by an unlooked for emergent the ſeſſion was broke.

A diſpute about appeals and privileges.

Ever ſince the end of King *James* I's. reign petitions of appeal were brought to the Houſe of Lords from decrees in Chancery. This roſe from a parity of reaſon, becauſe writs of error lay from the Courts of law to the Houſe of Lords. And ſince the buſineſs of the Chancery grew to be ſo extended and comprehenſive, it was not thought ſafe to leave it to the Lord Chancellor's conſcience. So this practice, tho' ſo lately begun, grew on by degrees to be the main buſineſs of the Houſe of Lords. A petition of appeal was brought againſt a Member of the Houſe of Commons. The Lords received it, and made an order upon it. The Member being ſerved with it, brought it into the Houſe of Commons. And they voted it a breach of privilege, for the Lords to meddle with one of their Houſe. The Lords on the other hand ſaid, they were bound to do juſtice to all: And no privilege could lye againſt that: And, ſince they never ſate but when the Commons ſate likewiſe, if a privilege from that Houſe could ſtop their proceedings, there muſt be a failure in juſtice: And ſince no privilege was ever pretended in the caſe of a writ of error, it could not lye againſt an appeal. So they reſolved to proceed in the cauſe. The Commons paſs'd a vote againſt any lawyers that ſhould plead at the Lords bar in this cauſe. But the Lords commanded the Council to go on; with which they complied. And as they went from the Lords bar, they were by an order from the Houſe of Commons ſent to the Tower. But they were by another order from the Lords ſet at liberty. So the two Houſes being as it were at war, it was neceſſary to put an end to the ſeſſion.

The ſeſſion broke up on it.

This was very uneaſy to the Court: For they ſaw it was a very ſure method to break a ſeſſion of Parliament, every time that it was taken up. I am not ſure, if this was laid, or if it happened by accident. Lord *Shaftsbury* ſaid, it was laid by himſelf. But others aſſured me, it happened in courſe, tho' it produced great effects: For there never was a ſtrength in the Court to raiſe this debate of the teſt in any ſubſequent ſeſſion. And as this made the Court apprehend, they might by the proſecution of the ſame appeal looſe the next ſeſ-

1675. ſion, ſince the prorogation did only diſcontinue Parliamentary proceedings, but not Judiciary ones; ſo they feared this might go ſo far as to force a diſſolution of the preſent Parliament: To which the Court would be very hardly brought, after they had practiſed ſo long upon the Members, and knew them all ſo well.

In this ſeſſion, on a day that grievances were to be gone upon, *Grimſtone* ſaid, that conſidering the extent of privilege, he looked on a ſtanding Parliament as the greateſt grievance of the Nation; ſo many men being exempted from juſtice, and from the demands of their creditors, for ſo long, and ſo indefinite a time. This motion was let fall at that time. But it was not forgot. And it was likely to be taken up, when new opportunities ſhould be offered. The ſummer went over without any conſiderable accidents at home.

A ſeſſion of Parliament. A new ſeſſion met next winter. And at the firſt opening it the King laid before the Commons the great difficulties he was in by the anticipations of his revenues. It was then generally thought, that the King was in ſuch ſtraits, that, if money could not be obtained, he muſt turn to other counſels, and to other Miniſters. The debate went high in the Committee of the whole Houſe. It was offered on the one ſide to ſhew, that the King had not enough in his hands to maintain the government, and to ſecure the Nation: Tho' our neutrality at that time made trade flow in upon us, ſo that the Cuſtoms roſe higher than ever. On the other hand it was ſaid, that if anticipations were once admitted as a reaſon for a ſupply, the Court would never want that reaſon. It was fitter to examine by whoſe means, or on what deſign thoſe anticipations were made. At laſt the queſtion was put. And, the vote being then ſtated, and the previous queſtion being then put, whether the main queſtion ſhould be then put, or not, the votes were equal. So Sir *Charles Harbord*, who was in the chair, gave it for putting the main queſtion. But, ſome of the Country ſide coming in between the two queſtions, the main queſtion was loſt by two or three. So near was the Court to the carrying ſo great a point. *Harbord* was much blamed for his raſhneſs. He ſaid, the duty of the chair was always to ſet matters forward: And ſo he ought to have given it for putting the main queſtion: And, if the ſame equality had continued, he ſaid, he would have given it for the Court. He was a very rich and covetous man, who knew *England* well: And his parts were very quick about him in that great age, being paſt eighty. A lively repartee was made by his own ſon to him in the debate. He had ſaid, the right way of dealing with the King, and of gaining him to them, was, to lay their hands on their purſes, and to deal roundly with him. So his ſon ſaid, he ſeconded his motion: But he meant, that they ſhould lay their hands on their purſes, as he himſelf did, and hold them well ſhut, that no money ſhould go out of them. The Earl of *Danby* was much

much diſappointed at this. Yet he took heart, ſince it was brought ſo near, that he reckoned he would make the next ſeſſion ſure. The petition of appeal, that had broke the former ſeſſion, was now brought on again before the Lords. The Court tried their whole ſtrength to keep it off, till they ſaw what might be expected from the Commons. So, upon the miſcarriage of the great vote in the Houſe of Commons, the Lords went on upon the petition: And, the Commons oppoſing them vigorouſly, as before, it was viſible that the Parliament muſt be prorogued. 1675.

Upon this it was propoſed in the Houſe of Lords to addreſs the King for diſſolving the preſent Parliament. It was manifeſt the two Houſes could no longer maintain the correſpondence that was neceſſary. In a new Parliament this muſt fall to the ground: But it could not while this laſted. It was ſaid, a ſtanding Parliament changed the conſtitution of *England*. The King did no more conſult with his people, nor know them: But he had now a cabal of ſingle perſons to deal with. The people were now cut off from their liberty of electing; and ſo had no more a true repreſentative. It was ſaid, that a Parliament of a long continuance would be either an engine to ſell the liberties of their country, or would by rendring themſelves popular join with the people againſt the Crown. In either caſe it was like to be deſtructive to the conſtitution. So it was moved, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the King for diſſolving the Parliament. And, to the wonder of all men, the Duke joined in it. The majority of the temporal Lords were for it. But the bench of Biſhops was againſt it: And ſo it was not carried. The thing became the univerſal ſubject of diſcourſe. It was infuſed into the Members of the Houſe of Commons, that, if they would not be more tractable, and help the King out of his neceſſities, he was ſure a new Parliament would give him money, and make him eaſy; and that the rather for having diſſolved them. This wrought on many of them, who had been choſen while the Nation was in a fit, or rather a fury of loyalty. They knew, they could never hope to be choſen again. Many of them were ruined in their fortunes, and lived upon their privileges, and upon their penſions. They had got it among them for a maxim, which contributed not a little to our preſervation while we were in ſuch hands, that, as they muſt not give the King too much at a time, leaſt there ſhould be no more uſe of them, ſo they were to take care not to ſtarve the Court, leaſt they themſelves ſhould be ſtarved by that means. They were indeed generally both againſt Popery and *France*. And, to redeem their credit for the money that they were ready to give ſomewhat too laviſhly, they ſaid, when they went into their countries, that it was on deſign to fix the King to an *Engliſh* intereſt, and the Proteſtant religion. And they had talked ſo high on thoſe heads, that the

The characters of ſome Parliament men.

1675. the Court it ſelf could not manage them, when any thing relating to theſe came before them. Some of them were high for the prerogative: Others high for the Church: And all the mercenary men were careful of themſelves. In oppoſition to theſe a great party was formed, who declared more heartily for the Proteſtant religion, and for the intereſt of *England*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, opened many of their eyes, and let them know the deſigns of the Court. And indeed they were then ſo viſible, that there was enough ſeen, without ſuch ſecret intelligence, to convince the moſt incredulous. Sir *William Coventry* had the greateſt credit of any man in the Houſe. He never meddled perſonally with any Miniſter. He had a perfect underſtanding of affairs. So he laid open the errors of the government with the more authority, becauſe he mixed no paſſion nor private reſentments with it. His brother uſually anſwered him with much life in a repartee, but not with the weight and force with which he ſpoke. Colonel *Birch* was a man of a peculiar character. He had been a carrier at firſt, and retained ſtill, even to an affectation, the clowniſhneſs of his education. He got up in the progreſs of the war to be a Colonel, and to be concerned in the Exciſe. And at the Reſtoration he was found to be ſo uſeful in managing the Exciſe, that he was put in a good poſt. He was the rougheſt and boldeſt ſpeaker in the Houſe; and talked in the language and phraſes of a carrier, but with a beauty and eloquence that was always acceptable. I heard *Coventry* ſay, he was the beſt ſpeaker to carry a popular aſſembly before him that he had ever known. He ſpoke always with much life and heat. But judgment was not his talent. *Waller* was the delight of the Houſe: And even at eighty he ſaid the livelieſt things of any among them: He was only concerned to ſay that which ſhould make him be applauded. But he never laid the buſineſs of the Houſe to heart, being a vain and empty, tho' a witty, man. He deſerves the character of being one of the great refiners of our language and poetry. He was for near ſixty years one of the beſt of all our writers that way. The two men of quality that were the moſt conſidered were, the Lord *Ruſſell*, and the Lord *Cavendiſh*. Lord *Ruſſell* was a man of great candor, and of a general reputation; univerſally beloved, and truſted; of a generous and obliging temper. He had given ſuch proofs of an undaunted conrage, and of an unſhaken firmneſs, that I never knew any man have ſo entire a credit in the Nation as he had. He quickly got out of ſome of the diſorders into which the Court had drawn him. And ever after that his life was unblemiſh'd in all reſpects. He had from his firſt education an inclination to favour the Non-conformiſts; and wiſhed the laws could have been made eaſier to them, or they more pliant to the law. He was a ſlow man, and of little diſcourſe: But he had a true judgment, when he conſi-

conſidered things at his own leiſure. His underſtanding was not defective: But his vertues were ſo eminent, that they would have more than balanced real defects, if any had been found in the other. Lord *Cavendiſh*, afterwards Earl, and then Duke, of *Devonſhire* was too much a libertine both in principle and practice. He went off from the Court at firſt upon reſentments for ſome diſappointments there. He was ambitious, and had the courage of a hero, with an unuſual proportion both of wit and knowledge. He had a great ſoftneſs in his exteriour deportment. *Littleton* and *Powle* were the men that laid the matters of the Houſe with the greateſt dexterity and care. *Powle* was very learned in precedents, and Parliament journals, which goes a great way in their debates: And, when he had time to prepare himſelf, he was a clear and ſtrong ſpeaker. *Littleton* was the ableſt and the vehementeſt arguer of them all. He commonly lay quiet till the end of a debate: And he often ended it, ſpeaking with a ſtrain of conviction and authority, that was not eaſily reſiſted. I lived the very next door to him for ſeveral years: And we ſpent a great deal of our time every day together. He told me all their management: And commonly, when he was to put his whole ſtrength to argue any point, he uſed to talk it over with me, and to ſet me to object all that I could againſt him. He lived wholly in *London*. So matters were moſt in his hands during the intervals of Parliament. And by his means it was, that I arrived at ſuch knowledge of their intrigues. He was a wiſe and worthy man, had ſtudied much modern hiſtory, and the preſent ſtate and intereſt of *Europe*. Sir *Thomas Lee* was a man that valued himſelf upon artifice and cunning, in which he was a great maſter, without being out of countenance when it was diſcovered. *Vaughan*, the chief Juſtice's ſon, was a man of great integrity, had much pride, but did great ſervice. Theſe were the chief men that preſerved the Nation from a very deceitful and practiſing Court, and from a corrupt Houſe of Commons. And by their ſkill and firmneſs they, from a ſmall number who began the oppoſition, grew at laſt to be the majority. 1675.

All this I thought fit to lay together, and to fill as it were an empty place in my hiſtory: For, as our main buſineſs lay in preparing for, or managing a ſeſſion of Parliament, ſo we had now a long interval, of above a year, between this ſeſſion in winter 1675, and the next ſeſſion of Parliament, which was not till the ſpring in 1677. The *French* were much ſet on procuring a peace. And they, ſeeing how much the Parliament was ſet on engaging the King in the Alliance, prevailed with him to diſcontinne the ſeſſion; for which no doubt he had ronnd ſums of money ſent to him. 1676.

A loog interval between the ſeſſions of Parliament.

About this time *Lockhart* the Embaſſador in *France* died. The farther he ſaw into the deſigns of the Court, he grew the more uneaſy

An account of ſome paſſages of *Lockhart's* courage in *France*.

1676. eaſy in the poſt he was in, tho' he acted in it with great ſpirit and reſolution, both with relation to his own maſter, and to the *French* King: Of which I will ſet down two paſſages, that may be very inſtructive to Embaſſadors. In this time of neutrality the *French* privateers took many *Engliſh* ſhips, pretending they were *Dutch* only with *Engliſh* paſſes. One of theſe was taken by a privateer, that, as was believed, *Pepys*, then ſecretary to the *Engliſh* Admiralty, and in great favour with the Duke, had built; and, as was ſaid, out of the King's ſtores. The merchants proved in Council, that the ſhip was *Engliſh*. So *Lockhart* had an order to demand her: And he preſſed it ſo effectually, that an order was ſent from the Court of *France* to diſcharge her. But, before that was executed, the King was prevailed on by *Pepys*, to tell the *French* Embaſſador, that he did not concern himſelf in that ſhip: He believed merchants were rogues, and could bring witneſſes to prove whatſoever they had a mind to: So the Court of *France* might do what they pleaſed in that matter. This was writ to *Verſailles* a day or two after the former order was ſent. But upon it a new one went to *Dunkirk*, where the ſhip lay, to ſtop her. This came before ſhe could get out. So *Lockhart*, being informed of that, went to Court, and complained heavily. He was told, what the King himſelf had ſaid about it. He anſwered reſolutely, that the King ſpoke to them only by him. Yet he wrote upon this to the Court of *England*, deſiring to be recalled, ſince he could ſerve no longer with honour, after he had been ſo diſowned. Upon this the King wrote him a letter with his own pen, excuſing the matter the beſt he could; and juſtified him in what he had done. And upon that ſecret orders were ſent, and the ſhip was diſcharged. The other was a higher point, conſidering the bigotry of the King of *France*. *Lockhart* had a *French* Popiſh ſervant, who was dying, and ſent for the Sacrament. Upon which it was brought with the proceſſion ordinary in ſuch caſes. *Lockhart*, hearing of this, ordered his gates to be ſhut. And upon that many were enflamed, and were running to force his gates: But he ordered all his family to ſtand to their arms, and, if any force was offered, to fire. There was a great noiſe made of this. But no force was offered. He reſolved to complain firſt: And ſo went to Court, and expoſtulated upon it. He ſaid, his houſe was his maſter's houſe: And here a publick triumph was attempted on his maſter's religion, and affronts were offered him: He ſaid, if a Prieſt had brought the Sacrament privately, he would have connived at it: But he aſked reparation for ſo publick an injury. The King of *France* ſeemed to be highly diſpleaſed at this, calling it the greateſt indignity that had ever been done to his God during his reign. Yet the point did not bear arguing: So *Lockhart* ſaid nothing to that. When *Lockhart* went from him, *Pompone* followed him, ſent after him by the King; and told him,

he

he would force the King to ſuffer none of his ſubjects to ſerve him. 1676.
He anſwered, he would order his coach-man to drive the quicker to *Paris*, to prevent that; and left *Pompone* to gueſs the meaning. As ſoon as he came to his houſe, he ordered all his *French* ſervants to be immediately paid off, and diſmiſs'd. The Court of *England* was forced to juſtify him in all this matter. A publick letter of thanks was writ to him upon it. And the Court of *France* thought it fit to digeſt it. But the *French* King look'd on him ever after with great coldneſs, if not with averſion. Soon after that he fell into a languiſhing, which after ſome months carried him off. I have ever look'd on him as the greateſt man that his country produced in this age, next to Sir *Robert Murray*.

Management in *France*.

The Earl of *Danby* began now to talk againſt the *French* intereſt with open mouth. *Rouvigny* ſtaid but two years in *England:* For, tho' he ſerved his maſter's intereſts but too well, yet the Popiſh party could not bear the want of a Chapel in the *French* Embaſſador's houſe. So he was recalled: And *Courtin* was ſent in his room. Before he parted, he talked roundly with Lord *Danby:* He ſaid, he was going into popular intereſts againſt thoſe of his maſter's honour, who having engaged the King of *France* in the war, and being forced to leave him to fight it out alone, ought not to turn againſt him; eſpecially, ſince the King of *France* referred every thing to him as the arbiter and mediator of the peace: He remembred him of the old Duke of *Buckingham*'s fate, who thought to become popular by breaking the *Spaniſh* match; and it was his ruin: He ſaid, the King of *France* was the King's beſt friend, and trueſt ally: And if he made the King forſake him, and depend on his Parliament, being ſo tempered as they were then, both the King and he might come to repent it, when it was too late. I had all this from himſelf. To this Lord *Danby* replied, that he ſpoke as a faithful ſervant to his own maſter, and that he himſelf would act as a faithful ſervant to his maſter. *Courtin* ſpoke a great deal to the ſame purpoſe, in the Prince of *Condé*'s preſence, when I had the honour to wait on him. He told me, there was a ſtrange reverſe in things: Lord *Danby* was at that time ſuffering for being in the *French* intereſt: And Lord *Montague* was popular as being againſt it: Whereas, to his knowledge, during his employment in *England*, Lord *Danby* was an enemy to their intereſt, as much as Lord *Montague* was for it. I can ſay nothing as to one point, whether any great ſums came over from *France* all this while, or not. Some watched the riſing and falling of the exchange, by which men ſkilful in thoſe matters can judge, when any great ſum paſſes from one Kingdom to another, either in ſpecie, or by bill: But they could never find out any thing to make them conclude it was done. Lord *Montague* told me, he tried often to get into that ſecret, but in vain: He often ſaid to

1676. to the King, that, if he would truſt him, he could make better bargains for him, than others had made: But the King never anſwered him a word on that head: And he believed, that what ſums ſoever came over, they were only to the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*, or to the King's privy purſe; and that the *French* Embaſſador had the ſole managing of that matter, the King perhaps not being willing to truſt any of his own ſubjects with ſo important and ſo dangerous a ſecret. In all companies the Earl of *Danby* was declaring openly againſt *France*, and Popery. And the See of *London* falling then void by *Henchman*'s death, he brought *Compton*, brother to the Earl of *Northampton*, to ſucceed him. He was made Biſhop of *Oxford*, upon *Crew*'s being promoted to *Dureſme*.

The character of ſome Biſhops.

Compton carried arms for ſome years. When he was paſs'd thirty, he took orders. He was an humble and modeſt man. He applied himſelf more to his function, than Biſhops had commonly done. He went much about his dioceſe; and preached, and confirmed in many places. His preaching was without much life or learning: For he had not gone tho' his ſtudies with the exactneſs that was fitting. He was a great patron of the Converts from Popery, and of thoſe Proteſtants, whom the bad uſage they were beginning to meet with in *France* drove over to us: And by theſe means he came to have a great reputation. He was making many complaints to the King, and often in Council, of the inſolence of the Papiſts, and of *Coleman*'s in particular. So that the King ordered the Duke to diſmiſs *Coleman* out of his ſervice. Yet he continued ſtill in his confidence. But with theſe good qualities *Compton* was a weak man, willful, and ſtrangely wedded to a party. He was a property to Lord *Danby*, and was turned by him as he pleaſed. The Duke hated him. But Lord *Danby* perſuaded both the King and him, that, as his heat did no great hurt to any perſon, ſo the giving way to it helped to lay the jealouſies of the Church party. About a year after that, *Sheldon* dying, *Compton* was perſuaded that Lord *Danby* had tried with all his ſtrength to promote him to *Canterbury*; tho' that was never once intended. There were none of the order, that were in any ſort fitted to fill that See, whom the Court could truſt.

Sancroft, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, was raiſed to it. He was a man of ſolemn deportment, had a ſullen gravity in his looks, and was conſiderably learned. He had put on a monaſtick ſtrictneſs, and lived abſtracted from company. Theſe things, together with his living unmarried, and his being fixed in the old maxims of high loyalty, and a ſuperſtitious valuing of little things, made the Court conclude, that he was a man, who might be entirely gained to ſerve all their ends; or, at leaſt, that he would be an unactive ſpeculative man, and give them little oppoſition in any thing that they might attempt, when they had more promiſing opportunities. He was a

dry, cold man, reſerved, and peeviſh; ſo that none loved him, and few eſteemed him: Yet the high church party were well pleaſed with his promotion. 1676.

As Lord *Danby* thus raiſed his creatures in the Church, ſo he got all men turned out of their places, that did not entirely depend on him: And went on in his credit with the King, ſtill aſſuring him, that, if he would leave things to his conduct, he would certainly bring about the whole Cavalier party again to him. And ſuch was the corruption and poverty of that party, that, had it not been that *French* and Popiſh counſels were ſo viſible in the whole courſe of our affairs, he had very probably gained them to have raiſed the King's power, and to have extirpated the Diſſenters, and to have brought things very near to the ſtate they were in, in King *Charles* I's. time, before the war.

All this while the Papiſts were not idle. They tried their ſtrength with the King to get the Parliament diſſolved: In which their hopes carried them ſo far, that *Coleman* drew a declaration for juſtifying it. Their deſign in this was, once to divide the King and his people: For they reckoned the new Parliament would not be ſo eaſy to him as this was. For how angry ſoever this was at him, and he ſometimes at them, yet they ſaw that a ſevere Act againſt Popery, or ſome ſteps made againſt *France*, would diſpoſe them to forget all former quarels, and to give money. And as the King always wanted that, and loved to be eaſy, ſo the proſpect of it was ever in his view. They feared, that at ſome time or other this might make him both ſacrifice Popery, and forſake *France*. So they took all poſſible methods to engage the King to a more entire dependance on *France*, and to a diſtruſt of his own people. They were labouring for a general peace in all Courts, where they had any intereſt. The Prince of *Orange*'s obſtinacy was the common ſubject of their complaints. Lord *Shaftsbury* tried, upon the Duke's concurring in the vote for an addreſs to have the Parliament diſſolved, if he could ſeparate him from the Earl of *Danby*. And he ſent a meſſage to him by the Lord *Stafford*, that his voting as he did in that matter had gained much on many who were formerly his enemies: He wiſhed he would uſe his intereſt with the King to get that brought about: And he durſt undertake, that a new Parliament ſhould be more inclinable to grant the Papiſts a toleration, than they would ever find this would prove. The projects of the Papiſts.

But the Duke and Lord *Danby* were too firmly united to be eaſily divided: For whatever Lord *Danby* gave out, he made the Duke believe, that all that he intended would really turn to his ſervice. *Coleman* was very buſy in writing many letters to all places, but chiefly to the Court of *France*. He was in all his diſpatches ſetting forth the good ſtate of the Duke's affairs, and the great ſtrength he was daily *Coleman's* intrigues.

1676. daily gaining. He was either very ſanguine, if he believed this himſelf, or very bold in offering to impoſe it ſo poſitively on others. He was always full of aſſurances, that, if a peace could be brought about, ſo that the King of *France* was ſet at liberty to aſſiſt them with his purſe, and his force, they were never in ſuch hopes in ſucceeding in the great deſign of rooting out this peſtilent hereſy, that had ſo long over-run theſe northern Kingdoms, as now. He had a friend, one Sir *William Throgmorton*, of whom he intended to make great uſe. He and his wife had prevailed with him and his Lady to change their religion. And ſo he ſent them over to *France*, recommending him to the King's confeſſor, *F. Ferrier*, as a man that might do them great ſervice, if he could be made one of theirs. So *Ferrier*, looking on him as a man of importance, applied himſelf to turn him, which was ſoon done. And the confeſſor, to raiſe the value of his convert, ſpoke of him to the King in ſuch a ſtrain, that he was much conſidered. When his Lady abjured, the Duke of *Orleans* led her up to the altar. He took great ſtate on him, and ſoon ſpent all he had. He was a buſy man between the two Courts. But, before he got into any conſiderable poſt, *Ferrier* died: And the new confeſſor did not take ſuch care of him as his predeceſſor had done. So he was forced to quit his high living, and retire to a private houſe. And he ſent his Lady into a monaſtery. Yet he continued ſtill to be *Coleman*'s agent, and correſpondent. He went often to ſee an *Engliſh* Lady, that was of their religion, Lady *Brown*. And, being one day with her, he received a deep wound by a knife ſtruck into his thigh, that pierced the great artery. Whether the Lady did it to defend her ſelf, or he to ſhew the violence of his paſſion, was not known. It was not poſſible to ſtop the bleeding. Yet the Lady would have him carried out of her houſe. He died in the houſe of one *Hollman*, an eminent man of their religion, then at *Paris*. The whole matter was carried off in ſuch ſecrecy, that *Lockhart*, then at *Paris*, could never penetrate farther into it. I had this from his Lady after his death.

Coleman quickly found out another correſpondent, that was more uſeful to him than he whom he loſt could ever have been, F. *St. German*, a Jeſuit, who was ſent over with the Ducheſs, and paſs'd for her confeſſor, tho' I have been aſſured that was a miſtake. He had all the heat of his order in him, and was apt to talk very boldly. I was ſometimes in company with him. He was complained of in Council by the Biſhop of *London* for ſome practice on one that was come over a convert, whom he was between threatning and perſuaſion working on, in order to the ſending him back. This came to be diſcovered. Upon which he fled. And on him *Coleman* fixed for his chief correſpondent. *Howard* was about this time by Cardinal *Altieri*'s means promoted to be a Cardinal. And upon that the King

King and Duke ſent complements to *Rome*. This opened a negotiation with that Court, that was put in the hands of the *Internuncio* at *Bruſſels*. So it was propoſed, that a ſum of money ſhould be given the King, if in return of that ſome ſuitable favours for thoſe of their religion could be obtained. *Coleman* was ſent over by the Duke to *Bruſſels*, to treat about it, none being in the ſecret, but the Lord *Arundell*. Yet, as he underſtood it, the King himſelf knew of it. When he went thither, he found the ſum offered was ſo ſmall, and the conditions demanded were ſo high, that he made no progreſs in the negotiation. Whatſoever *Coleman* did in the main buſineſs, he took good care of himſelf. All his letters were full of their being able to do nothing for want of money. And he made the *French* Embaſſador believe, he could do his maſter great ſervice, if he was well ſupplied. He got once 2500 guineas from him, to gain his maſter ſome friends. But he applied it all to furniſh out his own expence. He was at that time ſo lifted up, that he had a mind to paſs for the head of the party. And of this I will give one inſtance, in which I my ſelf had a ſhare. 1676.

Sir *Philip Terwhit*, a Papiſt, had married a zealous Proteſtant, who ſuſpecting his religion charged him with it. But he denied it before marriage; and carried that ſo far, that he received the Sacrament with her in her own Church. After they were married, ſhe found that he had deceived her: And they lived untowardly together. At this time ſome ſcruples were put in her head, with which ſhe acquainted me, and ſeemed fully ſatisfied with the anſwers that I gave her. She came afterwards to me, and deſired, I would come to her houſe, and talk of all thoſe matters with ſome that her huſband would bring to meet us. I told her, I would not decline the thing, if deſired, tho' I ſeldom knew good come of ſuch conferences. She made the ſame propoſition to Dr. *Stillingfleet*; and he gave the ſame anſwer. So a day was ſet, and we went thither, and found ten or twelve perſons, that were not known to us. We were ſcarce ſet down, when *Coleman* came in, who took the whole debate upon him. I writ down a very exact account of all that paſs'd, and ſent it to them, and had their additions to it: And I printed it. The thing made a great noiſe, and was a new indication of *Coleman*'s arrogance. Soon after that the Lady, who continued firm upon this conference, was poſſeſſed with new ſcruples about the validity of our ordinations. I got from her the paper that was put in her hand, and anſwered it: And ſhe ſeemed ſatisfied with that likewiſe. But afterwards the uneaſineſs of her life prevailed more on her, than her ſcruples did; and ſhe changed her religion.

A conference between *Coleman* and ſome divines.

Some time after I had printed the Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*, which were favourably received, the reading of theſe got me the acquaintance and friendſhip of Sir *William Jones*, then Attorney

I undertook to write the hiſtory of our Reformation.

1676. torney General. He was raiſed to that high poſt merely by merit, and by his being thought the greateſt man of the law: For, as he was no flatterer, but a man of a moroſe temper, ſo he was againſt all the meaſures that they took at Court. They were weary of him, and were raiſing Sir *John King* to vie with him: But he died in his riſe, which indeed went on very quick. *Jones* was an honeſt, and wiſe man. He had a roughneſs in his deportment, that was very diſagreeable: But he was a good natured man at bottom, and a faithful friend. He grew weary of his employment, and laid it down: And, tho' the Great Seal was offered him, he would not accept of it, nor return to buſineſs. The quickneſs of his thoughts carried his views far. And the ſourneſs of his temper made him too apt both to ſuſpect and to deſpiſe moſt of thoſe that came to him. My way of writing hiſtory pleas'd him: And ſo he preſſed me to undertake the hiſtory of *England*. But *Sanders*'s book, that was then tranſlated into *French*, and cried up much in *France*, made all my friends preſs me to anſwer it, by writing the hiſtory of the Reformation. So now all my thoughts were turned that way. I laid out for *MSS*, and ſearched into all offices. I got for ſome days into the *Cotton* library. But Duke *Lauderdale*, hearing of my deſign, and apprehending it might ſucceed in my hands, got *Dolben*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, to divert Sir *John Cotton* from ſuffering me to ſearch into his library. He told him, I was a great enemy to the prerogative, to which *Cotton* was devoted, even to ſlavery. So he ſaid, I would certainly make an ill uſe of all I had found. This wrought ſo much on him, that I was no more admitted, till my firſt volume was publiſhed. And then, when he ſaw how I had compoſed it, he gave me free acceſs to it.

The Earl of *Eſſex*'s character. At this time the Earl of *Eſſex* was brought over from being Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whoſe friendſhip to me was afterwards ſuch, that I think my ſelf obliged to ſtop, and to give ſome account of him. He was the Lord *Capell*'s ſon. His education was neglected by reaſon of the war. But, when he was at man's age, he made himſelf maſter of the *Latin* tongue, and made a great progreſs in mathematicks, and in all the other parts of learning. He knew our law and conſtitution well, and was a very thoughtful man. He began ſoon to appear againſt the Court. The King imputed it to his reſentments: So he reſolved to make uſe of him. He ſent him Embaſſador to *Denmark*, where his behaviour in the affair of the flag gained him much reputation: Tho' he ſaid to me there was nothing in it. That King had ordered the Governour of *Croonenburgh* to make all ſhips that paſs'd ſtrike to him. So when Lord *Eſſex* was ſailing by, he ſent to him, either to ſtrike to him, or to ſail by in the night, or to keep out of his reach: Otherwiſe he muſt ſhoot, firſt with powder, but next with ball. Lord *Eſſex* ſent him a reſolute anſwer, that the Kings of *England* made others ſtrike

to

to them, but their ſhips ſtruck to none: He would not ſteal thro' in the dark, nor keep out of his reach: And if he ſhot at him, he would defend himſelf. The Governour did ſhoot at him, but on deſign ſhot over him. This was thought great bravery in him: Yet he reckoned, it was impoſſible the Governour would endeavour to ſink a ſhip that brought over an Embaſſador. While he was there, the King died, which made a great change in the Court. For that King had made one of his ſervants Stadtholder; which was indeed a ſtrange thing, he himſelf being upon the place. He was but a mean perſon, and was advanced by the favour the Queen bore him. Lord *Eſſex*'s firſt buſineſs was to juſtify his behaviour in refuſing to ſtrike. Now at his going from *England* Sir *John Cotton* had deſired him to take ſome volumes of his library that related to *Daniſh* affairs; which he took, without apprehending that he ſhould have great occaſion to uſe them: But this accident made him ſearch into them. And he found very good materials to juſtify his conduct; ſince by formal treaties it had been expreſſly ſtipulated, that the *Engliſh* ſhips of war ſhould not ſtrike in the *Daniſh* ſeas. This raiſed his character ſo high at Court, that it was writ over to him, that he might expect every thing he ſhould pretend to at his return. The change of government that he ſaw in *Denmark*, and the bringing it about with ſo little difficulty, made a great impreſſion on him; ſince one of the freeſt Nations in the world was on a ſudden brought under a moſt arbitrary form of government. Many of the ancient Nobility ſeemed uneaſy under the change. And even the Chancellor himſelf, tho' raiſed by favour from very mean beginnings, could not forbear to lament even to him the change of their conſtitution. 1676. His employment in *Denmark*.

Upon his return from *Denmark*, he was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. He could never underſtand how he came to be raiſed to that poſt; for he had not pretended to it: And he was a violent enemy to Popery; not ſo much from any fix'd principle in religion, in which he was too looſe, as becauſe he looked on it as an invaſion made on the freedom of human nature. In his government of *Ireland* he exceeded all that had gone before him; and is ſtill conſidered as a pattern to all that come after him. He ſtudied to underſtand exactly well the conſtitution, and intereſt of the Nation. He read over all their Council books; and made large abſtracts out of them, to guide him, ſo as to advance every thing that had been at any time ſet on foot for the good of the Kingdom. He made ſeveral volumes of tables of the ſtate, and perſons that were in every county and town; and got true characters of all that were capable to ſerve the publick. And he preferred men always upon merit, without any application from themſelves; and watched over all about him, that there ſhould be no bribes going among his ſervants. The revenue of *Ireland* was then in the Earl of *Ranelagh*'s management; And his government of *Ireland*.

1676. who was one of the ableſt men that Iſland had bred, capable of all affairs, even in the midſt of a looſe run of pleaſure, and much riot. He had the art of pleaſing maſters of very different tempers and intereſts ſo much, that he continued above thirty years in great poſts. He had undertaken to furniſh the King with money for the building of *Windſor* out of the revenue of *Ireland*. And it was believed the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth* had a great yearly penſion out of his office. By this means payments in *Ireland* were not regularly made. So the Earl of *Eſſex* complained of this. The King would not own how much he had from Lord *Ranelagh*, but preſs'd Lord *Eſſex* to paſs his accounts. He anſwered, he could not paſs them as accounts: But, if the King would forgive Lord *Ranelagh*, he would paſs a diſcharge, but not an ill account. The King was not pleaſed with this, nor with his exactneſs in that government: It reproached his own too much. So he took a reſolution about this time to put the Duke of *Ormond* in it again. Upon this occaſion the Earl of *Eſſex* told me, that he knew the King did often take money into his privy purſe, to defraud his Exchequer: For he reckoned that what was carried thither, was not ſo much his own, as his privy purſe was. And *Coventry* told Lord *Eſſex*, that there was once a Plantation-cauſe at the Council board: And he was troubled to ſee the King eſpouſe the worſt ſide: And upon that he went to him, and told him ſecretly, that it was a vile cauſe which he was ſupporting: The King anſwered him, he had got good money for doing it.

About this time there was a propoſition made for farming the revenue of *Ireland*. And Lord *Danby* ſeemed for ſome time to favour one ſet of men, who offered to farm it. But on the ſudden he turned to another. The ſecret of this broke out, that he was to have great advantages by the ſecond propoſition. The matter was brought to the Council table: And ſome were examined to it upon oath. Lord *Widrington* did confeſs that he made offer of a round ſum to Lord *Danby*, but ſaid that he did not accept of it. Lord *Halliſax* was yet of the Council. So he obſerved that the Lord Treaſurer had rejected that offer very mildly; but not ſo as to diſcourage a ſecond attempt: It would be ſomewhat ſtrange, if a man ſhould aſk the uſe of another man's wife, and if the other ſhould indeed refuſe it, but with great civility. This nettled Lord *Danby*, who upon that got him to be diſmiſs'd from that board: At which the Duke was much pleaſed, who hated Lord *Halliſax* at that time, more even than the Earl of *Shaftsbury* himſelf; for he had fallen ſeverely on the declaration for toleration in the Houſe of Lords. He ſaid, if we could make good the Eaſtern complement, *O King live for ever*, he could truſt the King with every thing; but ſince that was ſo much a complement, that it could never become real, he could not be implicite in his confidence. Thus matters went on all 1676, and to the beginning

hing of the 1677, when another ſeſſion of Parliament was held. I have brought within this year ſeveral things that may be of uſe to enlighten the reader as to the ſtate of things, tho' perhaps of their own nature they were not important enough to deſerve to be told. But in ſo bare a year, as this proved to be, it ſeemed no impertinent digreſſion, to bring all ſuch matters into the reader's way. 1676.

I ſhall next give ſome account of *Scotiſh* affairs. The Duke of *Lauderdale* had maſtered the oppoſition made to him ſo entirely, that men were now tho' ſilent, not quiet. The field Conventicles increaſed mightily. Men came to them armed. And upon that great numbers were outlawed: And a writ was iſſued out, that was indeed legal, but very ſeldom uſed, called Intercommoning: Becauſe it made all that harboured ſuch perſons, or did not ſeize them, when they had it in their power, to be involved in the ſame guilt. By this means many, apprehending a ſevere proſecution, left their houſes, and went about like a ſort of Banditti, and fell under a fierce and ſavage temper. The Privy Council upon this pretended they were in a ſtate of war. And upon an old ſtatute, that was almoſt quite forgot, it was ſet on foot, that the King had a power to take any Caſtle that lay convenient for his forces, and put a garriſon in it. So twelve houſes were marked out: Of which two were the chief dwelling houſes of two Peers. The reſt were the houſes of gentlemen, that had gone into the party againſt Duke *Lauderdale*. And, tho' theſe were houſes of no ſtrength, and not at all properly ſituated for the ſuppreſſing of Conventicles, yet they were taken. Soldiers were put in them. And the countries about were required to furniſh thoſe ſmall garriſons with all things neceſſary. This was againſt the expreſs words of the law that had lately ſettled the militia. Great oppoſition was made to it. Yet it was kept up above a year, till the houſes were quite ruined by the rude ſoldiers, who underſtood that the more waſte they made it would be the more acceptable. At laſt it was let fall. The affairs of *Scotland*.

Another thing happened, ſcarce worth mentioning, if it was not for the effects that followed on it. One *Carſtairs*, a looſe and vicious gentleman, who had ruined his eſtate, undertook to *Sharp* to go about in diſguiſe to ſee thoſe Conventicles, and to carry ſome with him to witneſs againſt ſuch as they ſaw at them; in which he himſelf was not to appear: But he was to have a proportion of all the fines that ſhould be ſet upon this evidence: And he was to have ſo much for every one of their teachers that he could catch. He had many different diſguiſes, and paſſed by different names in every one of them. He found *Kirkton*, an eminent preacher among them, who was as cautious as the reſt were bold, and had avoided all ſuſpitious and dangerous meetings. *Carſtairs*, ſeeing him walking on the ſtreets of *Edenburgh*, told him, there was a perſon that was ſick, and ſent him to beg a viſit from him. He ſuſpecting nothing went with

1676. with him. *Carſtairs* brought him to his own lodgings: And there he told him, he had a warrant againſt him, which he would execute, if he would not give him money to let him alone. *Kirkton* ſaid, he had not offended, and was willing to go to priſon till his innocence ſhould appear. *Carſtairs* really had no warrant: But, as was afterwards diſcovered, he had often taken this method, and had got money by it. So he went out to procure a warrant, and left *Kirkton* lock'd up in his chamber. *Kirkton* called to the people of the houſe: And told them, how he was trepan'd. And he got one of them to ſeek *Baillie* of *Jerriſwood*, his brother-in-law, who was a Gentleman of great parts, but of much greater vertue. *Carſtairs* could not find nine Privy Counſellors to ſign a warrant, which were the number required by law. Yet, when he came back, he pretended he had a warrant, and would force *Kirkton* to go to priſon upon it. *Kirkton* refuſed to obey any ſuch warrant, till he ſaw it. And upon that *Carſtairs* ſtruggled, and pulled him to the ground, and ſate on him, the other crying out murther. At that time *Baillie* came to the door: And, hearing him cry out, he called to *Carſtairs* to open the door: And, that not being done, he forced it, and found *Carſtairs* ſitting upon *Kirkton*. He drew his ſword, and made him come off him. He then aſked him, what warrant he had to uſe him as he did. He ſaid, he had a warrant to carry him to priſon: But he refuſed to ſhew it. *Baillie* offered to aſſiſt in executing it, if he had any: But he perſiſted in this, that he was not bound to ſhew it. *Baillie* made *Kirkton* to go out; and followed him, no violence being uſed; for which he had many witneſſes, whom the noiſe had brought together. And he ſaid, he was reſolved to ſue *Carſtairs* for this riot. But before the next Council day a warrant was ſigned by nine Privy Counſellors, but antedated, for the committing of *Kirkton*, and of ſix or ſeven more of their preachers. Lord *Athol* told me, he was one of thoſe who ſigned it, with that falſe date to it. So *Baillie* was cited before the Council: *Carſtairs* produced his warrant, which he pretended he had at the time that *Kirkton* was in his hands, but did not think fit to ſhew, ſince that would diſcover the names of others, againſt whom he was alſo to make uſe of it. *Baillie* brought his witneſſes to prove his behaviour. But they would not ſo much as examine them. It was ſaid, that upon *Carſtairs* ſaying he had a warrant *Kirkton* was bound to go to jayl; and that, if it had been found that he was carried thither without a warrant, the jaylor would not have received him. Duke *Hamilton*, and Lord *Kinkardin*, were yet upon the Council. And they argued long againſt this way of proceeding, as liker a Court of Inquiſition, than a legal government. Yet *Baillie* was fined 500 *l*, and condemn'd to a year's impriſonment. And upon this an occaſion was taken to turn Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Kinkardin* out of the Council, as enemies to the Church, and as favourers of Conventicles.

The

The Parliament of *England* had been prorogued for about a year and some months, by two different prorogations. One of these was for more than a year. So upon that it was made a question, whether by that the Parliament was not dissolved. The argument for it was laid thus. By the ancient laws a Parliament was to be held *once a year, and oftener if need be:* It was said, the words, *if need be*, in one act, which were not in another that enacted an annual Parliament without that addition, did not belong to the whole period, by which a session was only to be held once a year if it was needful; but belonged only to the word *oftener:* So that the law was positive for a Parliament once a year: And if so, then any act contrary to that law was an unlawful act: By consequence, it could have no operation: From whence it was inferred, that the prorogation which did run beyond a year, and by consequence made that the Parliament could not sit that year, was illegal; and that therefore the Parliament could not sit by virtue of such an illegal act. Lord *Shaftsbury* laid hold on this with great joy, and he thought to work his point by it. The Duke of *Buckingham* was for every thing that would embroil matters. The Earl of *Salisbury* was brought into it, who was a high spirited man, and had a very ill opinion of the Court. Lord *Wharton* went also into it. And Lord *Hollis* writt a book for it: But a fit of the gout kept him out of the way. All the rest of the party was against it. They said, it was a subtilty: And it was very dangerous to hang so much weight upon such weak grounds. The words, *if need be*, had been understood to belong to the whole act: And the long Parliament did not pretend to make annual Parliaments necessary, but insisted only on a triennial Parliament: If there had been need of a Parliament during that long prorogation, the King by proclamation might have dissolved it, and called a new one. All that knew the temper of the House of Commons were much troubled at this dispute, that was like to rise on such a point. It was very certain the majority of both Houses, who only could judge it, would be against it. And they thought such an attempt to force a dissolution, would make the Commons do every thing that the Court desired. Lord *Hallifax* set himself much against this; and did it not without expressing great sharpness against Lord *Shaftsbury*, who could not be managed in this matter. So, upon the first opening the session, the debate was brought on: And these Lords stood against the whole House. That matter was soon decided by a question.

1677

A question raised in *England* about the legality of a prorogation.

1677 But then a ſecond debate roſe, which held for two days, whether theſe Lords were not liable to cenſure, for offering a debate, that might create great diſtractions in the ſubject's minds, concerning the legality of Parliament. Lord *Hallifax* with the reſt of the party argued againſt it ſtrongly. They ſaid, if an idle motion was made, and checked at firſt, he that made it might be cenſured for it, tho' it was ſeldom, if ever, to be practiſed in a free Conncil, where every man was not bonnd to be wiſe, nor to make no impertinent motion: But when the motion was entertained, and a debate followed, and a qneſtion was put npon it, it was deſtructive to the freedom of publick Councils, to call any one to an acconnt for it: They might with the ſame juſtice call them to an acconnt for their debates and votes: So that no man was ſafe, unleſs he could know where the majority wonld be: Here would be a precedent to tip down ſo many Lords at a time, and to garboil the Houſe, as often as any party ſhould have a great majority. It was ſaid on the other hand, here was a deſign to put the Nation into great diſorder, and to bring the legality of a Parliament into diſpnte. So it was carried to oblige them to aſk pardon as delinquents: Otherwiſe it was reſolved to ſend them to the Tower. They refuſed to aſk pardon; and ſo were ſent thither. The Earl of *Salisbury* was the firſt that was called on: For the Dnke of *Buckingham* went out of the Honſe. He deſired, he might have his ſervants to wait on him: And the firſt he named was his cook; which the King reſented highly, as carrying in it an inſinnation of the worſt ſort. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* made the ſame demand. But the Lord *Wharton* did not aſk for his cook. The Duke of *Buckingham* came in next day; and was ſent after them to the Tower. And they were ordered to continne priſoners during the pleaſure of the Honſe, or dnring the King's pleaſnre. They were much viſited. So to check that, tho' no complaint was made of their behaviour, they were made cloſe priſoners, not to be viſited without leave from the King, or the Houſe: And particnlar obſervations were made of all thoſe that aſked leave. This was much cried ont on: And the Earl of *Danby*'s long impriſonment afterwards, was thonght a juſt retaliation for the violence with which he drove this on. Three of the Lords lay in the Tower for ſome months: Bnt they were ſet at liberty npon their petitioning the King. Lord *Shaftsbury* wonld not petition: But he moved in the King's Bench that he might be diſcharged. The King's

The Lords that moved it ſent to the Tower.

juſtice, he ſaid, was to be diſpenſed in that Court. The Court ſaid, he was committed by an order from the Houſe of Lords, which was a Court ſuperior to them: So they could take no cognizance of the matter. Lord *Danby* cenſured this motion highly, as done in contempt of the Houſe of Lords; and ſaid, he would make uſe of it againſt him next ſeſſion of Parliament. Yet he was often forced to make the ſame motion at that bar: And he complained of the injuſtice of the Court for refuſing to bail or diſcharge him, tho' in that they followed the precedent, which at this time was directed by himſelf. 1677

The debate about the diſſolution of the Parliament, had the effect in the Houſe of Commons that was forſeen: For the Commons were much inflamed againſt Lord *Shaftsbury*, and his party. They at firſt voted 600000 *l.* for the building thirty ſhips: For they reſolved to begin with a popular bill. A clauſe was put in the bill by the Country party, that the money ſhould be accounted for to the Commons, in hope that the Lords would alter that clauſe, and make it accountable to both Houſes; which was done by the Lords, and conferences were held upon it. The Lords thought, that, ſince they paid their ſhare of the tax, it was not reaſonable to exclude them from the accounts. The Commons adhered to their clauſe: And the bill was in great danger of being loſt. But the King prevailed with the Lords to recede. An additional exciſe, that had been formerly given, was now falling: So they continued that for three years longer. And they were in all things ſo compliant, that the Court had not for many years had ſo hopeful a ſeſſion as this was. But all was changed of a ſudden. Proceedings in Parliament.

The King of *France* was then making one of his early campaigns in *Flanders*; in which he at firſt took *Valenciennes*, and then divided his Army in two. He with one beſieged *Cambray*: And the other commanded by his brother beſieged St. *Omer*. But, tho' I intend to ſay little of foreign affairs, yet where I came to the knowledge of particulars that I have not ſeen in any printed relations, I will venture to ſet them down. *Turenne*'s death was a great blow to the King of *France*; but not to his Miniſters, whom he deſpiſed, and who hated him. But the King had ſuch a perſonal regard to him, that they were afraid of oppoſing him too much. He was both the moſt cautious, and the moſt obliging General that ever commanded an Army. He had the art of making every man love him, except thoſe that thought they Affairs in *Flanders*.

1677 they came in ſome competition with him: For he was apt to treat them with too much contempt. It was an extraordinary thing that a random cannon ſhot ſhould have killed him. He ſat by the balance of his body a while on the ſaddle, but fell down dead in the place: And a great deſign he had, which probably would have been fatal to the *German* Army, died with him. The Prince of *Condè* was ſent to command the Army to his great affliction: For this was a declaration, that he was eſteemed inferior to *Turenne*, which he could not well bear, tho' he was inferior to him in all that related to the command; unleſs it was in a day of battel, in which the preſence of mind, and vivacity of thonght, which were wonderful in him, gave him ſome advantage. Bnt he had too much pride, to be ſo obliging as a General ought to be. And he was too much a ſlave to pleaſnre, and gamed too much, to have that conſtant application to his buſineſs that the other had. He was entirely loſt in the King's good opinion, not only by reaſon of his behaviour dnring his minority. Bnt, after that was forgiven, once when the King was ill, not without apprehenſions, he ſent for him, and recommended his ſon to his care, in caſe he ſhould die at that time. But he, inſtead of receiving this, as a great mark of confidence, with due acknowledgments, expoſtulated upon the ill uſage he had met with. The King recovered; bnt never forgot that treatment, and took all occaſions to mortify him; which the Miniſters knew well, and ſeconded him in it: So that, bating the ontward reſpect due to his birth, they treated him very hardly in all his pretenſions.

The *French* King declined a battle when offered by the Prince of *Orange*.

The *French* King came down to *Flanders* in 76, and firſt took *Condè*, and then beſieged *Bouchain*. The ſiege went on in form: And the King lay with an Army covering it, when on a ſudden the Prince of *Orange* drew his Army together, and went np almoſt to the King's camp, offering him battle. All the Marſhals and Generals concluded that battle was to be given, and that the war would be that day ended. The King heard all this coldly. *Schomberg* was newly made a Marſhal, and had got great honour the year before againſt the Prince of *Orange*, in raiſing the ſiege of *Maeſtrickt*. He commanded in a qnarter at ſome diſtance. The King ſaid, he would come to no reſolution, till he heard his opinion. *Louvoy* ſent for him by a confident perſon, whom he ordered to tell him what had happen'd; and that, in any opinion he was to give, he muſt conſider the King's perſon. So, when he came to the King's tent, a council of

war was called: And *Schomberg* was ordered to deliver his opi- 1677
nion firſt. He ſaid, the King was there on deſign to cover the ſiege of *Bouchain:* A young General was come up on a deſperate humour to offer him battle: He did not doubt, but it would be a glorious deciſion of the war: But the King ought to conſider his own deſigns, and not to be led out of theſe by any bravado, or even by the great hope of ſucceſs: The King ought to remain in his poſt, till the place was taken: Otherwiſe he ſuffered another man to be the maſter of his counſels and actions. When the place was taken, then he was to come to new counſels: But till then he thought he was to purſue his firſt deſign. The King ſaid *Schomberg* was in the right: And he was applauded that day, as a better Courtier than a General. I had all this from his own mouth.

To this I will add a pleaſant paſſage, that the Prince of *Condè* told young *Rouvigny*, now Earl of *Galloway*. The King of *France* has never yet fought a battel; and has a mighty notion of that matter: And, it ſeems, he apprehends the danger of it too much. Once he was chiding the Prince of *Conti* for his being about to fight a combat with a man of quality. The King told him, he ought to conſider the dignity of his blood, and not put himſelf on the level with other ſubjects; and that his uncle had declined fighting on that very account. The Prince of *Conti* anſwered, my uncle might well have done ſo, after he had won two battels; but I, who have yet done nothing, muſt pretend to no ſuch diſtinction. The King told this anſwer to the Prince of *Condè*, who ſaw he was nettled with it. So he ſaid to him, that his nephew had in that ſpoke like a young man: For winning of a battel was no great matter; ſince, tho' he who commanded had the glory of it, yet it was the ſubalterns that did the buſineſs: In which he thought he pleaſed the King; and for which he laughed heartily at him, when he told the ſtory. The late King told me, that in theſe campaigns the *Spaniards* were both ſo ignorant and ſo backward, ſo proud and yet ſo weak, that they would never own their feebleneſs, or their wants, to him. They pretended they had ſtores, when they had none; and thouſands, when they ſcarce had hundreds. He had in their counſels often deſired, that they would give him only a true ſtate of their garriſons and magazines. But they always gave it falſe. So that for ſome campaigns all was loſt, merely becauſe they deceived him in the ſtrength they pretended they had. At laſt he believed nothing they ſaid, but ſent his own officers to examine every thing. *Monterey* was a wiſe man, and a good

1677 Governor, but was a coward. *Villa Hermoſa* was a brave man, but ignorant and weak. Thus the Prince had a ſad time of it every campaign. But none was ſo unhappy as this: In which, upon the loſs of *Valenciennes*, he looking on St. *Omer* as more important than *Cambray*, went thither, and ventured a battle too raſhly. *Luxembourgh*, with a great body of horſe, came into the Duke of *Orleans*'s Army, juſt as they were engaging. Some regiments of marines, on whom the Prince depended much, did baſely run away. Yet the other bodies fought ſo well, that he loſt not much, beſides the honour of the day. But upon that St. *Omer* did immediately capitulate, as *Cambray* did ſome days after. It was thought, that the King was jealous of the honour his brother had got in that action; for he never had the command of an army after that time: And, courage being the chief good quality that he had, it was thought his having no occaſion given him to ſhew it flowed from ſome particular reaſon.

Cambray and St. *Omer* taken.

The Houſe of Commons preſſed the King to engage in the war.

Theſe things happening during this Seſſion of Parliament, made great impreſſion on all peoples minds. Sir *W. Coventry* opened the buſineſs in the Houſe of Commons; and ſhewed the danger of all theſe Provinces falling under the power of *France*; which muſt end in the ruin of the United Provinces, if a timely ſtop were not put to the progreſs the *French* were making. He demonſtrated, that the intereſt of *England* made it neceſſary for the King to withdraw his mediation, and enter into the alliance againſt *France:* And the whole Houſe went into this. There were great complaints made of the regiments that the King kept in the *French* army, and of the great ſervice that was done by them. It is true, the King ſuffered the *Dutch* to make levies. But there was another ſort of encouragement given to the levies for *France*, particularly in *Scotland*; where it looked liker a preſs than a levy. They had not only the publick jails given them to keep their men in: But, when theſe were full, they had the caſtle of *Edenburgh* aſſigned them, till ſhips were ready for their tranſport. Some, that were put in priſon for Conventicles, were, by order of Council, delivered to their officers. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador heard of this, and made great complaints upon it. So a Proclamation was ordered, prohibiting any more levies. But Duke *Lauderdale* kept it up ſome days, and writ down to haſten the levies away; for a Proclamation was coming down againſt them. They were all ſhipped off, but had not ſailed, when the Proclamation came down: Yet it was kept up, till they ſailed away. One of the ſhips was driven back by ſtreſs of weather: But no care was

taken to execute the Proclamation. So apparently was that Kingdom in a *French* management. 1677

The Houſe of Commons preſſed the King, by repeated addreſſes, to fall into the intereſt of *Europe*, as well as into his own. The King was uneaſy at this, and ſent them ſeveral angry meſſages. Peace and war, he ſaid, were undoubtedly matters within his prerogative, in which they ought not to meddle. And the King in common diſcourſe remembred often the Parliament's engaging his father and grandfather in the affairs of *Germany*, and to break the match with *Spain*, which proved fatal to them: And he reſolved not to be ſerved in ſuch a manner. Upon this occaſion, Lord *Danby* ſaw his error, of neglecting the leading men, and reckoning upon a majority, ſuch as could be made: For theſe leading men did ſo entangle the debates, and over-reached thoſe on whom he had practiſed, that they, working on the averſion that the *Engliſh* Nation naturally has to a *French* intereſt, ſpoiled the hopefulleſt Seſſion the Court had had of a great while, before the Court was well aware of it. The King, who was yet firmly united with *France*, diſmiſſed them with a very angry ſpeech, checking them for going ſo far in matters that were above them, and that belonged only to him: Tho' they brought to him many precedents in the Reigns of the higheſt ſpirited of all our Kings, in which Parliaments had not only offered general advices, about the entring into wars, but even ſpecial ones, as to the conduct that was to be held in them. The whole Nation thought it a great happineſs, to ſee a Seſſion, that Lord *Shaftsbury*'s willfulneſs had, as it were, driven in to the Court, end with doing ſo little miſchief; far contrary to all mens expectations.

When the Seſſion was over, Lord *Danby* ſaw his ruin was inevitable, if he could not bring the King off from a *French* intereſt: Upon which he ſet himſelf much to it. And, as he talked with an extraordinary zeal againſt *France* on all occaſions, ſo he preſſed the King much to follow the advices of his Parliament. The King ſeemed to inſiſt upon this, that he would once have a peace made, upon the grounds that he had concerted with *France*: And, when that was done, he would enter next day into the Alliance. But he ſtood much upon this; that having once engaged with *France* in the war, he could not with honour turn againſt *France*, till it was at an end. This was ſuch a refining in a point of honour, which that King had not on all other occaſions conſidered ſo much, that all men believed there was ſomewhat elſe at the bottom. *Danby* declared againſt *France*.

The

1677 The Earl of *Danby* continued to give, by Sir *William Temple*, all poſſible aſſurances to the Prince of *Orange*, preſſing him likewiſe to make ſome compliances on his ſide. And he gave him great hopes of bringing about a marriage with the Duke's Daughter; which was univerſally deſired by all the Proteſtant party, both at home and abroad. Great offers were made to the Duke to draw him into the Alliance. He was offered the command of the whole force of the Allies. And he ſeemed to be wrought on by the proſpect of ſo great an authority. There was a party that were ſtill very jealous of Lord *Danby* in all this matter. Some thought, all this was artifice; that a war would be offered to the next Seſſion, only to draw money from the Parliament, and thereby to raiſe an army; and that, when the army was raiſed, and much money given to ſupport it, all would be ſold to *France* for another great ſum; and that the Parliament would be brought to give the money to pay an army for ſome years, till the Nation ſhould be ſubdued to an entire compliance with the Court. It was given out, that this muſt be the ſcheme by which he maintained himſelf in the King and the Duke's confidence, even when he declared himſelf an open enemy to that which they were ſtill ſupporting. This he did with ſo little decency, that at *Sancroft*'s conſecration dinner, he began a health, to the confuſion of all that were not for a war with *France*. He got the Prince of *Orange* to aſk the King's leave to come over at the end of the campaign: With which the Court of *France* was not pleaſed; for they ſuſpected a deſign for the marriage. But the King aſſured *Barillon*, who was lately ſent over Embaſſador in *Courtin*'s place, that there was not a thought of that; and that the Prince of *Orange* had only a mind to talk with him: And he hoped, he ſhould bring him into ſuch meaſures, as ſhould produce a ſpeedy peace.

The Prince of *Orange* came into *England*.

The campaign ended unſucceſsfully to the Prince: For he ſat down before *Charleroy*, but was forced to raiſe the ſiege. When that was over, he came to *England*, and ſtaid ſome time in it, talking with his two uncles about a peace. But they could not bring him up to their terms. After a fruitleſs ſtay for ſome weeks, he intended to go back without propoſing marriage. He had no mind to be denied: And he ſaw no hope of ſucceeding, unleſs he would enter more entirely into his uncle's meaſures. Lord *Danby* preſſed his ſtaying a few days longer, and that the management of that matter might be left to him. So next *Monday* morning, after he had taken care, by all his creatures about the King, to put him

him in a very good humour, he came to the King, and told him, he had received Letters from all the beſt friends his Majeſty had in *England*, and ſhewed a bundle of them; (in which he was pretty ſure the King would not trouble himſelf to read them; probably they were written as he had directed.) They all agreed, he ſaid, in the ſame advice, that the King ſhould make a marriage between the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke's daughter: For they all believed he came over on that account: And, if he went away without it, no body would doubt, but that he had propoſed it, and had been denied. Upon which the Parliament would certainly make addreſſes to the King for it. And if the marriage was made upon that, the King would loſe the grace and thanks of it: But if it was ſtill denied, even after the addreſſes of both Houſes, it would raiſe jealouſies that might have very ill conſeqnences. Whereas, if the King did it of his own motion, he would have the honour of it: And, by ſo doing, he would bring the Prince into a greater dependance on himſelf, and beget in the Nation ſuch a good opinion of him, as would lay a foundation for a mutual confidence. This he enforced with all the topicks he could think on. The King ſaid, the Prince had not ſo much as propoſed it: Lord *Danby* owned he had ſpoke of it to himſelf; and ſaid, that his not moving it to the King was only, becauſe he apprehended he was not like to ſucceed in it. The King ſaid next, my brother will never conſent to it. Lord *Danby* anſwered, perhaps not, unleſs the King took it upon him to command it: And he thought it was the Duke's intereſt to have it done, even more than the King's: All people were now poſſeſs'd of his being a Papiſt, and were very apprehenſive of it: But if they ſaw his daughter given to one that was at the head of the Proteſtant intereſt, it would very much ſoften thoſe apprehenſions, when it did appear that his religion was only a perſonal thing, not to be derived to his children after him. With all this the King was convinced. So he ſent for the Duke, Lord *Danby* ſtaying ſtill with him. When the Duke came, the King told him he had ſent for him, to deſire he would conſent to a thing that he was ſure was as much for his intereſt, as it was for his own quiet and ſatisfaction. The Duke, without aſking what it was, ſaid, he would be ready always to comply with the King's pleaſure in every thing. So the King left it to the Lord *Danby* to ſay over all he had ſaid on that head to himſelf. The Duke ſeemed much concerned. But the King ſaid to him; Brother, I deſire it of you for my ſake, as well as your own:

1677

1677 And upon that the Duke conſented to it. So Lord *Danby* ſent immediately for the Prince, and in the King's name ordered a Council to be preſently ſummoned. Upon the Prince's coming, the King, in a very obliging way, ſaid to him; Nephew, it is not good for man to be alone, I will give you a help meet for you: And ſo he told him he would beſtow his niece on him. And the Duke, with a ſeeming heartineſs, gave his conſent in very obliging terms: The King adding, Nephew, remember that love and war do not agree well together. In the mean while the news of the intended marriage went over the Court and Town. All, except the *French* and the Popiſh party, were much pleaſed with it. *Barillon* was amazed. He went to the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*; and got her to ſend all her creatures to deſire to ſpeak to the King: She writ him likewiſe ſeveral Billets to the ſame purpoſe. But Lord *Danby* had ordered the Council to be called: And he took care, that neither the King nor the Duke ſhould be ſpoke to, till the matter was declared in Council. And when that was done, the King preſented the Prince to the young Lady, as the perſon he deſigned ſhould be her huſband. When *Barillon* ſaw it was gone ſo far, he ſent a courier to the Court of *France* with the news: Upon whoſe arrival *Mountague*, that was then our Embaſſador there, was ſent for. When he came to *Verſailles*, he ſaw the King the moſt moved, that he had ever obſerved him to be. He aſked him, when was the marriage to be made? *Mountague* underſtood not what he meant. So he explained all to him. *Mountague* proteſted to him, that he knew nothing of the whole matter. That King ſaid, he always believed the journey would end in this: And he ſeemed to think that our Court had now forſaken him. He ſpoke of the King's part in it more decently; but expoſtulated ſeverely on the Duke's part, who had now given his daughter to the greateſt enemy he had in the world. To all this *Mountague* had no anſwer to make. But next night he had a courier with letters, from the King, the Duke, and the Prince, to the King of *France*. The Prince had no mind to this piece of courtſhip: But his uncle obliged him to it, as a civility due to kindred and blood. The King aſſured the King of *France*, that he had made the match on deſign to engage the Prince to be more tractable in the treaty, that was now going on at *Nimeguen*. The King of *France* received theſe letters civilly; but did not ſeem much ſatisfied with them. *Mountague* was called over ſoon after this, to get new inſtructions. And Lord *Danby* aſked him, how the King of *France* received the news of the

He married the Duke's daughter.

marriage. He anſwered, as he would have done the loſs of an army; and that he had ſpoke very hardly of the Duke, for conſenting to it, and nor at leaſt acquainting him with it. Lord *Danby* anſwered, he wronged him; for he did not know of it an hour before it was publiſhed, and the King himſelf not above two hours. All this relation I had from *Mountague* himſelf. It was a maſter-piece indeed, and rhe chief thing in the Earl of *Danby*'s miniſtry, for which the Duke never forgave him. 1677

Upon the general ſatisfaction that this marriage gave the whole Nation, a new ſeſſion of Parliament was called in the beginning of the year 78: To which the King declared the ſenſe he had of rhe dangerous ſtate their neighbours were in, and that it was neceſſary he ſhould be put in a poſture to bring things to a balance. So the Houſe was preſſed to ſupply the King in ſo plentiful a manner, as the occaſion did require. The Court aſked money, both for an army, and a fleet. Sir *William Coventry* ſhewed the great inconvenience of raiſing a land army, the danger that might follow on it, the little uſe could be made of ir, and the great charge it muſt put the Nation to: He was for hiring bodies from the *German* Princes, and for aſſiſting the *Dutch* with money: And he moved to recal our troops from *France*, and to employ them in the *Dutch* Service: He thought, that which did more properly belong to *England*, was to ſet out a great fleet, and to cut off the *French* trade every where; for they were then very high in their manufactures and trade; their people were ingenious as well as induſtrious; they wrought hard, and lived low; ſo they ſold cheaper than others could do; and it was found, that we ſent very near a million of our money in ſpecie every year for the balance of our trade with them. But the King had promiſed ſo many Commiſſions to men of quality in both Houſes, that this carried it for a land army. It was ſaid, what hazard could there be from an army commanded by men of eſtates, as this was to be? A ſevere act paſs'd prohibiting all importation of the *French* manufactures or growth for three years, and to the next ſeſſion of Parliament after that. This was made as ſtrict as was poſſible: And for a year after it was well look'd to. But the merchants found ways to evade it: And the Court was too much *French*, not to connive at the breach of it. In the preamble of this Act it was ſet forth, that we were in an actual war with *France*. This was excepted to, as not true in fact. But the Miniſtry affirmed we were already engaged ſo far with the Allies, that it was really a war, and 1678

that

1678 that our troops were already called from *France*. *Coventry* in ſome heat ſaid, the King was engaged, and he would rather be guilty of the murder of forty men, than to do any thing to retard the progreſs of the war. The oddneſs of the expreſſion made it to be often objected afterwards to him. A poll bill was granted, together with the continuance of the additional cuſtoms, that were near falling off. Six hundred thouſand pound was alſo given for a land army, and for a fleet. All the Court party magnified the deſign of raiſing an army. They ſaid, the employing hired troops was neither honourable nor ſafe. The *Spaniards* were willing to put *Oſtend* and *Newport* in our hands: And we could not be anſwerable for theſe places, if they were not kept by our own people.

Supplies given towards the war.

The *French* take *Ghent*.

At this time the King of *France* made a ſtep that ſtruck terror into the *Dutch*, and enflamed the *Engliſh* out of meaſure. *Louvoy* till then was rather his father's aſſiſtant, than a miniſter upon his own foot. He at this time gained the credit with the King, which he maintained ſo long afterwards. He propoſed to him the taking of *Ghent*; and thought that the King's getting into ſuch a place, ſo near the *Dutch*, would immediately diſpoſe them to a peace. But it was not eaſy to bring their army ſo ſoon about it, without being obſerved: So the execution ſeemed impoſſible. He therefore laid ſuch a ſcheme of marches and countermarches, as did amuſe all the Allies. Sometimes the deſign ſeemed to be on the *Rhine:* Sometimes on *Luxemburgh*. And while their forces were ſent to defend thoſe places, where they apprehended the deſign was laid, and that none of the *French* Generals themſelves did apprehend what the true deſign was, all on the ſudden *Ghent* was inveſted: And both town and citadel were quickly taken. This was *Louvoy*'s maſter-piece. And it had the intended effect. It brought the *Dutch* to reſolve on a peace. The *French* King might have taken *Bruges*, *Oſtend* and *Newport*. But he only took *Ypres*; for he had no mind to provoke the *Engliſh*. He was ſure of his point by the fright this put the *Dutch* in. We were much alarmed at it. And the Duke of *Monmouth* was immediately ſent over with ſome of the Guards.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

But the Parliament grew jealous, as they had great cauſe given them, both by what was then doing in *Scotland*, and by the management they obſerved at Court. And now I muſt look Northward to a very extraordinary ſcene that opened there. Duke *Lauderdale* and his Ducheſs went to *Scotland* the former year. Her deſign was to marry her Daughters into two of the great Families of *Scotland*, *Argile* and *Murray*,

which ſhe did. But, things being then in great diſorder, by reaſon of the numbers and deſperate tempers of thoſe who were intercommoned, *Sharp* pretended, he was in great danger of his life; and that the rather, becauſe the perſon that had made the attempt on him was let live ſtill. Upon this I muſt tell what had paſt three years before this. *Sharp* had obſerved a man that kept ſhop at his door, who look'd very narrowly at him always as he paſs'd by: And he fancied, he was the man that had ſhot at him ſix years before. So he ordered him to be taken up, and examined. It was found, he had two piſtols by him, that were deeply charged, which encreaſed the ſuſpicion. Yet the man denied all. But *Sharp* got a friend of his to go to him, and deal with him to make a full confeſſion: And he made ſolemn promiſes, that he would procure his pardon. His friend anſwered, he hoped he did not intend to make uſe of him to trepan a man to his ruin. Upon that, with lifted up hands, *Sharp* promiſed by the living God, that no hurt ſhould come to him, if he made a full diſcovery. The perſon came again to him, and ſaid, if a promiſe was made in the King's name, the priſoner would tell all. So it was brought before the Council. Lord *Rothes*, *Halton*, and *Primeroſe* were ordered to examine him. *Primeroſe* ſaid, it would be a ſtrange force of eloquence, to perſuade a man to confeſs, and be hanged. So Duke *Lauderdale*, being the King's Commiſſioner, gave them power to promiſe him his life. And as ſoon as theſe Lords told him this, he immediately kneeled down, and confeſſed the fact, and told the whole manner of it. There was but one perſon privy to it, who was then dead. *Sharp* was troubled to ſee ſo ſmall a diſcovery made: Yet they could not draw more from him. So then it was conſidered, what ſhould be done to him. Some moved the cutting off his right hand. Others ſaid, he might learn to practiſe with his left hand, and to take his revenge; therefore they thought both hands ſhould be cut off. Lord *Rothes*, who was a pleaſant man, ſaid, how ſhall he wipe his breech then. This is not very decent to be mentioned in ſuch a work, if it were not neceſſary; for when the truth of the promiſe now given was afterwards called in queſtion, this jeſt was called to mind, and made the whole matter to be remembred. But *Primeroſe* moved, that ſince life was promiſed, which the cutting off a limb might endanger, it was better to keep him priſoner during life in a caſtle they had in the *Baſs*, a rock in the mouth of the *Frith:* And thither he was ſent. But it was thought neceſſary to make him repeat his confeſſion in a Court of Judicature: So he was brought into the Juſtitiary Court, upon an inditement

1678 *Mitchell's trial.*

1678 for the crime, to which it was expected he ſhould plead guilty. But the Judge, who hated *Sharp*, as he went up to the bench, paſſing by the priſoner ſaid to him, Confeſs nothing, unleſs you are ſure of your limbs as well as of your life. Upon this hint he, apprehending the danger, refuſed to confeſs: Which being reported to the Council, an act was paſt mentioning the promiſe and his confeſſion, and adding, that ſince he had retracted his confeſſion, they likewiſe recalled the promiſe of pardon: The meaning of which was this, that, if any other evidence was brought againſt him, the promiſe ſhould not cover him: But it ſtill was underſtood, that this promiſe ſecured him from any ill effect by his own confeſſion. The thing was almoſt forgot after four years, the man being in all reſpects very inconſiderable. But now *Sharp* would have his life. So Duke *Lauderdale* gave way to it: And he was brought to *Edenburgh* in order to his trial. *Nisbit*, who had been the King's Advocate, and was one of the worthieſt and learnedeſt men of the age, was turned out. And *Mackenzie* was put in his place, who was a man of much life and wit, but he was neither equal nor correct in it: He has publiſhed many books, ſome of law, but all full of faults; for he was a ſlight and ſuperficial man. *Lockhart* was aſſigned counſel for the priſoner. And now that the matter came again into peoples memory, all were amazed at the proceeding. *Primeroſe* was turned out of the place of Lord Regiſter, and was made Juſtice General. He fancied orders had been given to raze the Act that the Council had made: So he turned the books, and he found the Act ſtill on record. He took a copy of it, and ſent it to *Mitchell*'s Counſel: That was the priſoner's name. And, a day or two before the trial, he went to Duke *Lauderdale*, who, together with *Sharp*, Lord *Rothes*, and Lord *Halton*, were ſummoned as the priſoner's witneſſes. He told him, many thought there had been a promiſe of life given. Duke *Lauderdale* denied it ſtiffly. *Primeroſe* ſaid, he heard there was an Act of Council made about it, and he wiſhed that might be looked into. Duke *Lauderdale* ſaid, he was ſure it was not poſſible, and he would not give himſelf the trouble to turn over the books of Council. *Primeroſe*, who told me this, ſaid his conſcience led him to give Duke *Lauderdale* this warning of the matter, but that he was not ſorry to ſee him thus reject it. The trial was very ſolemn. The confeſſion was brought againſt him, as full evidence: To which *Lockhart* did plead, to the admiration of all, to ſhew that no extrajudicial confeſſion could be allowed in a Court. The hardſhips of a priſon, the hopes of life, with other practices, might draw confeſſions from men, when they were perhaps drunk, or out of their

ſenſes. He brought upon this a meaſure of learning, that amazed the audience, out of the lawyers of all civilized Nations. And, when it was oppoſed to this, that the Council was a Court of Judicature, he ſhewed, that it was not the proper Court for crimes of this nature, and that it had not proceeded in this as a Court of Judicature. And he brought out likewiſe a great deal of learning upon thoſe heads. But this was overruled by the Court, and the confeſſion was found to be judicial. The next thing pleaded for him was, that it was drawn from him upon hope and promiſe of life: And to this *Sharp* was examined. The perſon he had ſent to *Mitchell* gave a full evidence of the promiſes he had made him: But *Sharp* denied them all. He alſo denied he heard any promiſe of life made him by the Council: So did the Lords *Lauderdale*, *Rothes*, and *Halton*, to the aſtoniſhment of all that were preſent. *Lockhart* upon that produced a copy of the Act of Council, that made expreſs mention of the promiſe given, and of his having confeſſed upon that. And the priſoner prayed that the books of Council, which lay in a room over that in which the Court ſat, might be ſent for. *Lockhart* pleaded, that ſince the Court had judged that the Council was a Judicature, all people had a right to ſearch into their regiſters; and the priſoner, who was like to ſuffer by a confeſſion made there, ought to have the benefit of thoſe books. Duke *Lauderdale*, who was in the Court only as a witneſs, and ſo had no right to ſpeak, ſtood up, and ſaid, he and thoſe other noble perſons were not brought thither to be accuſed of perjury; and added, that the books of Council were the King's ſecrets, and that no Court ſhould have the peruſing of them. The Court was terrified with this, and the Judges were divided in opinion. *Primeroſe*, and one other, was for calling for the books. But three were of opinion, that they were not to furniſh the priſoner with evidence, but to judge of that which he brought. And here was only a bare copy, not atteſted upon oath, which ought not to have been read. So, this defence being rejected, he was caſt and condemned. 1678

As ſoon as the Court broke up, the Lords went up ſtairs, and to their ſhame found the Act recorded, and ſigned by Lord *Rothes*, as Preſident of the Council. He pretended, he ſigned every thing that the clerk of Council put in the book without reading it. And it was intended to throw it on him. But he, to clear himſelf, ſearched among his papers, and found a draught of the Act in *Nisbit*'s hand. So, he being rich, and one they had turned out, they reſolved to put it upon him, and to fine him deeply. But he examined the *Sederunt* in the hook, And condemnation.

1678 book, and ſpoke to all who were there at the board, of whom nine happened to be in Town, who were ready to depoſe upon oath, that when the Council had ordered this Act to be drawn, the clerk of the Council deſired the help of the King's Advocate in penning it, which he gave him; and his draught was approved by the Council. And now Lord *Rothes*'s jeſt was remembred. Yet Duke *Lauderdale* ſtill ſtood to it, that the promiſe could only be for interceeding with the King for his pardon, ſince the Council had not the power of pardoning in them. Lord *Kincardin* acted in this the part of a Chriſtian to an enemy. Duke *Lauderdale* had writ to him, he being then ſerving for him at Court, that he referred the account of *Mitchell*'s buſineſs to his brother's letters; in which the matter was truly related, that upon promiſe of life he had confeſſed the fact; and he concluded, deſiring him to aſk the King, that he would be pleaſed to make good the promiſe. Theſe letters I ſaw in Lord *Kincardin*'s hand. Before the trial he ſent a Biſhop to Duke *Lauderdale*, deſiring him to conſider better of that matter, before he would upon oath deny it: For he was ſure he had it under his, and his brother's hand, tho' he could not yet fall upon their letters. But Duke *Lauderdale* deſpiſed this. Yet, before the execution he went to his houſe in the countrey, and there found the letters, and brought them in with him, and ſhewed them to that Biſhop. All this made ſome impreſſion on Duke *Lauderdale:* And he was willing to grant a reprieve, and to refer the matter to the King. So a petition was offered to the Council: And he ſpoke for it. But *Sharp* ſaid, that was upon the matter the expoſing his perſon to any man that would attempt to murder him, ſince favour was to be ſhewed to ſuch an aſſaſſin. Then ſaid Duke *Lauderdale*, in an impious jeſt, Let *Mitchell* glorify God in the graſs market, which was the place where he was to be hanged. This action, and all concern'd in it, were look'd at by all people with horror. And it was ſuch a complication of treachery, perjury, and cruelty, as the like had not perhaps been known. Yet Duke *Lauderdale* had a Chaplain, *Hickes*, afterwards Dean of *Worceſter*, who publiſhed a falſe and partial relation of this matter, in order to the juſtifying of it. *Primeroſe* not only gave me an account of this matter, but ſent me an authentick record of the trial, every page ſigned by the clerk of the Court; of which I have here given an abſtract. This I ſet down the more fully, to let my readers ſee to what a height in wickedneſs men may be carried, after they have once thrown off good principles. What *Sharp* did now to preſerve himſelf from ſuch practices was probably that which, both in the juſt judgment of God,

and the enflamed fury of wicked men, brought him two years after to ſuch a diſmal end. 1678

This made way to more deſperate undertakings. Conventicles grew in the Weſt to a very unſufferable pitch: They had generally with them a troop of armed and deſperate men, that drew up, and ſent parties out to ſecure them. Duke *Lauderdale* upon this threatned he would extirpate them, and ruin the whole countrey, if a ſtop was not put to thoſe meetings. The chief men of thoſe parts upon that went into *Edenburgh:* They offered to guard and aſſiſt any that ſhould be ſent to execute the laws againſt all offenders; and offered to leave ſome as Hoſtages, who ſhould be bound body for body for their ſecurity: They confeſſed there were many Conventicles held among them in a moſt ſcandalous manner: But, tho' they met in the fields, and many of them were armed, yet, when their ſermons were done, they diſperſed themſelves: And there was no violent oppoſition made at any time to the execution of the law: So, they ſaid, there was no danger of the publick peace of the countrey. Thoſe conventicling people were become very giddy and furious: And ſome hot and hair-brained young preachers had the chief following among them, who infuſed wild principles in them, which were diſowned by the chief men of the party. The truth was, the countrey was in a great diſtraction: And that was chiefly occaſioned by the ſtrange adminiſtration they were then under. Many grew weary of their countrey, and even of their lives. If Duke *Lauderdale*, or any of his party, brought a complaint againſt any of the other ſide, how falſe or frivolous ſoever, they were ſummoned upon it to appear before the Council, as ſowers of ſedition, and as men that ſpread lies of the Government: And upon the ſlighteſt pretences they were fined and impriſoned. When very illegal things were to be done, the common method was this: A letter was drawn for it to be ſigned by the King, directing it upon ſome colour of law or ancient practice: The King ſigned whatſoever was thus ſent to him: And when his letter was read in Council, if any of the lawyers or others of the board offered to object to it, he was brow-beaten, as a man that oppoſed the King's ſervice, and refuſed to obey his orders. And by theſe means things were driven to great extremities.

The adminiſtration there grew very violent and illegal.

Upon one of thoſe letters, a new motion was ſet on foot, that went beyond all that had been yet made. All the landlords in the Weſtern Counties were required to enter into bonds for themſelves, their wives, children, ſervants, tenants, and all that lived upon their eſtates, that they ſhould not go to Conventicles, nor harbour any vagrant teachers, or any Inter-

1678 communed perſons; and that they ſhould live in all points according to law under the penalties of the laws. This was generally refuſed by them: They ſaid, the law did not impoſe it on them: They could not be anſwerable for their ſervants, much leſs for their tenants: This put it in the power of every ſervant or tenant to ruin them. Upon their refuſing this, Duke *Lauderdale* writ to the King, that the countrey was in a ſtate of rebellion, and that it was neceſſary to proceed to hoſtilities for reducing them. So by a letter, ſuch as he ſent up, the King left it to him and the Council to take care of the publick peace in the beſt way they could.

An army of Highlanders ſent to the Weſt upon free quarter.

Upon this all the force the King had was ſent into the weſt countrey, with ſome cannon, as if it had been for ſome dangerous expedition: And letters were writ to the Lords in the Highlands, to ſend all the ſtrength they could to aſſiſt the King's army. The Marquiſs of *Athol*, to ſhew his greatneſs, ſent 2400 men. The Earl of *Braidalbin* ſent 1700. And, in all, 8000 men were brought into the countrey, and let looſe upon free quarter. A Committee of Council was ſent to give neceſſary orders. Here was an Army. But no enemy appeared. The Highlanders were very unruly, and ſtole, and robbed every where. The gentlemen of the countrey were required to deliver up their arms upon oath, and to keep no horſe above four pound price. The gentlemen looked on, and would do nothing. This put Duke *Lauderdale* in ſuch a frenzy, that at Council table he made bare his arms above his elbow, and ſwore by *Jehovah* he would make them enter into thoſe bonds. Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who were vexed to ſee ſuch waſte made on their eſtates, in plowing time eſpecially, came to *Edenburgh* to try if it was poſſible to mollify him. But a Proclamation was iſſued out, requiring all the inhabitants of thoſe Counties to go to their houſes, to be aſſiſtant to the King's hoſt, and to obey ſuch orders as ſhould be ſent them. And by another Proclamation all men were forbidden to go out of the Kingdom without leave from the Council, on pretence that their ſtay was neceſſary for the King's ſervice. Theſe things ſeemed done on deſign to force a rebellion; which they thought would be ſoon quaſh'd, and would give a good colour for keeping up an army. And Duke *Lauderdale*'s party depended ſo much on this, that they began to divide in their hopes the confiſcated eſtates among them: So that on *Valentine*'s day, inſtead of drawing miſtreſſes, they drew eſtates. And great joy appeared in their looks upon a falſe alarm that was brought them of an inſurrection: And they were as much dejected, when they knew it was falſe. It was happy for the publick peace,

that

that the people were univerſally poſſeſſed with this opinion: 1678
For when they ſaw a rebellion was deſired, they bore the preſent oppreſſion more quietly, than perhaps they would have done, if it had not been for that. All the chief men of the countrey were ſummoned before the Committee of Council, and charged with a great many crimes, of which they were required to purge themſelves by oath: Otherwiſe they would hold them guilty, and proceed againſt them as ſuch. It was in vain to pretend, that this was againſt all law, and was the practice only of the Courts of Inquiſition. Yet the gentlemen, being thus forced to it, did purge themſelves by oath. And, after all the enquiries that were made, there did not appear one ſingle circumſtance to prove that any rebellion was intended. And, when all other things failed ſo evidently, recourſe was had to a writ, which a man who ſuſpects another of ill deſigns towards him may ſerve him with: And it was called Law-Borroughs, as moſt uſed in Borroughs. This lay againſt a whole family: The maſter was anſwerable, if any one of his houſhold broke it. So, by a new practice, this writ was ſerved upon the whole countrey at the King's ſuit: And, upon ſerving the writ, ſecurity was to be given, much like the binding men to their good behaviour. Many were put in priſon for refuſing to give this ſecurity.

Many of the Nobility came up to complain to the King.

Duke *Hamilton* had intimation ſent him, that it was deſigned to ſerve this on him. So he, and ten or twelve of the Nobility, with about 50 gentlemen of quality, came up to complain of all this; which looked like *French*, or rather like *Turkiſh*, government. The Lords of *Athol* and *Perth*, who had been two of the Committee of Council, and had now fallen off from Duke *Lauderdale*, came up with them to give the King an account of the whole progreſs of this matter. The clamour this made was ſo high, that Duke *Lauderdale* ſaw he could not ſtand under it. So the Highlanders were ſent home, after they had waſted the countrey near two months. And he magnified this as an act of his compaſſion, that they were ſo ſoon diſmiſt. Indeed all his own party were againſt him in it. Lord *Argile* ſent none of his men down with the other Highlanders. And Lord *Stairs* pretended that by a fall his hand was out of joint: So he ſigned none of theſe wild orders.

But the King would not ſee them.

When the *Scotiſh* Nobility came to *London*, the King would not ſee them, becauſe they were come out of the Kingdom in contempt of a Proclamation; tho' they ſaid, that Proclamation, being intended to hinder them from bringing their complaints to the King, was one of their greateſt grievances.

1678 But it was anſwered, they ought ought to have aſked leave: And, if it had been denied them, they were next to have aſked the King's leave: And the King inſiſted ſtill on this. Only he ſaw the Lords of *Athol* and *Perth*. The madneſs of this proceeding made him conclude, that Duke *Lauderdale*'s head was turned. Yet he would not diſown, much leſs puniſh him for what he had done. But he intended to put *Scotland* in another management, and to ſet the Duke of *Monmouth* at the head of it. So he ſuffered him to go to the *Scotiſh* Lords, and be their interceſſor with him. They were all much charmed with the ſoftneſs of his temper and behaviour. But, tho' he aſſured them the King would put their affairs in other hands, they looked on that as one of the King's artifices to get rid of them. The matter made great noiſe: And it was in the time of the ſeſſion of Parliament here. And all people ſaid, that by the management in *Scotland* it appeared what was the ſpirit of the Government; and what would be done here, as ſoon as the deſigns of the Court were brought to a greater perfection. The Earl of *Danby*, by ſupporting Duke *Lauderdale*, heightned the prejudices that himſelf lay under. The Duke did alſo juſtify his conduct; which raiſed higher jealouſies of him, as being pleaſed with that method of government. The chief of the *Scotiſh* Nobility were heard before the Cabinet-Council. And the Earl of *Nottingham* held them chiefly to the point of coming out of the Kingdom in the face of a Proclamation. They ſaid, ſuch Proclamations were anciently legal, when we had a King of our own among our ſelves: But now it was manifeſtly againſt law, ſince it barred them from acceſs to the King, which was a right that was never to be denied them. Lord *Nottingham* objected next to them a practice of making the heads of the families or clans in the Highlands to bind for their whole name; and why by a parity of reaſon might they not be required to bind for their tenants? It was anſwered, that anciently eſtates were let ſo low, that ſervice and the following the landlords was inſtead of a rent; and then, in the inroads that were made into *England*, landlords were required to bring their tenants along with them: But now lands were let at rack: And ſo an end was put to that ſervice: In the Highlands the feuds among the families were ſtill ſo high, that every name came under ſuch a dependance on the head or chief of it for their own ſecurity, that he was really the maſter of them all, and ſo might be bound for them: But even this was only to reſtrain depredations and murthers: And it was an unheard of ſtretch, to oblige men to be bound for others in matters of Religion and Conſcience, whether real or pretended.

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The

The whole matter was at that time let fall. And Duke *Lauderdale* took advantage from their abſence to deſire leave from the King to ſummon a Convention of Eſtates; from whom he might more certainly underſtand the ſenſe of the whole Kingdom. And, what by corrupting the Nobility, what by carrying elections, or at leaſt diſputes about them, which would be judged as the majority ſhould happen to be at firſt, he hoped to carry his point. So he iſſued out the writs, while they were at *London*, knowing nothing of the deſign. And theſe being returnable in three weeks, he laid the matter ſo, that before they could get home, all the elections were over: And he was maſter of above four parts in five of that Aſſembly. So they granted an aſſeſſment for three years, in order to the maintaining a greater force. And they wrote a letter to the King, not only juſtifying, but highly magnifying Duke *Lauderdale*'s government. This was ſo baſe and ſo abject a thing, that it brought the whole Nation under great contempt. 1678 A Convention of Eſtates gives money, and juſtifies the adminiſtration.

And thus I leave the affairs of *Scotland*, which had a very ill influence on the minds of the *Engliſh*; chiefly on the Houſe of Commons then ſitting, who upon it made a new addreſs againſt Duke *Lauderdale*. And that was followed by another of a higher ſtrain, repreſenting to the King the ill effects of his not harkning to their addreſs the former year with relation to foreign affairs; and deſiring him to change his Miniſtry, and to diſmiſs all thoſe that had adviſed the prorogation at that time, and his delaying ſo long to aſſiſt the Allies. This was carried only by a ſmall majority of two or three. So Lord *Danby* brought up all his creatures, the aged and infirm not excepted: And then the majority lay the other way: And by ſhort adjournments the Parliament was kept ſitting till *Midſummer*. Once Lord *Danby*, thinking he had a clear majority, got the King to ſend a meſſage to the Houſe, deſiring an additional Revenue of 300000 *l.* during life. This ſet the Houſe all in a flame. It was ſaid, here was no demand for a war, but for a revenue, which would furniſh the Court ſo well, that there would be no more need of Parliaments. The Court party thought ſuch a gift as this would make them uſeleſs. So the thing was upon one debate rejected without a diviſion. Lord *Danby* was much cenſured for this raſh attempt, which diſcovered the deſigns of the Court too barefacedly. At the ſame time he ordered *Mountague* to treat with the Court of *France* for a peace, in caſe they would engage to pay the King 300000 *l.* a year for three years. So, when that came afterwards to be known, it was then generally believed, that the deſign was to keep up and model the army now raiſed, reckoning there would be money enough to pay them till the Nation ſhould be brought under a military government. Affairs in *England*. The Houſe of Commons grew jealous of the Court.

1678 vernment. And the opinion of this prevailed ſo, that Lord *Danby* became the moſt hated Miniſter that had ever been about the King. All people ſaid now, they ſaw the ſecret of that high favour he had been ſo long in, and the black deſigns that he was contriving. At this time expreſſes went very quick between *England* and *France:* And the ſtate of foreign affairs varied every poſt. So that it was viſible we were in a ſecret negotiation: Of which *Temple* has given ſo particular an account, that I refer my reader wholly to him. But I ſhall add one particular, that he has not mentioned: *Mountague*, who was a man of pleaſure, was in an intrigue with the Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, who was quite caſt off by the King, and was then at *Paris*. The King had ordered him to find out an aſtrologer, of whom it was no wonder he had a good opinion; for he had, long before his Reſtoration, foretold he ſhould enter *London* on the 29th of *May* 60. He was yet alive, and *Mountague* found him; And ſaw he was capable of being corrupted. So he reſolved to prompt him, to ſend the King ſuch hints as ſhould ſerve his own ends. And he was ſo bewitched with the Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, that he truſted her with this ſecret. But ſhe, growing jealous of a new amour, took all the ways ſhe could think on to ruin him, reſerving this of the aſtrologer for her laſt ſhift. And by it ſhe compaſſed her ends: For *Mountague* was entirely loſt upon it with the King, and came over without being recalled. The Earl of *Sunderland* was ſent Embaſſador in his room.

Affairs abroad. The treaty went on at *Nimeguen*, where *Temple* and *Jenkins* were our Plenipotentiaries. The States were reſolved to have a peace. The Prince of *Orange* did all he could to hinder it. But *De Wit*'s party began to gather ſtrength again. And they infuſed a jealouſy in all people, that the Prince intended to keep up the war for his own ends. A peace might he now had by reſtoring all that belonged to the States, and by a tolerable barrier in *Flanders*. It is true, the great difficulty was concerning their allies, the King of *Denmark*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; who had fallen on the *Swede*, upon the King's declaring for *France*, and had beat him out of *Germany*. No peace could be had, unleſs the *Swede* was reſtored. Thoſe Princes, who had heen quite exhauſted by that war, would not conſent to this. So they, who had adhered ſo faithfully to the States in their extremity, preſſed them to ſtick by them. And this was the Prince of *Orange*'s conſtant topick: How could they expect any of their allies ſhould ſtick to them, if they now forſook ſuch faithful friends? But nothing could prevail. It was given out in *Holland*, that they could not depend on *England*, that Court being ſo entirely in a *French* intereſt, that they ſuſpected they would, as they had once

once done, ſell them again to the *French*. And this was believed 1678
to be let out by the *French* miniſters themſelves, who, to come
at their ends, were apt enough to give up even thoſe who ſacrificed
every thing to them. It was ſaid, the Court of *France* would
conſider both *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*, and repay the charge
of the war againſt *Sweden*. This, it was ſaid, was to force thoſe
Princes into a dependance on *France*, who would not continue
thoſe payments ſo much for paſt as for future ſervices. In the
mean while the *French* had block'd up *Mons*. So the Prince
of *Orange* went to force them from their poſts. *Luxemburgh*
commanded there, and ſeemed to be in full hope of a peace,
when the Prince came and attack'd him. And, notwithſtanding
the advantage of his ſituation, it appeared how much the *Dutch*
army was now ſuperior to the *French*, for they beat them out of
ſeveral poſts. The Prince had no order to ſtop. He indeed
knew that the peace was upon the matter concluded. But no in-
timation was yet made to him. So it was lawful for him to take
all advantages. And he was not apprehenſive of a new embroil-
ment, but rather wiſh'd it. The *French* treaſure was ſo exhauſted,
and their King was ſo weary of the war, that no notice was tak-
en of the buſineſs of *Mons*. The treaty at *Nimeguen* was finiſh-
ed, and ratified. Yet new difficulties aroſe, upon the *French*
King's refuſing to evacuate the places that were to be reſtored till
the *Swede* was reſtored to all his dominions. Upon this the *En-
gliſh* ſtruck in again: And the King talked ſo high, as if he would
engage anew in the war. But the *French* prevented that, and
did evacuate the places. And then they got *Denmark* and *Bran-
denburgh* into their dependance, under the pretence of repaying
the charge of the war. But it was more truly, the engaging them
into the intereſts of *France* by great penſions. So a general peace
quickly followed. And there was no more occaſion for our troops
beyond ſea. The *French* were ſo apprehenſive of them, that *Rou-
vigny*, now Earl of *Gallway*, was ſent over to negotiate matters.
That which *France* inſiſted moſt on, was the diſbanding the ar-
my. And the force of money was ſo ſtrong, that he had orders
to offer ſix millions of their money, in caſe the army ſhould be
diſbanded in *Auguſt*. *Rouvigny* had ſuch an ill opinion of the de-
ſigns of our Court, if the army was kept up, that he inſiſted on
fixing the day for diſbanding it; at which the Duke was very un-
eaſy. And matters were ſo managed, that the army was not diſ-
banded by the day prefixed for it. So the King of *France* ſav'd
his money. And for this piece of good management *Rouvigny* was
much commended. The troops were brought into *England*, and
kept up, under the pretence that there was not money to pay them
off. So all people look'd on the next ſeſſion as very critical.

1678 The party againſt the Court gave all for loſt. They believed the Lord *Danby*, who had ſo often brought his party to be very near the majority, would now lay matters ſo well as to be ſure to carry the Seſſion. And many did ſo deſpair of being able to balance his numbers, that they reſolved to come up no more, and reckoned that all oppoſition would be fruitleſs, and ſerve only to expoſe themſelves to the fury of the Court. But of a ſudden an unlooked for accident changed all their meaſures, and put the Kingdom into ſo great a fermentation, that it well deſerves to be opened very particularly. I am ſo well inſtructed in all the ſteps of it, that I am more capable to give a full account of it than any man I know. And I will do it ſo impartially, that no party ſhall have cauſe to cenſure me for concealing, or altering the truth in any one inſtance. It is the Hiſtory of that called the Popiſh Plot.

The Popiſh Plot.

Three days before *Michaelmas* Dr. *Tonge* came to me. I had known him at Sir *Robert Murray*'s. He was a gardiner and a chymiſt, and was full of projects and notions. He had got ſome credit in *Cromwell*'s time: And that kept him poor. He was a very mean Divine, and ſeemed credulous and ſimple. But I had always look'd on him as a ſincere man. At this time he told me of ſtrange deſigns againſt the King's perſon; and that *Coniers*, a *Benedictin*, had provided himſelf of a poniard, with which he undertook to kill him. I was amazed at all this; and did not know whether he was crazed, or had come to me on deſign to involve me in a concealing of treaſon. So I went to Dr. *Lloyd*, and ſent him to the Secretary's office with an account of that diſcourſe of *Tonge*'s, ſince I would not be guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon. He found at the office, that *Tonge* was making diſcoveries there; of which they made no other account, but that he intended to get himſelf to be made a Dean. I told this next morning to *Littleton* and *Powel*. And they looked on it as a deſign of Lord *Danby*'s, to be laid before the next Seſſion, thereby to diſpoſe them to keep up a greater force, ſince the Papiſts were plotting againſt the King's life: This would put an end to all jealouſies of the King, now the Papiſts were conſpiring againſt his life. But Lord *Halliſax*, when I told him of it, had another apprehenſion of it. He ſaid, conſidering the ſuſpicions all people had of the Duke's Religion, he believed every diſcovery of that ſort would raiſe a flame, which the Court would not be able to manage.

Oates's character.

The day after that *Titus Oates* was brought before the Council. He was the ſon of an Anabaptiſt teacher, who afterwards conformed, and got into orders, and took a benefice, as this his ſon did. He was proud and ill natured, haughty, but ignorant. He had been complained of for ſome very indecent expreſſions con-

cerning the myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion. He was once 1678
preſented for perjury. But he got to be a Chaplain in one of the
King's ſhips, from which he was diſmiſs'd upon complaint of
ſome unnatural practices, not to be named. He got a qualification
from the Duke of *Norfolk* as one of his Chaplains: And there he
fell into much diſcourſe with the Prieſts that were about that fa-
mily. He ſeemed inclined to be inſtructed in the Popiſh Religi-
on. One *Hutchinſon*, a Jeſuit, had that work put on him. He
was a weak and light-headed man, and afterwards came over
to the Church of *England*. *Hutchinſon* was a Curate about
the City near a year, and came oft to me, and preached once for
me. He ſeemed to be a ſincere devout man, who did not at all
love the Order, for he found they were a deceitful and med-
dling ſort of people. They never truſted him with any ſecrets,
but employed him wholly in making converts. He went after-
wards back to that Church. So all this was thought a juggle
only to caſt an odium upon *Oates*. He told me, that *Oates* and
they were always in ill terms. They did not allow *Oates* above
nine pence a day, of which he complained much. And *Hutchin-
ſon* relieved him often. They wiſhed they could be well rid of
him; and ſent him beyond ſea, being in very ill terms with him.
This made *Hutchinſon* conclude, that they had not at that time truſted
Oates with their ſecrets. *Oates* was kept for ſome time at St. *Omers*;
and from thence ſent thro' *France* into *Spain*; and was now returned
into *England*. He had been long acquainted with *Tonge*; and made
his firſt diſcovery to him. And he, by the means of one *Kirby*,
a Chymiſt, that was ſometimes in the King's laboratory, ſignified
the thing to the King. So *Tonge* had an audience; and told the
King a long thread of many paſſages, all tending to the taking
away his life; which the King, as he afterwards told me, knew not
what to make of: Yet among ſo many particulars he did not
know but there might be ſome truth. So he ſent him to Lord
Danby, who intended to make ſome uſe of it, but could not give
much credit to it, and handled the matter too remiſſly: For, if
at firſt the thing had been traced quick, either the truth or the
impoſture of the whole affair might have been made appear.
The King ordered Lord *Danby* to ſay nothing of it to the Duke.
In the mean while ſome letters of an odd ſtrain, relating to plots
and diſcoveries, were ſent by the poſt to *Windſor*, directed to
Beddingfield, the Duke's Confeſſor; who, when he had read them,
carried them to the Duke, and proteſted he did not know what
they meant, nor from whom they came. The Duke carried
them to the King. And he fancied they were writ either by
Tonge or *Oates*, and ſent on deſign to have them intercepted, to
give the more credit to the diſcovery. The Duke's enemies on
the other hand gave out, that he had got ſome hints of the diſ-

1677 covery, and brought theſe as a blind to impoſe on the King. The matter lay in a ſecret and remiſs management for ſix weeks.

His diſcovery. At laſt, on *Michaelmas* Eve, *Oates* was brought before the Council; and entertained them with a long relation of many diſcourſes he had heard among the Jeſuites, of their deſign to kill the King. He named perſons, places, and times, almoſt without number. He ſaid, many Jeſuites had diſguiſed themſelves, and were gone to *Scotland*, and held Field-Conventicles, on deſign to diſtract the Government there. He ſaid, he was ſent firſt to St. *Omers*, thence to *Paris*, and from thence to *Spain*, to negotiate this deſign; and that upon his return, when he brought many letters and directions from beyond ſea, there was a great meeting of the Jeſuites held in *London*, in *April* laſt, in different rooms in a tavern near St. *Clements*; and that he was employed to convey the reſolutions of thoſe in one room to thoſe in another, and ſo to hand them round. The iſſue of the conſultation was, that they came to a reſolution to kill the King by ſhooting, ſtabing, or poiſoning him; that ſeveral attempts were made, all which failed in the execution, as ſhall be told when the trials are related. While he was going on, waiting for ſome certain evidence to accompany his diſcovery, he perceived they were jealous of him: And ſo he durſt not truſt himſelf among them any more. In all this there was not a word of *Coniers*, of whom *Tonge* had ſpoke to me. So that was dropt. This was the ſubſtance of what *Oates* told the firſt day. Many Jeſuites were upon this ſeized on that night, and the next day. And their Papers were ſealed up next day. He accuſed *Coleman* of a ſtrict correſpondence with *P. de la Chaiſe*; (whoſe name he had not right, for he called him *Father Le Shee:*) And he ſaid in general, that *Coleman* was acquainted with all their deſigns.

Coleman and his papers ſeized. *Coleman* had a whole day free to make his eſcape, if he thonght he was in any danger. And he had conveyed all his papers ont of the way: Only he forgot a drawer under the table, in which the papers relating to 74, 75, and a part of 76 were left. And from theſe I drew the negotiations, that I have formerly mentioned as directed by him. If he had either left all his papers, or withdrawn all, it had been happy for his party. Nothing had appeared, if all his papers had been pnt out of the way. But, if all had been left, it might have been concluded, that the whole ſecret lay in them. But he left enongh to give great jealouſy. And, no more appearing, all was believed that the witneſſes had depoſed. *Coleman* went out of the way for a day, hearing that there was a warrant out againſt him. But he delivered himſelf the next day to the Secretary of State. When *Oates* and he were confronted, *Oates* did not know him at firſt: Bnt he named him, when he heard him ſpeak. Yet he only charged

him upon hear-ſay. So he was put in a meſſenger's hands. *Oates* named *Wakeman*, the Queen's phyſician; but did not know him at all. And being aſked, if he knew any thing againſt him, he anſwered he did not; adding, God forbid, he ſhould ſay any thing more than he knew, he would not do that for all the world. Nor did he name *Langhorn* the famous Lawyer, that indeed managed all their concerns. The King found him out in one thing. He ſaid, when he was in *Spain*, he was carried to *Don John*, who promiſed great aſſiſtance in the execution of their deſigns. The King, who knew *Don John* well, aſked him what a ſort of man he was: He anſwered, he was a tall lean man: Now *Don John* was a little fat man. At firſt he ſeemed to deſign to recommend himſelf to the Duke and the Miniſters: For he ſaid, he heard the Jeſuites oft ſay, that the Duke was not ſure enough to them: And they were in doubt, whether he would approve of their killing the King: But they were reſolved, if they found him ſtiff in that matter, to diſpatch him likewiſe. He ſaid, they had oft made uſe of his name, and counterfeited his hand and ſeal, without his knowledge. He ſaid, the Jeſuites cheriſhed the faction in *Scotland* againſt Duke *Lauderdale*; and intended to murder the Duke of *Ormond*, as a great enemy to all their deſigns. And he affirmed, he had ſeen many letters, in which theſe things were mentioned, and had heard them oft ſpoke of. He gave a long account of the burning of *London*, at which they intended to have killed the King: But they relented, when they ſaw him ſo active in quenching the fire, which, as he ſaid, they had kindled. 1678

The whole town was all over enflamed with this diſcovery. It conſiſted of ſo many particulars, that it was thought to be above invention. But when *Coleman*'s letters came to be read and examined, it got a great confirmation; ſince by theſe it appeared, that ſo many years before they thought the deſign for the converting the Nation, and rooting out the peſtilent hereſy that had reigned ſo long in theſe northern Kingdoms, was very near its being executed: Mention was oft made of the Duke's great zeal for it: And many indecent reflections were made on the King, for his inconſtancy, and his diſpoſition to be brought to any thing for money: They depended on the *French* King's aſſiſtance: And therefore were earneſt in their endeavours to bring about a general peace, as that which muſt finiſh their deſign. *Coleman's letters confirm it.*

On the ſecond day after this diſcovery, the King went to *Newmarket*. This was cenſured, as a very indecent levity in him, to go and ſee horſe-races, when all people were ſo much poſſeſſed with this extraordinary diſcovery, to which *Coleman*'s letters had gained an univerſal credit. While the King was gone, *Tonge* deſired to ſpeak with me. So I went to him to *Whitehall*, where

1678 where both he and *Oates* were lodged under a guard. I found him ſo lifted up, that he ſeemed to have loſt the little ſenſe he had. *Oates* came in; and made me a complement, that I was one that was mark'd out to be kill'd. He had before ſaid the ſame to *Stillingfleet* of him. But he made that honour he which did us too cheap, when he ſaid *Tonge* was to be ſerved in the ſame manner, becauſe he had tranſlated the Jeſuites morals into *Engliſh*. He broke out into great fury againſt the Jeſuites; and ſaid, he would have their blood. But I, to divert him from that ſtrain, aſked him, what were the arguments that prevailed on him to change his Religion, and to go over to the Church of *Rome*. He upon that ſtood up, and laid his hands on his breaſt; and ſaid, God and his holy Angels knew, that he had never changed, but that he had gone among them on purpoſe to betray them. This gave me ſuch a character of him, that I could have no regard to any thing he either ſaid or ſwore after that.

Godfrey is murthered. A few days after this, a very extraordinary thing happened, that contributed more than any other thing to the eſtabliſhing the belief of all this evidence. Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* was an eminent Juſtice of Peace, that lived near *Whitehall*. He had the courage to ſtay in *London*, and keep things in order during the plague; which gained him much reputation, and upon which he was Knighted. He was eſteemed the beſt Juſtice of Peace in *England*; and kept the Quarter where he lived in very good order. He was then entring upon a great deſign of taking up all beggars and putting them to work. He was thought vain, and apt to take too much upon him. But there are ſo few men of a publick ſpirit, that ſmall faults, tho' they leſſen them, yet ought to be gently cenſured. I knew him well, and never had reaſon to think him faulty that way. He was a zealous Proteſtant, and loved the Church of *England*; but had kind thoughts of the Nonconformiſts, and was not forward to execute the laws againſt them. And he, to avoid being put on doing that, was not apt to ſearch for Prieſts or Maſs-houſes. So that few men of his zeal lived in better terms with the Papiſts than he did. *Oates* went to him the day before he appeared at the Council board; and made oath of the narrative he intended to make, which he afterwards publiſhed. This ſeemed to be done in diſtruſt of the Privy Council, as if they might ſtifle his evidence; which to prevent he put it in ſafe hands. Upon that *Godfrey* was chid for his preſuming to meddle in ſo tender a matter. And it was generally believed, that *Coleman* and he were long in a private converſation, between the time of his (*Coleman's*) being put in the meſſenger's hands, and his being made a cloſe priſoner: Which was done as ſoon as report was made to the Council of the contents of his

letters.

letters. It is certain, *Godfrey* grew apprehenſive and reſerved: 1678
For meeting me in the ſtreet, after ſome diſcourſe of the preſent ſtate of affairs, he ſaid, he believed he himſelf ſhould be knocked on the head. Yet he took no care of himſelf, and went about according to his own maxim, ſtill without a ſervant: For he uſed to ſay, that the ſervants in *London* were corrupted by the idleneſs and ill company they fell into, while they attended on their maſters. On the day fortnight from that in which *Oates* had made his diſcovery, being *Saturday*, he went abroad in the morning, and was ſeen about one a clock near St. *Clement*'s Church; but was never ſeen any more. He was a punctual man to good hours: So his ſervants were amazed when he did not come home. Yet, he having an ancient mother that lived at *Hamerſmith*, they fancied, he had heard ſhe was dying, and ſo was gone to ſee her. Next morning they ſent thither, but heard no news of him. So his two brothers, who lived in the City, were ſent to. They were not acquainted with his affairs: So they did not know whether he might not have ſtept aſide for debt; ſince at that time all people were calling in their money, which broke a great many. But, no creditors coming about the houſe, they on *Tueſday* publiſhed his being thus loſt. The Council ſate upon it, and were going to order a ſearch of all the houſes about the town; but were diverted from it, by many ſtories that were brought them by the Duke of *Norfolk*. Sometimes it was ſaid, he was indecently married: And the ſcene was often ſhifted of the places where it was ſaid he was. The Duke of *Norfolk*'s officiouſneſs in this matter, and the laſt place he was ſeen at, being near *Arundel* houſe, brought him under great ſuſpicion. On *Thurſday* one came into a Bookſeller's ſhop after dinner, and ſaid, he was found thruſt thro' with a ſword. That was preſently brought as news to me: But the reporter of it was not known. That night late his body was found in a ditch, about a mile out of the town, near St. *Pancras* Church. His ſword was thruſt thro' him. But no blood was on his clothes, or about him. His ſhoes were clean. His money was in his pocket. But nothing was about his neck. And a mark was all round it, an inch broad, which ſhewed he was ſtrangled. His breaſt was likewiſe all over marked with bruiſes: And his neck was broken. All this I ſaw; for Dr. *Lloyd* and I went to view his body. There were many drops of white wax-lights on his breeches, which he never uſed himſelf. And ſince only perſons of quality, or Prieſts, uſe thoſe lights, this made all people conclude in whoſe hands he muſt have been. And it was viſible he was firſt ſtrangled, and then carried to that place, where his ſword was run thro' his dead body. For a while it was given out, that he was a hypocondriacal man, and had kill-

His body was found.

1678 ed himſelf. Of this the King was poſſeſſed, till Dr. *Lloyd* went and told him what he had ſeen. The body lay two days expoſed, many going to ſee it, who went away much moved with the ſight. And indeed mens ſpirits were ſo ſharpned upon it, that we all looked on it as a very great happineſs, that the people did not vent their fury upon the Papiſts about the town.

Oates made a new diſcovery.

The Seſſion of Parliament was to be opened within three days: And it may be eaſily imagined in what a temper they met. The Court party were out of countenance. So the Country party were maſters this ſeſſion. All *Oates*'s evidence was now ſo well believed, that it was not ſafe for any man to ſeem to doubt of any part of it. He thought he had the Nation in his hands, and was ſwelled up to a high pitch of vanity and inſolence. And now he made a new edition of his diſcovery at the bar of the Houſe of Commons. He ſaid, the Pope had declared that *England* was his Kingdom, and that he had ſent over commiſſions to ſeveral perſons: And had by theſe made Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour* Chancellor, Lord *Powis* Treaſurer, Sir *William Godolphin*, then in *Spain*, Privy Seal, *Coleman* Secretary of State, *Bellaſis* General, *Petre* Lieutenant General, *Ratcliffe* Major General, *Stafford* Paymaſter General, and *Langhorn* Advocate General; beſides many other commiſſions for ſubaltern officers. Theſe, he ſaid, he ſaw in *Langhorn*'s chamber; and that he had delivered out many of them himſelf, and ſaw many more delivered by others. And he now ſwore, upon his own knowledge, that both *Coleman* and *Wakeman* were in the plot; that *Coleman* had given eighty Guineas to four ruffians, that went to *Windſor* laſt ſummer, to ſtab the King; that *Wakeman* had undertaken to poiſon him, for which 10000 *l.* was offered him, but that he got the price raiſed to 15000 *l.* He excuſed his not knowing them, when confronted with them; and ſaid, that he was then ſo ſpent by a long examination, and by not ſleeping for two nights, that he was not then maſter of himſelf; tho' it ſeemed very ſtrange, that he ſhould then have forgot that which he made now the main part of his evidence, and ſhould have then objected only reports upon hearſay, when he had ſuch matter againſt them, as he now ſaid, upon his own knowledge. And it ſeemed not very congruous, that thoſe who went to ſtab the King had but twenty guineas apiece, when *Wakeman* was to have 15000 *l.* for a ſafer way of killing him. Many other things in the diſcovery made it ſeem ill digeſted, and not credible. *Bellaſis* was almoſt perpetually ill of the gout. *Petre* was a weak man, and had never any military command. *Ratcliffe* was a man that lived in great ſtate in the North, and had not ſtirred from home all the laſt ſummer. *Oates* alſo ſwore, he delivered a commiſſion to be a Collonel, in *May* laſt, to *Howard*, the Earl of *Carlile*'s brother, that had mar-

ried the Ducheſs of *Richmond*. But a friend of mine told me, 1678
he was all that month at *Bath*, lodged in the ſame houſe with *Howard*, with whom he was every day engaged at play. He was then miſerably ill of the gout, of which he died ſoon after. *Oates* did alſo charge General *Lambert*, as one engaged in the deſign, who was to have a great poſt, when ſet at liberty. But he had been kept in priſon ever ſince the Reſtoration; and by that time had loſt his memory and ſenſe. But it was thought ſtrange, that ſince *Oates* had ſo often ſaid, what I once heard him ſay, that he had gone in among them on deſign to betray them, that he had not kept any one of all theſe commiſſions to be real proof in ſupport of his evidence. He had alſo ſaid to the King, that whereas others ventured their lives to ſerve him, he had ventured his ſoul to ſerve him: And yet he did ſuffer the four ruffians to go to *Windſor* to kill him, without giving him any notice of his danger. Theſe were characters ſtrong enough to give ſuſpicion, if *Coleman*'s letters, and *Godfrey*'s murder, had not ſeemed ſuch authentick confirmations, as left no room to doubt of any thing. *Tillotſon* indeed told me, that *Langhorn*'s wife, who was ſtill as zealous a Proteſtant as he was a Papiſt, came oft to him, and gave him notice of every thing ſhe could diſcover among them; tho' ſhe continued a faithful and dutiful wife to the laſt minute of her huſband's life. Upon the firſt breaking out of the plot, before *Oates* had ſpoke a word of commiſſions, or had accuſed *Langhorn*, ſhe engaged her ſon into ſome diſcourſe upon thoſe matters, who was a hot indiſcreet Papiſt. He ſaid, their deſigns were ſo well laid, it was impoſſible they could miſcarry: And that his father would be one of the greateſt men of *England*; for he had ſeen a commiſſion from the Pope, conſtituting him Advocate General. This he told me in *Stillingfleet*'s hearing.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had got out of the Tower in the former Seſſion, upon his ſubmiſſion, to which it was not eaſy to bring him. But when he ſaw an army raiſed, he had no mind to lie longer in priſon. The matter bore a long debate, the motion he had made in the King's bench being urged much againſt him. But a ſubmiſſion always takes off a contempt. So he got out. And now the Duke of *Buckingham* and he, with the Lords *Eſſex* and *Halliſax*, were the governing men among the Lords. Many hard things were ſaid againſt the Duke. Yet when they tried to carry an Addreſs to be made to the King to ſend him away from Court, the majority was againſt them.

While things were thus in a ferment at *London*, *Bedlow* deli- *Bedlow's evidence.*
vered himſelf to the magiſtrates of *Briſtol*, pretending he knew the ſecret of *Godfrey*'s murder. So he was ſent up to *London*. The King told me, that when the Secretary examined him in his

1678 his preſence, at his firſt coming he ſaid he knew nothing of the plot; but that he had heard that 40000 men were to come over from *Spain*, who were to meet as pilgrims at St. *Jago*'s, and were to be ſhip'd for *England:* But he knew nothing of any fleet that was to bring them over. So this was looked on as very extravagant. But he ſaid, he had ſeen *Godfrey*'s body at *Somerſet* houſe; and that he was offered 4000 *l*, by a ſervant of the Lord *Bellaſis*, to aſſiſt in carrying it away: But upon that he had gone out of town to *Briſtol*, where he was ſo purſued with horror, that it forced him to diſcover it. *Bedlow* had led a very vitions life. He had gone by many falſe names, by which he had cheated many perſons. He had gone over many parts of *France* and *Spain*, as a man of quality. And he had made a ſhift to live on his wits, or rather by his cheats. So a tenderneſs of conſcience did not ſeem to be that to which he was mnch ſubject. But the very next day after this, when he was bronght to the bar of the Houſe of Lords, he made a full diſcovery of his knowledge of the plot, and of the Lords in the tower: For all thoſe againſt whom *Oates* had informed were now priſoners. The King was upon this convinced, that ſome had been with *Bedlow* after he had been before him, who had inſtructed him in this narration, of which he had ſaid the night before that he knew nothing: And yet he not only confirmed the main parts of *Oates*'s diſcoveries, but added a great deal to them. And he now pretended, that his rambling over ſo many places of *Europe* was all in order to the carrying on this deſign; that he was trnſted with the ſecret, and had opened many of the letters, which he was employed to carry.

Other proofs that ſeemed to ſupport the diſcovery.

Here were now two witneſſes to prove the plot, as far as ſwearing could prove it. And among the papers of the Jeſuites, that were ſeized on when they were clapt up, two letters were found that ſeemed to confirm all. One from *Rome* mentioned the ſending over the patents; of which it was ſaid in the letter, that they gueſſed the contents, tho' their patrons there carried their matters ſo ſecretly, that nothing was known, bnt as they thought fit. The Jeſuites, when examined npon this, ſaid, theſe were only patents with relation to the offices in their order. Another letter was writ to a Jeſuite in the countrey, citing him to come to *London* by the 24th of *April*; which was the day in which *Oates* ſwore they held their conſnlt, and that fifty of them had ſigned the reſolution of killing the King, which was to be executed by *Grove* and *Pickering*. In the end of that letter it was added, I need not enjoin ſecrecy, for the nature of the thing requires it. When the Jeſuite was examined to this, he ſaid, it was a ſummons for a meeting according to the rule of their order: And they

being to meet during the ſitting of the Parliament, that was the particular reaſon for enjoining ſecrecy. Yet, while mens minds were ſtrongly poſſeſſed, theſe anſwers did not ſatisfy, but were thonght only ſhifts. 1678

At this time *Carſtairs*, of whoſe behaviour in *Scotland* mention has been made, not having met with thoſe rewards that he expected, came up to *London*, to accuſe Duke *Lauderdale*, as deſigning to keep up the oppoſition that was made to the laws in *Scotland*, even at the time that he ſeemed to proſecute Conventicles with the greateſt fury; becauſe he had often drawn the chief of their teachers into ſuch ſnares, that upon the advertiſements that he gave they might have been taken, but that Duke *Lauderdale* had neglected it: So he ſaw, he had a mind that Conventicles ſhould go on, at the ſame time that he was putting the countrey in ſnch a flame to puniſh them. This he nndertook to prove, by thoſe witneſſes of whom on other occaſions he had made uſe. He alſo confeſſed the falſe date of that warrant upon which *Baillie* had been cenſured. He put all this in writing, and gave it to the Marquiſs of *Athol*; and preſſed him to carry him to Dnke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Kincardin*, that he might beg their pardon, and be aſſured of their favonr. I was againſt the making uſe of ſo vile a man, and would have nothing to do with him. He made application to Lord *Cavendiſh*, and to ſome of the Houſe of Commons, to whom I gave ſuch a character of him, that they would ſee him no more. *Carſtair's* practices.

While he was thus looking about where he could find a lucky piece of villany, he happened to go into an eating honſe in *Covent* garden, that was over againſt the ſhop of one *Staley*, the Popiſh Banker, who had been in great credit, but was then under ſome difficnlties; for all his creditors came to call for their money. *Staley* happening to be in the next room to *Carſtairs*, *Carſtairs* pretended he heard him ſay in *French*, that the King was a rogue, and perſecuted the people of God; and that he himſelf would ſtab him, if no body elſe would. The words were writ down, which he reſolved to ſwear againſt him. So next morning he and one of his witneſſes went to him, and told him what they would ſwear againſt him, and aſked a ſum of money of him. He was in much anxiety, and ſaw great danger on both hands. Yet he choſe rather to leave himſelf to their malice, than be prey'd on by them. So he was ſeiz'd on: And they ſwore the words againſt him: And he was appointed to be tried within five days. When I heard who the witneſſes were, I thought I was bonnd to do what I could to ſtop it. So I ſent both to the Lord Chancellor, and to the Attorney General, to let them know what profligate wretches theſe witneſſes were. *Jones*, the Attorney General, took it ill of me, *Staley's* trial.

1678 that I ſhould diſparage the King's evidence. The thing grew publick, and raiſed great clamour againſt me. It was ſaid, I was taking this method to get into favour at Court. I had likewiſe obſerved to ſeveral perſons of weight, how many incredible things there were in the evidence that was given: I wiſhed they would make uſe of the heat the Nation was in to ſecure us effectually from Popery: We ſaw certain evidence to carry us ſo far, as to graft that upon it: But I wiſhed they would not run too haſtily to the taking mens lives upon ſuch teſtimonies. Lord *Hollis* had more temper, than I expected from a man of his heat. Lord *Halliſax* was of the ſame mind. But the Earl of *Shaftsbury* could not bear the diſcourſe. He ſaid, we muſt ſupport the evidence; and that all thoſe who undermined the credit of the witneſſes were to be look'd on as publick enemies. And ſo inconſtant a thing is popularity, that I was moſt bitterly railed at by thoſe who ſeemed formerly to put ſome confidence in me. It went ſo far, that I was adviſed not to ſtir abroad for fear of publick affronts. But theſe things did not daunt me. *Staley* was brought to his trial, which did not hold long. The witneſſes gave a full evidence againſt him: And he had nothing to offer to take away their credit. He only ſhewed how improbable it was, that in a publick houſe he ſhould talk ſuch things with ſo loud a voice as to be heard in the next room, in a quarter of the town where almoſt every body underſtood *French*. He was caſt: And he prepared himſelf very ſeriouſly for death. Dr. *Lloyd* went to ſee him in priſon. He was offered his life, if he would diſcover their plots. He proteſted, he knew of none; and that he had not ſaid the words ſworn againſt him, nor any thing to that purpoſe. And he died the firſt of thoſe who ſuffered on the account of the plot. Duke *Lauderdale*, having heard how I had moved in this matter, railed at me with open mouth. He ſaid, I had ſtudied to ſave *Staley*, for the liking I had to any one that would murder the King. And he infuſed this into the King, ſo that he repeated it in the Houſe of Lords to a company that were ſtanding about him.

Yet ſo ſoon could the King turn to make uſe of a man whom he had cenſured ſo unmercifully, that two days after this he ſent the Earl of *Dunbarton*, that was a Papiſt, and had been bred in *France*, and was Duke *Hamilton*'s brother, to me, to deſire me to come to him ſecretly, for he had a mind to talk with me. He ſaid, he believed I could do him ſervice, if I had a mind to it. And the See of *Chicheſter* being then void, he ſaid, he would not diſpoſe of it, till he ſaw whether I would deſerve it, or not. I aſked, if he fancied I would be a ſpy, or betray any body to him. But he undertook to me, that the King ſhould aſk me no queſtion, but ſhould in all points leave me to my liberty.

An accident fell in, before I went to him, which took off much from *Oates*'s credit. When he was examined by the Houſe of Lords, and had made the ſame narrative to them that he had offered to the Commons, they aſked him, if he had now named all the perſons whom he knew to be involved in the plot? He ſaid, there might be ſome inferior perſons whom he had perhaps forgot, but he had named all the perſons of note. Yet, it ſeems, afterwards he bethought himſelf: And Mrs. *Elliot*, wife to *Elliot* of the bedchamber, came to the King, and told him, *Oates* had ſomewhat to ſwear againſt the Queen, if he would give way to it. The King was willing to give *Oates* line enough, as he expreſſed it to me, and ſeemed to give way to it. So he came out with a new ſtory, that the Queen had ſent for ſome Jeſuites to *Somerſet* houſe; and that he went along with them, but ſtaid at the door, when they went in; where he heard one, in a woman's voice, expreſſing her reſentments of the uſage ſhe had met with, and aſſuring them ſhe would aſſiſt them in taking off the King: Upon that he was brought in, and preſented to her: And there was then no other woman in the room but ſhe. When he was bid deſcribe the room, it proved to be one of the publick rooms of that Court, which are ſo great, that the Queen, who was a woman of a low voice, could not be heard over it, unleſs ſhe had ſtrained for it. *Oates*, to excuſe his ſaying that he could not lay any thing to the charge of any beſides thoſe he had already named, pretended, that he thought then it was not lawful to accuſe the Queen. But this did not ſatisfy people. *Bedlow*, to ſupport this, ſwore, that being once at chapel at *Somerſet* houſe, he ſaw the Queen, the Duke, and ſome others very earneſt in diſcourſe in the cloſet above; and that one came down with much joy, and ſaid, the Queen had yielded at laſt; and that one explained this to him beyond ſea, and ſaid, it was to kill the King. And, beſides *Bedlow*'s oath that he ſaw *Godfrey*'s body in *Somerſet* houſe, it was remembred, that at that time the Queen was for ſome days in ſo cloſe a retirement, that no perſon was admitted. Prince *Rupert* came then to wait on her, but was denied acceſs. This raiſed a ſtrange ſuſpicion of her. But the King would not ſuffer that matter to go any farther. 1678

The Queen was charged as in the plot.

While examinations were going on, and preparation was making for the trial of the priſoners, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, requiring all members of either Houſe, and all ſuch as might come into the King's Court, or preſence, to take a teſt againſt Popery; in which, not only Tranſubſtantiation was renounced, but the worſhip of the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints, as it was practiſed in the Church of *Rome*, was declared to be idolatrous. This paſſed in the Houſe of Commons without

A law paſt for the Teſt to be taken by both Houſes.

1678 without any difficulty. Bnt in the Houſe of Lords, *Gunning*, Biſhop of *Ely*, maintained, that the Church of *Rome* was not idolatrous. He was anſwered by *Barlow*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*. The Lords did not much mind *Gunning*'s argnments, bnt paſſed the bill. And tho' *Gunning* had ſaid, that he could not take that teſt with a good conſcience, yet, as ſoon as the bill was paſt, he took it in the crond with the reſt. The Duke got a proviſo to be put in it for excepting himſelf. He ſpoke upon that occaſion with great earneſtneſs, and with tears in his eyes. He ſaid, he was now to caſt himſelf upon their favour in the greateſt concern he could have in this world. He ſpoke much of his duty to the King, and of his zeal for the Nation: And ſolemnly proteſted, that, whatever his religion might be, it ſhould only be a private thing between God and his own ſoul, and that no effect of it ſhould ever appear in the government. The proviſo was carried for him by a few voices. And, contrary to all mens expectations, it paſt in the Houſe of Commons. There was alſo a proviſo put in, excepting nine Ladies about theQueen. And ſhe ſaid, ſhe would have all the Ladies of that religion caſt lots, who ſhonld be comprehended. Only ſhe named the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*, as one whom ſhe would not expoſe to the uncertainty of a lot; which was not thonght very decent in her, tho' her circnmſtances at that time reqnired an extraordinary ſubmiſſion to the King in every thing.

With a proviſo for the Duke.

Coleman was brought to his trial. *Oates* and *Bedlow* ſwore flatly againſt him, as was mentioned before. He denied, that he had ever ſeen either the one or the other of them in his whole life: And defended himſelf by *Oates*'s not knowing him, when they were firſt confronted, nor objecting thoſe matters to him for a great while after. He alſo preſſed *Oates* to name the day in *Auguſt*, in which he had ſent the fourſcore guineas to the four ruffians. But *Oates* wonld fix on no day, tho' he was very punctual in matters of leſs moment. *Coleman* had been ont of town almoſt that whole month. But, no day being named, that ſerved him in no ſtead. He urged the improbability of his talking to two ſuch men, whom he had by their own confeſſion never ſeen before. But they ſaid, he was told that they were trnſted with the whole ſecret. His letters to *P. de la Chaiſe* was the heavieſt part of the evidence. He did not deny, that there were many impertinent things in his letters: Bnt, he ſaid, he intended nothing in them, but the King's ſervice and the Duke's: He never intended to bring in the Catholick religion, by rebellion, or by blood, but only by a toleration: And the aid, that was pray'd from *France*, was only meant the aſſiſtance of money, and the interpoſition of that Court. After a long trial, he was convicted:

Coleman's trial.

And

And ſentence paſſed upon him to die as a traitor. He continued to his laſt breath denying every tittle of that which the witneſſes had ſworn againſt him. Many were ſent to him from both Houſes, offering to interpoſe for his pardon, if he would confeſs. He ſtill proteſted his innocence, and took great care to vindicate the Duke. He ſaid, his own heat might make him too forward: For, being perſuaded of the truth of his religion, he could not but wiſh, that all others were not only almoſt, but altogether, ſuch as he was, except in that chain; for he was then in irons: He confeſſed, he had mixed too much intereſt for raiſing himſelf in all he did; and that he had received 2500 Guineas from the *French* Embaſſador, to gain ſome friends to his maſter, but that he had kept them to himſelf: He had acted by order in all that he had done: And he believed the King knew of his employment, particularly that at *Bruſſels*. But, tho' he ſeemed willing to be queſtioned concerning the King, the Committee did not think fit to do it, nor to report what he ſaid concerning it: Only in general they reported, that he ſpoke of another matter, about which they did not think fit to interrogate him, nor to mention it. *Littleton* was one of the Committee; and gave me an account of all that paſs'd that very night. And I found his behaviour made great impreſſion on them all. He ſuffered with much compoſedneſs and devotion; and died much better than he had lived. It was given out at that time, to make the Duke more odious, that *Coleman* was kept up from making confeſſions, by the hopes the Duke ſent him of a pardon at *Tyburn*. But he could not be ſo ignorant, as not to know that, at that time, it was not in the King's power to pardon him, while the tide went ſo high. 1678 And execution.

The Nation was now ſo much alarmed, that all people were furniſhing themſelves with arms, which heightned the jealouſy of the Court. A bill paſs'd in both Houſes for raiſing all the Militia, and for keeping it together for ſix weeks: A third part, if I remember right, being to ſerve a fortnight, and ſo round. I found, ſome of them hoped when that bill paſt into a law, they would be more maſters; and that the Militia would not ſeparate, till all the demands of the two Houſes ſhould be granted. The King rejected the bill, when offered to him for his aſſent.

I waited often on him all the month of *December*. He came to me to *Chiffinch*'s, a Page of the back ſtairs; and kept the time he aſſigned me to a minute. He was alone, and talked much, and very freely with me. We agreed in one thing, that the greateſt part of the evidence was a contrivance. But he ſuſpected, ſome had ſet on *Oates*, and inſtructed him: And he named the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. I was of another mind. I thought the many groſs things The King's thoughts of this whole matter.

1678 in his narrative ſhewed, there was no abler head than *Oates*, or *Tonge*, in the framing it: And *Oates* in his firſt ſtory had covered the Duke, and the Miniſters ſo much, that from thence it ſeemed clear that Lord *Shaftsbury* had no hand in it, who hated them much more than he did Popery. He fancied, there was a deſign of a rebellion on foot. I aſſured him, I ſaw no appearances of it. I told him, there was a report breaking out, that he intended to legitimate the Duke of *Monmouth*. He anſwered quick, that, as well as he lov'd him, he had rather ſee him hanged. Yet he apprehended a rebellion ſo much, that he ſeemed not ill pleaſed that the party ſhould flatter themſelves with that imagination, hoping that would keep them quiet in a dependance upon himſelf: And he ſuffered the Duke of *Monmouth* to uſe all methods to make himſelf popular, reckoning that he could keep him in his own management. He was ſurpriſed, when I told him that *Coleman* had inſinuated that he knew of all their foreign negotiations; or at leaſt he ſeemed ſo to me. I preſſed him much to oblige the Duke to enter into conferences with ſome of our Divines, and to be preſent at them himſelf. This would very much clear him of jealouſy, and might have a good effect on his brother: At leaſt it would give the world ſome hopes; like what *Henry* IV. of *France*, his grandfather, did, which kept a party firm to him for ſome time before he changed. He anſwered, that his brother had neither *Henry* IV.'s underſtanding, nor his conſcience: For he believed, that King was always indifferent as to thoſe matters. He would not hearken to this, which made me incline to believe a report I had heard, that the Duke had got a ſolemn promiſe of the King, that he would never ſpeak to him of religion. The King ſpoke much to me concerning *Oates*'s accuſing the Queen, and acquainted me with the whole progreſs of it. He ſaid, ſhe was a weak woman, and had ſome diſagreeable humours, but was not capable of a wicked thing: And, conſidering his faultineſs towards her in other things, he thought it a horrid thing to abandon her. He ſaid, he looked on falſehood and cruelty as the greateſt crimes in the ſight of God: He knew, he had led a bad life; (of which he ſpoke with ſome ſenſe:) But he was breaking himſelf of all his faults: And he would never do a baſe and a wicked thing. I ſpoke on all theſe ſubjects what I thought became me, which he took well. And I encouraged him much in his reſolution of not expoſing the Queen to periſh by falſe ſwearing. I told him, there was no poſſibility of laying the heat that was now raiſed, but by changing his Miniſtry. And I told him how odious the Earl of *Danby* was, and that there was a deſign againſt him: But I knew not the particulars. He ſaid, he knew that lay at bottom. The Army was

not

not yet disbanded: And the King was in great straits for money. 1678
The House of Commons gave a money bill for this. Yet they would not trust the Court with the disbanding the Army: But ordered the money to be brought into the chamber of *London*, and named a Committee for paying off, and breaking the Army. I perceived the King thought I was reserved to him, because I would tell him no particular stories, nor name persons. Upon which I told him, since he had that opinion of me, I saw I could do him no service, and would trouble him no more; but he should certainly hear from me, if I came to know any thing that might be of any consequence to his Person or Government.

This favour of mine lasted all the month of *December* 78. I acquainted him with *Carstair*'s practice against Duke *Lauderdale*, and all that I knew of that matter; which was the ground on which I had gone with relation to *Staley*. The King told Duke *Lauderdale* of it, without naming me. And he sent for *Carstairs*, and charged him with it. *Carstairs* denied it all; but said, that Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Kincardin* had press'd him to do it: And he went to the King and affirmed it confidently to him. He did not name Lord *Athol*, hoping that he would be gentle to him for that reason. The King spoke of this to Duke *Hamilton*, who told him the whole story, as I had done. Lord *Athol* upon that sent for *Carstairs*, and charged him with all this foul dealing, and drew him near a closet, where he had put two witnesses. *Carstairs* said, that somebody had discovered the matter to Duke *Lauderdale*, that he was now upon the point of making his fortune, and that if Duke *Lauderdale* grew to be his enemy, he was undone. He confessed, he had charged Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Kincardin* falsely: But he had no other way to save himself. After the Marquis of *Athol* had thus drawn every thing from him, he went to the King with his two witnesses, and the paper that *Carstairs* had formerly put in his hand. *Carstairs* was then with the King, and was, with many imprecations, justifying his charge against the two Lords: But he was confounded, when he saw Lord *Athol*. And upon that his villany appeared so evidently, that the part I had acted in that matter was now well understood, and approved of. *Carstairs* died, not long after, under great horror; and ordered himself to be cast into some ditch as a dog; for he said he was no better. But I could never hear what he said of *Staley*'s business.

While all matters were in this confusion, a new incident happened that embroiled them yet more. The Earl of *Danby* had broke with *Mountague*: But he knew what letters he had writ to him, and with what secrets he had trusted him. He apprehended *Mountague* might accuse him: So he resolved to prevent him. *Danby*'s letters to *Mountague* are brought out.

1678 *Jenkins*, who was then at *Nimeguen*, writ over, according to a direction ſent him, as was believed, that he underſtood that *Mountague* had been in a ſecret correſpondence, and in dangerous practices with the Pope's Nuntio at *Paris*. This was meant of one *Con*, whom I knew well, who had been long in *Rome*: And moſt of the letters between *England* and *Rome* paſt thro' his hands: He was a crafty man, and knew news well, and loved money: So *Mountague* made uſe of him, and gave him money for ſuch ſecrets as he could draw from him. Upon *Jenkins*'s letter the King ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, letting them know that he was reſolved to bring *Mountague* to a trial, for being a confederate with *Rome*, and in the plot to bring in Popery: And at the ſame time he ſent to ſecure his cabinets and papers. This was a device of Lord *Danby*'s to find his own letters, and deſtroy them; and then to let the proſecution fall: For they knew they had nothing againſt *Mountague*. But *Mountague* underſtood the arts of a Court too well to be eaſily catched; and had put a box, in which thoſe letters were, in ſure hands out of the way. A great debate roſe upon this matter in the Houſe of Commons. It was thought a high breach of privilege to ſeize on the papers of a Member of their Houſe, when there was nothing of treaſon ſworn againſt him. After ſome hours ſpent in the debate, during which *Mountague* ſat ſilent very long; at laſt, when the box was brought to him from the perſon to whom he had truſted it, he opened it, and took out two of Lord *Danby*'s letters, that contained inſtructions to him to treat with the King of *France* for 300000 *l.* a year for three years, if a peace ſucceeded, ſince it would not be convenient for the King to meet a Parliament in all that time, and he was charged to mention no part of this to the Secretary of State. *Winnington*, who from ſmall beginnings, and from as ſmall a proportion of learning in his profeſſion, in which he was rather bold and ready than able, was now come to be Solicitor General, fell ſeverely upon thoſe letters. He ſaid, here was a Miniſter, who, going out of the affairs of his own province, was directing the King's Embaſſadors, and excluding the Secretary of State, whoſe office it was, from the knowledge of it: Here was the faith of *England* to our Allies, and our intereſt likewiſe, ſet to ſale for *French* money, and that to keep off a Seſſion of Parliament: This was a deſign to ſell the Nation, and to ſubvert the Government: And he concluded, that was high treaſon. Upon which he moved, that Lord *Danby* ſhould be impeached of high treaſon. The Earl of *Danby*'s party was much confounded. They could neither deny nor juſtify his letters. But they argued, that they could not be high treaſon, ſince no ſuch fact was comprehended in any of the ſtatutes of

treaſon: The letters ſeemed to be writ by the King's order, who certainly might appoint any perſon he pleaſed to ſend his orders to his Miniſters abroad: They reflected on the buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*, and on conſtructive treaſom, which was a device to condemn a man for a fact againſt which no law did lie. *Mainard*, an ancient and eminent lawyer, explained the words of the Statute of 25 *Edward* III, that the Courts of law could not proceed but upon one of the crimes there enumerated: But the Parliament had ſtill a power, by the clauſe in that act, to declare what they thought was treaſon: So an act paſs'd, declaring poiſoning treaſon, in King *Henry* VIII.'s time: And, tho' by the Statute it was only treaſon to conſpire againſt the Prince of *Wales*; yet if one ſhould conſpire againſt the whole Royal Family, when there was no Prince of *Wales*, they would without doubt declare that to be high treaſon. 1678

After a long debate it was voted by a majority of above ſeventy voices, that Lord *Danby* ſhould be impeached of high treaſon. And the impeachment was next day carried up to the Lords. The Earl of *Danby* juſtified himſelf, that he had ſerved the King faithfully, and according to his own orders. And he produced ſome of *Mountague*'s letters, to ſhew that at the Court of *France* he was looked on as an enemy to their intereſt. He ſaid, they knew him well that judged ſo of him; for he was indeed an enemy to it: And, among other reaſons, he gave this for one, that he knew the *French* King held both the King's perſon and government under the laſt degree of contempt. Theſe words were thought very ſtrange with relation to both Kings. A great debate aroſe in the Houſe of Lords concerning the impeachment; whether it ought to be received as an impeachment of high treaſon, only becauſe the Commons added the word high treaſon in it. It was ſaid, the utmoſt that could be made of it, was to ſuppoſe it true: But even in that caſe they muſt needs ſay plainly, that it was not within the Statute. To this it was anſwered, that the Houſe of Commons, that brought up the impeachment, were to be heard to two points: The one was, to the nature of the crime: The other was, to the trial of it: But the Lords could not take upon them to judge of either of theſe, till they heard what the Commons could offer to ſupport the charge: They were bound therefore to receive the charge, and to proceed according to the rules of Parliament, which was to commit the perſon ſo impeached, and then give a ſhort day for his trial: So it would be ſoon over, if the Commons could not prove the matter charged to be high treaſon. The debate went on with great heat on both ſides: But the majority was againſt the commit-

And he was impeached of high treaſon.

1678 ment. Upon this, it was visible, the Commons would have complained that the Lords denied them justice. So there was no hope of making up the matter. And upon that the Parliament was prorogued.

The Parliament was prorogued

This was variously censured. The Court condemned *Mountague* for revealing the King's secrets. Others said, that, since Lord *Danby* had begun to fall on him, it was reasonable and natural for him to defend himself. The letters did cast a very great blemish, not only on Lord *Danby*, but on the King; who, after he had entred into alliances, and had received great supplies from his people to carry on a war, was thus treating with *France* for money, which could not be asked or obtained from *France* on any other account, but that of making the Confederates accept of lower terms, than otherwise they would have stood on; which was indeed the selling of the Allies and of the publick faith. All that the Court said in excuse for this was, that, since the King saw a peace was resolved on, after he had put himself to so great a charge to prepare for war, it was reasonable for him to be reimbursed as much as he could from *France:* This was ordinary in all treaties, where the Prince that desired a peace was made to buy it. This indeed would have justified the King, if it had been demanded above board: But such underhand dealing was mean and dishonourable: And it was said, that the States went into the peace with such unreasonable earnestness upon the knowledge, or at least the suspicion, that they had of such practices. This gave a new wound to the King's credit abroad, or rather it opened the old one: For indeed after our breaking both the treaty of *Breda*, and the Tripple Alliance, we had not much credit to lose abroad. None gained so much by this discovery, as Secretary *Coventry*; since now it appeared, that he was not trusted with those ill practices. He had been severely fallen on for the fam'd saying of the murder of forty men. *Birch* aggravated the matter heavily; and said, it seemed he thought the murder of forty men a very small matter, since he would rather be guilty of it, than oppose an Alliance made upon such treacherous views. *Coventry* answered, that he always spoke to them sincerely, and as he thought; and that if an Angel from Heaven should come and say otherwise, (at this they were very attentive to see how he could close a period so strangely begun,) he was sure, he should never get back to Heaven again, but would be a fallen and a lying angel. Now the matter was well understood, and his credit was set on a sure foot.

After the prorogation, the Earl of *Danby* saw the King's affairs, and the state of the Nation required a speedy Session. He saw little hope of recovering himself with that Parliament, in which so great a majority were already so deeply engaged. So he

entred into a treaty with ſome of the Conntry party for a new Parliament. He undertook to get the Duke to be ſent out of the way againſt the time of its meetiog. Lord *Hollis*, *Littleton*, *Boſcawen*, and *Hambden* were ſpoke to. They were all ſo apprehenſive of the cootiouance of that Parliament, and that another ſet of Mioiſters would be able to manage them as the Court pleaſed, that they did undertake to ſave him if he could bring theſe thiogs about. But it was underſtood, that he muſt quit his poſt, and withdraw from affairs. Upon which they promiſed their aſſiſtance to carry off his impeachment with a mild cenſure. The Duke went into the advice of a diſſolution upon other grouods. He thought, the Houſe of Commons had engaged with ſo much heat in the matter of the Plot, that they could never be brought off, or be made more gentle io the matter of religion. He thought, a new Parliament would act in a milder ſtrain, and not fly ſo high; or that they would give no money, and ſo the King aod they would break: For he dreaded nothing ſo much as the bargains that were made with the preſent Parliament, in which Popery was always to be the ſacrifice. Thus both the Duke and Lord *Danby* joined in advancing a diſſolution, which was not reſolved on till the *January* following. 1678

In *December*, *Ireland*, *Whitebread*, and *Fenwick*, three Jeſuites; and *Grove* and *Pickering*, two of the ſervant's io the Queen's chapel, were brought to their trial. *Oates* and *Bedlow* ſwore home againſt *Ireland*, that in *Auguſt* laſt he had given particular orders about killing the King. *Oates* ſwore the ſame againſt the other two Jeſuites. But *Bedlow* ſwore only upon hear-ſay againſt them. So, tho' they had pleaded to their inditement, and the jury was ſworn, and the witoeſſes examined; yet, when the evidence was not fonnd full, their trial was pnt off to another time, and the jnry was oot charged with them. This looked, as if it was reſolv'd that they muſt not be accquitted. I complained of this to *Jones:* But he ſaid, they had precedents for it. I always thonght, that a precedent againſt reaſon ſignified no more, but that the like injuſtice had been done before. And the truth is, the Crown has, or at leaſt had, ſnch advantages in trials of treaſoo, that it ſeems ſtraoge how any perſon was ever acquitted. *Ireland*, in his own defence, proved by many witneſſes, that he went from *London* on the ſecond of *Auguſt* to *Staffordſhire*, and did not come back till the twelfth of *September*. Yet, in oppoſition to that, a woman ſwore that ſhe ſaw him in *London* about the middle of *Auguſt*. So, ſince he might have come up poſt in one day, and gone down in another, this did oot ſatisfy. *Oates* and *Bedlow* ſwore againſt *Grove* and *Pickering*, that they nndertook to ſhoot the King at *Windſor*; that *Grove* was to have 1500 *l.* for it, The trial of *F. Ireland* and ſome others.

1678 it; and that *Pickering* choſe thirty thouſand maſſes, which, at a ſhilling a maſs, amounted to the ſame ſum: They attempted it three ſeveral times with a piſtol: Once the flint was looſe: At another time there was no powder in the pan: And the third time the piſtol was charged only with bullets. This was ſtrange ſtuff. But all was imputed to a ſpecial providence of God: And the whole evidence was believed. So they were convicted, condemned, and executed. But they denied to the laſt every particular that was ſworn againſt them.

Dugdale's evidence. This began to ſhake the credit of the evidence, when a more compoſed and credible perſon came in to ſupport it. One *Dugdale*, that had been the Lord *Aſton*'s bailiff, and lived in a fair reputation in the country, was put in priſon for refuſing the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy. He did then, with many imprecations on himſelf, deny, that he knew of any plot. But afterwards he made a great diſcovery of a correſpondence that *Evers*, the Lord *Aſhton*'s Jeſuite, held with the Jeſuites in *London*; who had writ to *Evers* of the deſign of killing the King, and deſired him to find out men proper for executing it, whether they were gentlemen or not. This, he ſwore, was writ plain in a letter from *Whitebread*, the Provincial, directed to himſelf: But he knew it was meant for *Evers*. *Evens*, and *Govan*, another Jeſuite, preſſed this *Dugdale* to undertake it: They promiſed he ſhould be canonized for it: And the Lord *Stafford* offered him 500 *l*, if he would ſet about it. He was a man of ſenſe and temper; and behaved himſelf decently; and had ſomewhat in his air and deportment that diſpoſed people to believe him: So that the King himſelf began to think there was ſomewhat in the Plot, tho' he had very little regard either to *Oates* or *Bedlow*. *Dugdale*'s evidence was much confirmed by one circumſtance. He had talked of a Juſtice of peace in *Weſtminſter* that was killed, on the *Tueſday* after *Godfrey* was miſs'd: So that the news of this muſt have been writ from *London* on the *Saturday* night's poſt. He did not think it was a ſecret: And ſo he talk'd of it as news in an alehouſe. The two perſons, he ſaid he ſpoke it to, remembred nothing of it, the one being the miniſter of the pariſh: But ſeveral others ſwore they had heard it. He ſaw this, as he ſwore, in a letter writ by *Harcourt* the Jeſuite to *Evers*, in which *Godfrey* was named. But he added a ſtrange ſtory to this, which he ſaid *Evers* told him afterwards; that the Duke had ſent to *Coleman*, when he was in *Newgate*, to perſuade him to diſcover nothing, and that he deſired to know of him, whether he had ever diſcovered their deſigns to any other perſon; and that *Coleman* ſent back anſwer, that he had ſpoke of them to *Godfrey*, but to no other man: Upon which the Duke gave order to kill him. This was

never made publick, till the Lord *Stafford*'s trial. And I was amazed to ſee ſuch a thing break out after ſo long a ſilence. It looked like an addition to *Dugdale*'s firſt evidence; tho' he had been noted for having brought out all his diſcoveries at once. The Earl of *Eſſex* told me, he ſwore it in his firſt examination: But, ſince it was only upon hear-ſay from *Evers*, and ſo was nothing in law, and yet would heighten the fury againſt the Duke, the King charged *Dugdale* to ſay nothing of it. 1678

Prance diſcovers *Godfrey*'s murder.

At the ſame time a particular diſcovery was made of *Godfrey*'s murder. *Prance*, a goldſmith, that wrought for the Queen's chapel, had gone from his houſe for two or three days, the week before the murder. And one that lodged in his houſe, calling that to mind, upon *Bedlow*'s ſwearing he ſaw the body in *Somerſet* houſe, fancied that this was the time in which he was from home, and that he might be concerned in that matter; tho' it appeared afterwards, that his abſence was the week before. He ſaid, he went from his own houſe, fearing to be put in priſon, as many were, upon ſuſpicion, or on the account of his religion. Yet upon this information he was ſeized on, and carried to *Weſtminſter*. *Bedlow* accidentally paſs'd by, not knowing any thing concerning him: And at firſt ſight he charged ſomebody to ſeize on him; for he was one of thoſe whom he ſaw about *Godfrey*'s body. Yet he denied every thing for ſome days. Afterwards he confeſſed, he was concerned in it: And he gave this account of it: *Girald* and *Killy*, two prieſts, engaged him and three others into it; who were *Green*, that belonged to the Queen's chapel, *Hill*, that had ſerved *Godden*, the moſt celebrated writer among them, and *Berry*, the porter of *Somerſet* houſe. He ſaid, theſe all, except *Berry*, had ſeveral meetings, in which the prieſts perſuaded them it was no ſin, but a meritorious action, to diſpatch *Godfrey*, who had been a buſy man in taking depoſitions againſt them, and that the taking him off would terrify others. *Prance* named an alehouſe, where they uſed to meet: And the people of that houſe did confirm this of their meeting there. After they had reſolved on it, they followed him for ſeveral days. The morning before they killed him, *Hill* went to his houſe to ſee if he was yet gone out, and ſpoke to his maid. And, finding he was yet at home, they ſtaid for his coming out. This was confirmed by the maid, who, upon *Hill*'s being taken, went to *Newgate*, and, in a croud of priſoners, diſtinguiſhed him, and ſaid, he was the perſon that aſked for her maſter the morning before he was loſt. *Prance* ſaid, they dogged him into a place near St. *Clement*'s Church, where he was kept till night. *Prance* was appointed to be at *Somerſet* houſe at night. And, as *Godfrey* went by the water gate, two of them pretended to be hot in a quarrel. And one

1678 run ont to call a Juſtice of peace, and ſo preſſed *Godfrey* to go in and part them. He was not eaſily prevailed on to do it. Yet he did at laſt. *Green* then got behind him, and pulled a cravat about his neck, and drew him down to the ground, and ſtrangled him. Upon that *Girald* would have rnn him thro': But the reſt diverted him from that, by repreſenting the danger of a diſcovery by the blood's being ſeen there. Upon that they carried his body up to *Godden*'s room, of which *Hill* had the key, *Godden* being then in *France*. Two days after that they removed it to a room croſs the upper court, which *Prance* could never deſcribe particularly. And, that not being found a convenient place, they carried it back to *Godden*'s lodgings. At laſt it was reſolved to carry it ont in the night in a ſedan to the remote parts of the town, and from thence to caſt it into ſome ditch. On *Wedneſday* a ſedan was provided. And one of the centinels ſwore he ſaw a ſedan carried in: But none ſaw it brought out. *Prance* ſaid, they carried him out, and that *Green* had provided a horſe, on whoſe back he laid him, when they were got clear of the town: And tben he carried him, as he believed, to the place where his body was fonnd. This was a conſiſting ſtory, which was ſupported in ſome circumſtances by collateral proofs. He added another particulat, that, ſome days after the fact, thoſe who had been concerned in it, and two others, who were in the ſecret, appointed to meet at *Bow*, where they talked mnch of that matter. This was confirmed by a ſervant of that houſe, who was coming in and out to them, and heard them often mention *Godfrey*'s name. Upon which he ſtood at the door out of curioſity to hearken: But one of them came out, and threatened him for it. The prieſts were not fonnd: But *Green*, *Hill*, and *Berry* were apprehended npon it. Yet ſome days after this, *Prance* deſired to be carried to the King, who would not ſee him, but in Council: And he denied all that he had formerly ſworn, and ſaid it was all a fiction. Bnt as ſoon as he was carried back to priſon, he ſent the keeper of *Newgate* to the King to tell him, that all he had ſworn was true, but that the horror and confuſion he was in put him on denying it. Yet he went off from this again, and denied every thing. Dr. *Lloyd* was upon this ſent to him to talk with him. At firſt he denied every thing to him. But Dr. *Lloyd* ſaid to me, that he was almoſt dead thro' the diſorder of his mind, and with cold in his body. But after that Dr. *Lloyd* had made a fire, and cauſed him to be pnt in a bed, and began to diſconrſe the matter with him, he returned to his confeſſion; which he did in ſuch a manner, that *Lloyd* ſaid to me, it was not poſſible for him to doubt of his ſincerity in it.

Some condemned for it, who died denying it.

So, he perſiſting in his firſt confeſſion, *Green*, *Hill* and *Berry* were brought to their trial. *Bedlow* and *Prance*, with all the circumſtances formerly mentioned, were the evidence againſt them. On the other hand they brought witneſſes to prove, that they came home in a

good hour on the nights, in which the fact was ſaid to be done. 1678
Thoſe that lived in *Godden*'s lodgings depoſed, that no dead body could be brought thither, for they were every day in the room that *Prance* had named. And the centinels of that night of the carrying him out ſaid, they ſaw no ſedan brought out. They were, upon a full hearing, convicted and condemned. *Green*, and *Hill*, died, as they had lived, Papiſts; and, with ſolemn proteſtations, denied the whole thing. *Berry* declared himſelf a Proteſtant; and that tho' he had changed his religion for fear of loſing his place, yet he had ſtill continued to be one in his heart. He ſaid, he looked on what had now befallen him, as a juſt judgment of God upon him for that diſſimulation. He denied the whole matter charged on him. He ſeemed to prepare himſelf ſeriouſly for death: And to the laſt minute he affirmed he was altogether innocent. Dr. *Lloyd* attended on him, and was much perſuaded of his ſincerity. *Prance* ſwore nothing againſt him, but that he aſſiſted in the fact, and in carrying about the dead body. So *Lloyd* reckoned, that, thoſe things being done in the night, *Prance* might have miſtaken him for ſome other perſon, who might be like him, conſidering the confuſion that ſo much guilt might have put him in. He therefore believed, *Prance* had ſworn raſhly with relation to him, but truly as to the main of the fact. The Papiſts took great advantage from *Berry*'s dying a Proteſtant, and yet denying all that was ſworn againſt him, tho' he might have had his life if he would have confeſſed it. They ſaid, this ſhewed it was not from the doctrine of equivocation, or from the power of abſolution, or any other of their tenets, that ſo many died, denying all that was ſworn againſt them, but from their own conviction. And indeed this matter came to be charged on Dr. *Lloyd*, as if he had been made a tool for bringing *Berry* to this ſeeming converſion, and that all was done on deſign to cover the Queen. But I ſaw him then every day, and was well aſſured that he acted nothing in it, but what became his profeſſion, with all poſſible ſincerity. *Prance* began, after this, to enlarge his diſcoveries. He ſaid, he had often heard them talk of killing the King, and of ſetting on a general maſſacre, after they had raiſed an Army. *Dugdale* alſo ſaid, he had heard them diſcourſe of a maſſacre. The memory of the *Iriſh* maſſacre was yet ſo freſh, as to raiſe a particular horror at the very mention of this; tho' where the numbers were ſo great as in *Ireland*, that might have been executed, yet there ſeemed to be no occaſion to apprehend the like, where the numbers were in ſo great an inequality, as they were here. *Prance* did alſo ſwear, that a ſervant of the Lord *Powis* had told him that there was one in their family who had undertaken to kill the King; but that ſome days after he told him, they were now gone off from that deſign. It looked very ſtrange, and added no credit to his other evidence

1678 dence, that the Papiſts ſhould be thus talking of killing the King, as if it had been a common piece of news. But there are ſeaſons of believing, as well as of diſbelieving: And believing was then ſo much in ſeaſon, that improbabilities or inconſiſtencies were little conſidered. Nor was it ſafe ſo much as to make reflections on them. That was called the blaſting of the plot, and diſparaging the King's evidence: Tho' indeed *Oates* and *Bedlow* did, by their behaviour, detract more from their own credit, than all their enemies could have done. The former talked of all perſons with inſufferable inſolence: And the other was a ſcandalous libertine in his whole deportment.

Scroggs was then Lord Chief Juſtice.

The Lord Chief Juſtice at that time was Sir *William Scroggs*, a man more valued for a good readineſs in ſpeaking well, than either for learning in his profeſſion, or for any moral virtue. His life had been indecently ſcandalous, and his fortunes were very low. He was raiſed by the Earl of *Danby*'s favour, firſt to be a Judge, and then to be the Chief Juſtice. And it was a melancholy thing to ſee ſo bad, ſo ignorant, and ſo poor a man raiſed up to that great poſt. Yet he, now ſeeing how the ſtream run, went into it with ſo much zeal and heartineſs, that he was become the favourite of the people. But, when he ſaw the King had an ill opinion of it, he grew colder in the purſuit of it. He began to neglect and check the witneſſes: Upon which, they, who behaved themſelves as if they had been the Tribunes of the people, began to rail at him. Yet in all the trials he ſet himſelf, even with indecent earneſtneſs, to get the priſoners to be always caſt.

Jenniſon's evidence.

Another witneſs came in ſoon after theſe things, *Jenniſon*, the younger brother of a Jeſuite, and a gentleman of a family and eſtate. He, obſerving that *Ireland* had defended himſelf againſt *Oates* chiefly by this, that he was in *Staffordſhire* from the beginning of *Auguſt* till the 12th of *September*, and that he had died affirming that to be true, ſeemed much ſurprized at it; and upon that turned Proteſtant. For he ſaid, he ſaw him in *London* on the 19th of *Auguſt*, on which day he fixed upon this account, that he ſaw him the day before he went down in the ſtage coach to *York*, which was proved by the books of that office to be the 20th of *Auguſt*. He ſaid, he was come to town from *Windſor*: And hearing that *Ireland* was in town, he went to ſee him, and found him drawing off his boots. *Ireland* aſked him news, and in particular, how the King was attended at *Windſor*? And when he anſwered, that he walked about very careleſly with very few about him, *Ireland* ſeemed to wonder at it, and ſaid, it would be eaſy then to take him off: To which *Jenniſon* anſwered quick, God forbid: But *Ireland* ſaid, he did not mean that it could be lawfully done. *Jenniſon*, in the letter in which he writ this up to a friend in *London*, added, that he remembred an inconſiderable paſſage or two more, and that perhaps *Smith* (a Prieſt that had lived with his Father) could help him to one or two more circumſtances

relating to thoſe matters: But he proteſted, as he deſired the for- 1678
giveneſs of his ſins, and the ſalvation of his ſoul, that he knew no more; and wiſhed he might never ſee the face of God, if he knew any more. This letter was printed. And great uſe was made of it, to ſhew how little regard was to be had to thoſe denials, with which ſo many had ended their lives. But this man in the ſummer thereafter publiſhed a long narrative of his knowledge of the plot. He ſaid, himſelf had been invited to aſſiſt in killing the King. He named the four ruffians that went to *Windſor* to do it. And he thought to have reconciled this to his letter, by pretending theſe were the circumſtances, that he had not mentioned in it. *Smith* did alſo change his religion; and depoſed, that, when he was at *Rome*, he was told in general of the deſign of killing the King. He was afterwards diſcovered to be a vicious man. Yet he went no farther than to ſwear, that he was acquainted with the deſign in general, but not with the perſons that were employed in it. By theſe witneſſes the credit of the plot was univerſally eſtabliſhed. Yet, no real proofs appearing, beſides *Coleman*'s letters and *Godfrey*'s murder, the King, by a proclamation, did offer both a pardon and 200 *l.* to any one that would come in, and make further diſcoveries. This was thought too great a hire to purchaſe witneſſes. Money had been offered to thoſe who ſhould bring in criminals. But it was ſaid to be a new and indecent practice to offer ſo much money to men, that ſhould merit it by ſwearing: And it might be too great an encouragement to perjury.

Practices with the witneſſes diſcovered.

While the witneſſes were weakning their own credit, ſome practices were diſcovered, that did very much ſupport it. *Reading*, a lawyer of ſome ſubtilty, but of no vertue, was employed by the Lords in the Tower to ſolicit their affairs. He inſinuated himſelf much into *Bedlow*'s confidence, and was much in his company: And, in the hearing of others, he was always preſſing him to tell all he knew. He lent him money very freely, which the other wanted often. And he ſeemed at firſt to deſign only to find out ſomewhat that ſhould deſtroy the credit of his teſtimony. But he ventured on other practices; and offered him much money, if he would turn his evidence againſt the Popiſh Lords only into a hear-ſay, ſo that it ſhould not come home againſt them. *Reading* ſaid, *Bedlow* began the propoſition to him; and employed him to ſee how much money theſe Lords could give him, if he ſhould bring them off: Upon which, *Reading*, as he pretended afterwards, ſeeing that innocent blood was like to be ſhed, was willing, even by indecent means, to endeavour to prevent it. Yet he freed the Lords in the Tower. He ſaid, they would not promiſe a farthing: Only the Lord *Stafford* ſaid, he would give himſelf two or three hundred pounds, which he might diſpoſe of as he pleaſed. While *Reading* was driving the bargain, *Bealow* was too hard for him at his own trade of craft: For, as he acquainted

1678 both Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, with the whole negotiation, from the firſt ſtep of it, ſo he placed two witneſſes ſecretly in his chamber, when *Reading* was to come to him; and drew him into thoſe diſcourſes, which diſcovered the whole practice of that corruption. *Reading* had likewiſe drawn a paper, by which he ſhewed him with how few and ſmall alterations he could ſoften his depoſition, ſo as not to affect the Lords. With theſe witneſſes, and this paper, *Bedlow* charged *Reading*. The whole matter was proved beyond contradiction. And, as this raiſed his credit, ſo it laid a heavy load on the Popiſh Lords; tho' the proofs came home only to *Reading*, and he was ſet in the pillory for it. *Bedlow* made a very ill uſe of this diſcovery, which happened in *March*, to cover his having ſworn againſt *Whitebread* and *Fenwick* only upon hear-ſay in *December*: For, being reſolved to ſwear plain matter upon his own knowledge againſt them, when they ſhould be brought again on their trial, he ſaid, *Reading* had prevailed on him to be eaſy to them, as he called it; and that he had ſaid to him that the Lords would take the ſaving of theſe Jeſuites, as an earneſt of what he would do for themſelves; tho' it was not very probable, that theſe Lords would have abandoned *Ireland*, when they took ſuch care of the other Jeſuites. The truth was, he ought to have been ſet aſide from being a witneſs any more, ſince now by his own confeſſion he had ſworn falſly in that trial: He had firſt ſworn, he knew nothing of his own knowledge againſt the two Jeſuites, and afterwards he ſwore copiouſly againſt them, and upon his own knowledge. *Wyld*, a worthy and ancient Judge, ſaid upon that to him, that he was a perjured man, and ought to come no more into Courts, but to go home, and repent. Yet all this was paſt over, as if it had been of no weight: And the Judge was turned out for his plain freedom. There was ſoon after this another practice diſcovered concerning *Oates*. Some that belonged to the Earl of *Danby* converſed much with *Oates*'s his ſervants. They told them many odious things that he was daily ſpeaking of the King, which looked liker one that intended to ruin than to ſave him. One of theſe did alſo affirm, that *Oates* had made an abominable attempt upon him not fit to be named. *Oates* ſmelled this out, and got his ſervants to deny all that they had ſaid, and to faſten it upon thoſe who had been with them, as a practice of theirs: And they were upon that likewiſe ſet on the pillory. And, to put things of a ſort together, tho' they happen'd not all at once: One *Tasborough*, that belonged to the Duke's court, entred into ſome correſpondence with *Dugdale*, who was courting a kinſwoman of his. It was propoſed, that *Dugdale* ſhould ſign a paper, retracting all that he had formerly ſworn, and ſhould upon that go beyond ſea, for which he was promiſed, in the Duke's name, a conſiderable reward. He had written the paper, as was deſired: But he was too cunning for *Tasborough*, and he proved his practices

practices upon him. He pretended he drew the paper only to draw the other further on, that he might be able to penetrate the deeper into their deſigns. *Tasborough* was fined, and ſet in the pillory for tampering thus with the King's evidence. 1678

This was the true ſtate of the plot, and of the witneſſes that proved it; which I have open'd as fully as was poſſible for me: And I had particular occaſions to be well inſtructed in it. Here was matter enough to work on the fears and apprehenſions of the Nation: So it was not to be wondred at, if Parliaments were hot, and Juries were eaſy in this proſecution. The viſible evidences that appeared, made all people conclude there was great plotting among them. And it was generally believed, that the bulk of what was ſworn by the witneſſes was true, tho' they had by all appearance dreſſed it up with incredible circumſtances. What the men of learning knew concerning their principles, both of depoſing of Kings, and of the lawfulneſs of murdering them when ſo depoſed, made them eaſily conclude, that ſince they ſaw the Duke was ſo entirely theirs, and that the King was ſo little to be depended on, they might think the preſent conjuncture was not to be loſt. And ſince the Duke's eldeſt daughter was already out of their hands, they might make the more haſte to ſet the Duke on the throne. The tempers, as well as the morals, of the Jeſuites, made it reaſonable to believe, that they were not apt to neglect ſuch advantages, nor to ſtick at any ſort of falſhood in order to their own defence. The doctrine of probability, beſides many other maxims that are current among them, made many give little credit to their witneſſes, or to their moſt ſolemn denials, even at their execution. Many things were brought to ſhew, that by the caſuiſtical divinity taught among them, and publiſhed by them to the world, there was no practice ſo bad, but that the doctrines of probability, and of ordering the intention, might juſtify it. Yet many thought, that, what doctrines ſoever men might by a ſubtilty of ſpeculation be carried into, the approaches of death, with the ſerioufneſs that appeared in their deportment, muſt needs work ſo much on the probity and candor which ſeemed rooted in human nature, that even immoral opinions, maintained in the way of argument, could not then reſiſt it. Several of our Divines went far in this charge, againſt all regard to their dying ſpeeches; of which ſome of our own Church complained, as inhuman and indecent. Reflections upon the whole evidence.

In *January* a new Parliament was ſummoned. The elections were carried with great heat, and went almoſt every where againſt the Court. Lord *Danby* reſolved to leave the Treaſury at *Lady-day*. And in that time he made great advantage by ſeveral payments which he got the King to order, that were due upon ſuch ſlight pretences, that it was believed he had a large ſhare of them to himſelf: 1679 A new Parliament.

1679 So that he left the Treaſury quite empty. He perſuaded the King to ſend the Duke beyond ſea, that ſo there might be no colour for ſuſpecting that the counſels were influenced by him. He endeavoured to perſuade the Duke, that it was fit for him to go out of the way. If the King and the Parliament came to an agreement, he might depend on the promiſe that the King would make him, of recalling him immediately: And if they did not agree, no part of the blame could be caſt on him; which muſt happen otherwiſe, if he ſtaid ſtill at Court. Yet no rhetorick would have prevailed on him to go, if the King had not told him poſitively, it was for both their ſervice, and ſo it muſt be done.

The Duke ſent beyond ſea.

Before he went away, the King gave him all poſſible ſatisfaction with relation to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was become very popular, and his creatures were giving it out, that he was the King's lawful ſon. So the King made a ſolemn declaration in Council, and both ſigned it and took his oath on it, that he was never married, nor contracted to that Duke's mother; nor to any other woman, except to his preſent Queen. The Duke was ſent away upon very ſhort warning, not without many tears ſhed by him at parting, tho' the King ſhed none. He went firſt to *Holland*, and then to *Bruſſels*, where he was but coldly received.

At the opening the Parliament in *March*, the parting with an only brother, to remove all jealouſy, was magnified with all the pomp of the Earl of *Nottingham*'s eloquence. Lord *Danby*'s friends were in ſome hopes, that the great ſervices which he had done would make matters brought againſt him to be handled gently. But in the management he committed ſome errors, that proved very unhappy to him.

Seimour and he had fallen into ſome quarrellings, both being very proud and violent in their tempers. *Seimour* had in the laſt Seſſion ſtruck in with that heat againſt Popery, that he was become popular upon it. So he managed the matter in this new Parliament, that tho' the Court named *Meres* yet he was choſen Speaker. The nomination of the Speaker was underſtood to come from the King, tho' he was not named as recommending the perſon. Yet a Privy Counſellor named one: And it was underſtood to be done by order. And the perſon thus named was put in the chair, and was next day preſented to the King, who approved the choice. When *Seimour* was next day preſented as the Speaker, the King refuſed to confirm the election. He ſaid, he had other occaſions for him, which could not be diſpenſed with. Upon this, great heats aroſe, with a long and violent debate. It was ſaid, the Houſe had the choice of their Speaker in them, and that their preſenting the Speaker was only a ſolemn ſhewing him to the King, ſuch as was the preſenting the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* in the Exchequer; but that the King was bound to confirm their choice. This debate held a week, and created much anger.

A temper was found at laſt. *Seimour*'s election was let fall: But the point was ſettled, that the right of electing was in the Houſe, and that the confirmation was a thing of courſe. So another was choſen Speaker. And the Houſe immediately fell on Lord *Danby*. Thoſe who intended to ſerve him ſaid, the heat this diſpute had raiſed, which was imputed wholly to him, had put it out of their power to do it. But he committed other errors. He took out a pardon under the Great Seal. The Earl of *Nottingham* durſt not venture to paſs it. So the King ordered the Seal to be put to the pardon in his own preſence. And thus, according to Lord *Nottingham*'s figure when he was afterwards queſtioned about it, it did not paſs thro' the ordinary methods of production, but was an immediate effect of his Majeſty's power of creating. He alſo took out a warrant to the Marquiſs of *Caermarthen*. And the King, in a ſpeech to the Parliament, ſaid, he had done nothing but by his order; and therefore he had pardoned him; and, if there was any defect in his pardon, he would paſs it over and over again, till it ſhould be quite legal. 1679

Danby pardon'd by the King, but proſecuted by the Houſe of Commons.

Upon this a great debate was raiſed. Some queſtioned whether the King's pardon, eſpecially when paſſed in bar to an impeachment, was good in law: This would encourage ill Miniſters, who would be always ſure of a pardon, and ſo would act more boldly, if they ſaw ſo eaſy a way to be ſecured againſt the danger of impeachments: The King's pardon did indeed ſecure one againſt all proſecution at his ſuit: But, as in the caſe of murder an appeal lay, from which the King's pardon did not cover the perſon, ſince the King could no more pardon the injuries done his people, than he could forgive the debts that were owing to them; ſo from a parity of reaſon it was inferred, that ſince the offences of Miniſters of State were injuries done the publick, the King's Pardon could not hinder a proſecution in Parliament, which ſeemed to be one of the chief ſecurities, and moſt eſſential parts of our conſtitution. Yet on the other hand it was ſaid, that the power of pardoning was a main article of the King's Prerogative: None had ever yet been annulled: The law had made this one of the truſts of the Government, without any limitation upon it: All arguments againſt it might be good reaſons for the limiting it for the future: But what was already paſt was good in law, and could not be broke thro'. The temper propoſed was, that, upon Lord *Danby*'s going out of the way, an Act of baniſhment ſhould paſs againſt him, like that which had paſt againſt the Earl of *Clarendon*. Upon that, when the Lords voted that he ſhould be committed, he withdrew. So a bill of baniſhment paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, and was ſent down to the Commons. *Winnington* fell on it there in a moſt furious manner. He ſaid, it was an Act to let all Miniſters ſee what was the worſt thing that could happen to them, after they had been engaged in the blackeſt deſigns, and

1679 had got great rewards of wealth and honour: All they could ſuffer was, to be obliged to live beyond ſea. This enflamed the Houſe ſo, that thoſe, who intended to have moderated that heat, found they could not ſtop it. *Littleton* ſent for me that night, to try if it was poſſible to mollify *Winnington*. We laid before him, that the King ſeemed brought near a diſpoſition to grant every thing that could be deſired of him: And why muſt an attainder be brought on, which would create a breach that could not be healed? The Earl of *Danby* was reſolved to bear a baniſhment; but would come in, rather than be attainted, and plead his pardon: And then the King was upon the matter made the party in the proſecution, which might ruin all: We knew how bad a Miniſter he had been, and had felt the ill effects of his power: But the publick was to be preferred to all other conſiderations. But *Winnington* was then ſo entirely in *Mountague*'s management, and was ſo blown up with popularity, and ſo much provoked by being turned out of the place of Solicitor General, that he could not be prevailed on. It was offered afterwards from the Court, as *Littleton* told me, both that Lord *Danby* ſhould by Act of Parliament be degraded from his Peerage, as well as baniſhed, and that an Act ſhould paſs declaring for the future no pardon ſhould be pleaded in bar to an impeachment. But the fury of the time was ſuch, that all offers were rejected. And ſo a very probable appearance of ſettling the Nation was loſt: For the bill for baniſhing Lord *Danby* was thrown out by the Commons. And inſtead of it a bill of attainder was brought in. The Treaſury was put in commiſſion. The Earl of *Eſſex* was put at the head of it. And *Hide* and *Godolphin* were two of the commiſſion. The Earl of *Sunderland* was brought over from *France*, and made Secretary of State. And Lord *Eſſex* and Lord *Sunderland* joined with the Duke of *Monmouth*, to preſs the King to change his counſels, and to turn to another method of government, and to take the men of the greateſt credit into his confidence. Lord *Eſſex* was much blamed for going in ſo early into the Court, before the reſt were brought in. He ſaid to me, he did it in the proſpect of working the change that was afterwards effected. Lord *Sunderland* alſo told me, that the King was eaſy in the bringing in Lord *Shaftsbury*; for he thought he was only angry in revenge, becauſe he was not employed; but that he had ſo ill an opinion of Lord *Halifax*, that it was not eaſy to get over that. The Duke of *Monmouth* told me, that he had as great difficulty in overcoming that, as ever in any thing that he ſtudied to bring the King to.

A new Council.

At laſt the King was prevailed on to diſmiſs the whole Council, which was all made up of Lord *Danby*'s creatures. And the chief men of both Houſes were brought into it. This was carried with ſo much ſecrecy, that it was not ſo much as ſuſpected, till the day before it was done. The King was weary of the vexation he had been long

in, and desired to be set at ease. And at that time he would have done any thing to get an end put to the Plot, and to the fermentation that was now over the whole Nation: So that, if the House of Commons would have let the matter of Lord *Danby*'s pardon fall, and have accepted of limitations on his brother, instead of excluding him, he was willing to have yielded in every thing else. He put likewise the Admiralty and Ordnance into commissions: Out of all which the Duke's creatures were so excluded, that they gave both him and themselves for lost. But the hatred that *Mountague* bore Lord *Danby*, and Lord *Shaftsbury*'s hatred to the Duke, spoiled all this. There were also many in the House of Commons, who finding themselves forgot, while others were preferred to them, resolved to make themselves considerable. And they infused into a great many a mistrust of all that was doing. It was said, the King was still what he was before. No change appeared in him. And all this was only an artifice to lay the heat that was in the Nation, to gain so many over to him, and so to draw money from the Commons. So they resolved to give no money, till all other things should be first settled. No part of the change that was then made was more acceptable than that of the Judges: For Lord *Danby* had brought in some sad creatures to those important posts. And *Jones* had the new modelling of the Bench. And he put in very worthy men, in the room of those ignorant Judges that were now dismiss'd. 1679

Debates concerning the Exclusion.

The main point in debate was, what security the King should offer to quiet the fears of the Nation upon the account of the Duke's succession. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* proposed the excluding him simply, and making the succession to go on, as if he was dead, as the only mean that was easy and safe both for the Crown and the people: This was nothing but the disinheriting the next heir, which certainly the King and Parliament might do, as well as any private man might disinherit his next heir, if he had a mind to it. The King would not consent to this. He had faithfully promised the Duke, that he never would. And he thought, if Acts of Exclusion were once begun, it would not be easy to stop them; but that upon any discontent at the next heir, they would be set on: religion was now the pretence: But other pretences would be found out, when there was need of them: This insensibly would change the nature of the *English* Monarchy: So that from being hereditary it would become elective. The Lords of *Essex* and *Hallifax* upon this proposed such limitations of the Duke's authority, when the Crown should devolve on him, as would disable him from doing any harm, either in Church or State: Such as the taking out of his hand all power in Ecclesiastical matters, the disposal of the publick money, with the power of peace and war, and the lodging these in both Houses of Parliament; and that whatever Parliament

was

1679 was in being, or the laſt that had been in being at the King's death, ſhould meet, without a new ſummons, upon it, and aſſume the adminiſtration of affairs. Lord *Shaftsbury* argued againſt this, as much more prejudicial to the Crown than the excluſion of one heir: For this changed the whole Government, and ſet up a Democracy inſtead of a Monarchy. Lord *Halliſax*'s arguing now ſo much againſt the danger of turning the Monarchy to be elective, was the more extraordinary in him, becauſe he had made an hereditary Monarchy the ſubject of his mirth; and had often ſaid, who takes a coachman to drive him, becauſe his father was a good coachman? Yet he was now jealous of a ſmall ſlip in the ſucceſſion. But at the ſame time he ſtudied to infuſe into ſome a zeal for a Commonwealth. And to theſe he pretended, that he preferred limitations to an excluſion: Becauſe the one kept up the Monarchy ſtill, only paſſing over one perſon; whereas the other brought us really into a Commonwealth, as ſoon as we had a Popiſh King over us. And it was ſaid by ſome of his friends, that the limitations propoſed were ſo advantageous to publick liberty, that a man might be tempted to wiſh for a Popiſh King, to come at them.

Upon this great difference of opinion, a faction was quickly formed in the new Council. The Lords *Eſſex*, *Sunderland* and *Halliſax* declaring for limitations, and againſt the Excluſion; while Lord *Shaftsbury*, now made Preſident of the Council, declared highly for it. They took much pains on him to moderate his heat: But he was become ſo intolerably vain, that he would not mix with them, unleſs he might govern. So they broke with him: And the other three were called the Triumvirate. Lord *Eſſex* applied himſelf to the buſineſs of the Treaſury, to the regulating the King's expence, and the improvement of the Revenue. His clear, tho' ſlow, ſenſe made him very acceptable to the King. Lord *Halliſax* ſtudied to manage the King's ſpirit, and to gain an aſcendant there by a lively and libertine converſation. Lord *Sunderland* managed foreign affairs, and had the greateſt credit with the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*. After it was agreed on to offer the limitations, the Lord Chancellor by order from the King made the propoſition to both Houſes. The Duke was ſtruck with the news of this, when it came to him to *Bruſſels*. I ſaw a letter writ by his Ducheſs the next poſt: In which ſhe wrote, that as for all the high things that were ſaid by their enemies they looked for them, but that ſpeech of the Lord Chancellor's was a ſurprize, and a great mortification to them. Their apprehenſions of that did not hang long upon them. The Excluſion was become the popular expedient. So, after much debating, a bill was ordered for excluding the Duke of *York*. I will give you here a ſhort abſtract of all that was ſaid, both within and without doors, for and againſt the Excluſion.

Thoſe who argued for it laid it down for a foundation, that every perſon, who had the whole right of any thing in him, had likewiſe the power of transferring it to whom he pleaſed. So the King and Parliament, being entirely poſſeſſed of the whole authority of the Nation, had a power to limit the ſucceſſion, and every thing elſe relating to the Nation, as they pleaſed. And by conſequence there was no ſuch thing as a fundamental law, by which the power of Parliament was bound up: For no King and Parliament in any former age had a power over the preſent King and Parliament; otherwiſe the Government was not entire, nor abſolute. A father, how much ſoever determined by nature to provide for his children, yet had certainly a power of diſinheriting them, without which, in ſome caſes, the reſpect due to him could not be preſerved. The life of the King on the throne was not ſecure, unleſs this was acknowledged. For if the next heir was a traitor, and could not be ſeized on, the King would be ill ſerved in oppoſition to him, if he could not bar his ſucceſſion by an excluſion. Government was appointed for thoſe that were to be governed, and not for the ſake of Governors themſelves: Therefore all things relating to it were to be meaſured by the publick intereſt, and the ſafety of the people. In none of God's appointments in the Old Teſtament regard was had to the eldeſt. *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and more particularly *Solomon*, were preferred without any regard to the next in line. In the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Europe* the ſucceſſion went according to particular laws, and not by any general law. In *England*, *Spain* and *Sweden*, the heir general did ſucceed: Whereas it was only the heir male in *France*, and *Germany*. And whereas the oath of allegiance tied us to the King and his heirs, the word heir was a term that imported that perſon who by law ought to ſucceed: And ſo it fell by law to any perſon who was declared next in the ſucceſſion. In *England* the heir of the King that reigned had been ſometimes ſet aſide, and the right of ſucceſſion transferred to another perſon. *Henry* VII. ſet up his title on his poſſeſſing the Crown. *Henry* VIII. got his two daughters, while they were by acts of Parliament illegitimated, put in the ſucceſſion: And he had a power given him to deviſe it after them, and their iſſue, at his pleaſure. Queen *Elizabeth*, when ſhe was in danger from the practices of the Queen of *Scots*, got an Act to paſs aſſerting the power of the Parliament to limit the ſucceſſion of the Crown. It was high treaſon to deny this during her life, and was ſtill highly penal to this day. All this was laid down in general, to aſſert a power in the Parliament to exclude the next heir, if there was a juſt cauſe for it. Now, as to the preſent caſe, the Popiſh religion was ſo contrary to the whole frame and conſtitution of our Government, as well as to that dignity inherent in the Crown, of being the head of the Church, that a Papiſt ſeemed to be brought under a diſability to hold the Crown. A great part of the property of the Nation, the Abbey lands, was ſhaken by the proſpect of ſuch a ſucceſ-

1678 Arguments uſed for and againſt the Excluſion.

1679 ſion. The perfidy and the cruelty of that religion made the danger more ſenſible. Fires, and Courts of Inquiſition, were that which all muſt reckon for, who would not redeem themſelves by an early and zealous converſion. The Duke's own temper was much inſiſted on. It appeared by all their letters, how much the Papiſts depended on him: And his own deportment ſhewed, there was good reaſon for it. He would break thro' all limitations, and call in a foreign power, rather than ſubmit to them. Some mercenary lawyers would give it for law, that the prerogative could not be limited, and that a law limiting it was void of it ſelf. Revenges for paſt injuries, when join'd to a bigotry in religion, would be probably very violent.

On the other hand, ſome argued againſt the Excluſion: That it was unlawful in it ſelf, and againſt the unalterable law of ſucceſſion; (which came to be the common phraſe.) Monarchy was ſaid to be by divine right: So the Law could not alter what God had ſettled. Yet few went at firſt ſo high. Much weight was laid on the oath of allegiance, that tied us to the King's heirs: And whoſo was the heir when any man took that oath, was ſtill the heir to him. All lawyers had great regard to fundamental laws. And it was a maxim among our lawyers, that even an Act of Parliament againſt *Magna Charta* was null of it ſelf. There was no argning from the changes in the courſe of the Succeſſion. Theſe had been the effects of proſperous rebellions. Nor from *Henry* VII.'s reigning in the right of his Queen, and yet not owning it to be ſo. Nor was it ſtrange, if in ſo violent a reign as *Henry* VIII.'s acts were made in prejudice of the right of blood. But tho' his daughters were made baſtards by two ſeveral acts, yet it was notorious they were both born in a ſtate of marriage. And when unlawful marriages were annulled, yet ſuch iſſue as deſcended from them *bona fide* uſed not to be illegitimated. But tho' that King made a will purſuant to an act of Parliament, excluding the *Scotiſh* line, yet ſuch regard the Nation had to the next in blood, that, without examining the will, the *Scotiſh* line was receiv'd. It is true, Queen *Elizabeth*, out of her hatred to the Queen of *Scots*, got the famed act to paſs, that declares the Parliament's power of limiting the ſucceſſion. But ſince that whole matter ended ſo fatally, and was the great blemiſh of her reign, it was not reaſonable to build much on it. Theſe were the arguments of thoſe, who thought the Parliament had not the power to enact an excluſion of the next heir: Of which opinion the Earl of *Eſſex* was at this time. Others did not go on theſe grounds: But they ſaid, that tho' a father has indeed a power of diſinheriting his ſon, yet he ought never to exert it but upon a juſt and neceſſary occaſion. It was not yet legally certain, that the Duke was a Papiſt. This was a condemning him unheard. A man's conſcience was not even in his own power. It ſeemed therefore to be an unjuſtifiable ſeverity, to cut off ſo great a right only for a point of opinion. It is true, it might be reaſonable to ſecure the Nation from the ill effects that opinion might have

upon

upon them, which was fully done by the limitations. But it was unjuſt to carry it further. The Proteſtants had charged the Church of *Rome* heavily for the League of *France*, in order to the excluding the Houſe of *Bourbon* from the ſucceſſion to the Crown of *France*, becauſe of hereſy: And this would make the charge return back upon us, to our ſhame. In the caſe of infancy, or lunacy, guardians were aſſigned: But the right was ſtill in the true heir. A Popiſh Prince was conſidered as in that ſtate: And theſe limitations were like the aſſigning him guardians. The Crown had been for ſeveral ages limited in the power of raiſing money; to which it may be ſuppoſed a high ſpirited King did not eaſily ſubmit, and yet we had long maintained this: And might it not be hoped, the limitations propoſed might be maintained in one reign; chiefly conſidering the zeal and the number of thoſe who were concerned to ſupport them? Other Princes might think themſelves obliged in honour and religion to aſſiſt him, if he was quite excluded: And it might be the occaſion of a new Popiſh League, that might be fatal to the whole Proteſtant intereſt. Whereas, if the limitations paſt, other Princes would not ſo probably enter into the laws and eſtabliſhment ſettled among us. It was ſaid, many in the Nation thought the Excluſion unlawful: But all would jointly concur in the limitations: So this was the ſecureſt way, that comprehended the greateſt part of the Nation: And probably *Scotland* would not go into the Excluſion, but merit at the Duke's hands by aſſerting his title: So here was a foundation of war round about us, as well as of great diſtractions among our ſelves: Some regard was to be had to the King's honour, who had ſo often declared, he would not conſent to an Excluſion; but would to any limitations, how hard ſoever. 1679

Theſe were the chief arguments upon which this debate was managed. For my own part, I did always look on it as a wild and extravagant conceit, to deny the lawfulneſs of an Excluſion in any caſe whatſoever. But for a great while I thought the accepting the limitations was the wiſeſt and beſt method. I ſaw the driving on the Excluſion would probably throw us into great confuſions. And therefore I made uſe of all the credit I had with many in both Houſes, to divert them from purſuing it, as they did, with ſuch eagerneſs, that they would hearken to nothing elſe. Yet, when I ſaw the party ſo deeply engaged, and ſo violently ſet upon it, both *Tillotſon* and I, who thought we had ſome intereſt in Lord *Halifax*, took great pains on him, to divert him from oppoſing it ſo furiouſly as he did: For he became as it were the champion againſt the Excluſion. I foreſaw a great breach was like to follow. And that was plainly the game of Popery, to keep us in ſuch an unſettled ſtate. This was like either to end in a rebellion, or in an abject ſubmiſſion of the Nation to the humours of the Court. I confeſs, that which I apprehended moſt was rebellion, tho' it turned afterwards quite the other way. But men of more experience, and who had better

1679 better advantages to make a true judgment of the temper of the Nation, were miſtaken as well as my ſelf. All the progreſs that was made in this matter in the preſent Parliament was, that the bill of Excluſion was read twice in the Houſe of Commons. But the Parliament was diſſolved before it came to a third reading.

Danby's proſecution. The Earl of *Danby's* proſecution was the point on which the Parliament was broken. The bill of attainder for his wilful abſence was paſs'd by the Commons, and ſent up to the Lords. But, when it was brought to the third reading, he delivered himſelf; and was upon that ſent to the Tower: Upon which he moved for his trial. The man of the law he depended moſt upon was *Pollexfen*, an honeſt, and learned, but perplexed lawyer. He adviſed him poſitively to ſtand upon his pardon. It was a point of prerogative never yet judged againſt the Crown: So he might in that caſe depend upon the Houſe of Lords, and on the King's intereſt there. It might perhaps produce ſome Act againſt all pardons for the future. But he thought he was ſecure in his pardon. It was both wiſer, and more honourable, for the King, as well as for himſelf, to ſtand on this, than to enter into the matter of the letters, which would occaſion many indecent reflections on both. So he ſettled on this, and pleaded his pardon at the Lord's bar: To which the Commons put in a reply, queſtioning the validity of the pardon, on the grounds formerly mentioned. And they demanded a trial and judgment.

Upon this a famous debate aroſe, concerning the Biſhops right of voting in any part of a trial for treaſon. It was ſaid, that, tho' the Biſhops did not vote in the final judgment, yet they had a right to vote in all preliminaries. Now the allowing, or not allowing the pardon to be good, was but a preliminary: And yet the whole matter was concluded by it. The Lords *Nottingham* and *Roberts* argued for the Biſhops voting. But the Lords *Eſſex*, *Shaftsbury*, and *Hollis*, were againſt it. Many books were writ on both ſides, of which an account ſhall be given afterwards. But upon this debate it was carried by the majority, that the Biſhops had a right to vote. Upon which the Commons ſaid, they would not proceed, unleſs the Biſhops were obliged to withdraw during the whole trial. And upon that breach between the two Houſes the Parliament was prorogued: And ſoon after it was diſſolved. And the blame of this was caſt chiefly on the Biſhops. The truth was, they deſired to have withdrawn, but the King would not ſuffer it. He was ſo ſet on maintaining the pardon, that he would not venture ſuch a point on the votes of the temporal Lords. And he told the Biſhops, they muſt ſtick to him, and to his prerogative, as they would expect that he ſhould ſtick to them, if they came to be puſh'd at. By this means they were expoſed to the popular fury.

Hot people began every where to cenſure them, as a ſet of men that for their own ends, and for every punctilio that they pretended to, would expoſe the Nation and the Proteſtant Religion to ruin. And in revenge for this many began to declare openly in favour of the Non-conformiſts: And upon this the Non-conformiſts behaved themſelves very indecently. For, tho' many of the more moderate of the Clergy were trying if an advantage might be taken from the ill ſtate we were in to heal thoſe breaches that were among us, they on their part fell very ſeverely upon the body of the Clergy. The act that reſtrained the preſs was to laſt only to the end of the firſt ſeſſion of the next Parliament that ſhould meet after that was diſſolved. So now, upon the end of the ſeſſion, the act not being revived, the preſs was open: And it became very licentious, both againſt the Court and the Clergy. And in this the Non-conformiſts had ſo great a hand, that the Biſhops and Clergy, apprehending that a rebellion, and with it the pulling the Church to pieces, was deſigned, ſet themſelves on the other hand to write againſt the late times, and to draw a parallel between the preſent times and them: Which was not decently enough managed by thoſe who undertook the argument, and who were believed to be ſet on, and paid by the Court for it. The chief manager of all thoſe angry writings was one Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, a man who had lived in all the late times, and was furniſhed with many paſſages, and an unexhauſted copiouſneſs in writing: So that for four years he publiſhed three or four ſheets a week under the title of the Obſervator, all tending to defame the contrary party, and to make the Clergy apprehend that their ruin was deſigned. This had all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed, as it drew conſiderable ſums that were raiſed to acknowledge the ſervice he did. Upon this the greater part of the Clergy, who were already much prejudiced againſt that party, being now both ſharpned and furniſhed by theſe papers, delivered themſelves up to much heat and indiſcretion, which was vented both in their pulpits and common converſation, and moſt particularly, at the elections of parliament men: And this drew much hatred and cenſure upon them. They ſeemed now to lay down all fears and apprehenſions of Popery: And nothing was ſo common in their mouths as the year forty one, in which the late wars begun, and which ſeemed now to be near the being acted over again. Both City and Country were full of many indecencies that broke out on this occaſion. But, as there were too many of the Clergy whom the heat of their

1679

A great heat raiſed againſt the Clergy.

The occaſions that fomented that heat.

1679 tempers and the hope of preferment drove to ſuch extravagancies, ſo there were ſtill many worthy and eminent men among them, whoſe lives and labours did in a great meaſure reſcue the Church from thoſe reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it. Such were, beſides thoſe whom I have often named, *Tenniſon*, *Sharp*, *Patrick*, *Sherlock*, *Fowler*, *Scot*, *Calamy*, *Claget*, *Cudworth*, two *Mores*, *Williams*, and many others, whom tho' I knew not ſo particularly as to give all their Characters, yet they deſerved a high one; and were indeed an honour, both to the Church, and to the age in which they lived.

Arguments for and againſt the Biſhops voting in the preliminaries in trials of treaſon.

I return from this digreſſion to give an account of the arguments by which that debate concerning the Biſhops voting in preliminaries was maintained. It was ſaid, the Biſhops were one of Three Eſtates of which the Parliament was compoſed, and that therefore they ought to have a ſhare in all parliamentary matters: That as the temporal Lords tranſmitted their honours and fees to their heirs, ſo the Biſhops did tranſmit theirs to their ſucceſſors: And they ſat in Parliament, both as they were the Prelates of the Church and Barons of the Realm: But in the time of Popery, when they had a mind to withdraw themſelves wholly from the King's Courts, and reſolved to form themſelves into a ſtate apart, upon this attempt of theirs, our Kings would not diſpenſe with their attendance: And then ſeveral regulations were made, chiefly the famed ones at *Clarendon*; not ſo much intended as reſtraints on them in the uſe of their rights as they were Barons, as obligations on them to perform all but thoſe that in compliance with their deſires were then excepted: The Clergy, who had a mind to be excuſed from all parliamentary attendance, obtained leave to withdraw in judgments of life and death, as unbecoming their profeſſion and contrary to their Canons. Princes were the more inclinable to this, becauſe Biſhops might be more apt to lean to the merciful ſide: And the judgments of Parliament in that time were commonly in favour of the Crown againſt the Barons: So the Biſhops had leave given them to withdraw from theſe: But they had a right to name a proxy for the Clergy, or to proteſt for ſaving their rights in all other points as Peers: So that this was rather a conceſſion in their favour than a reſtraint impoſed on them: And they did it on deſign to get out of theſe Courts as much as they could: At the Reformation all ſuch practices as were contrary to the King's prerogative were condemned: So it was ſaid, that the King having a right by

his prerogative to demand juſtice in Parliament againſt ſuch as he ſhould accuſe there, none of the Peers could be excuſed from that by any of the conſtitutions made in the time of Popery, which were all condemned at the Reformation: The proteſtation they made in their aſking leave to withdraw ſhewed it was a voluntary act of theirs, and not impoſed on them by the law of Parliament: The words of the article of *Clarendon* ſeemed to import, that they might ſit during the trial, till it came to the final judgment and ſentence of life or limb; and by conſequence that they might vote in the preliminaries. 1679

On the other hand it was argued, that Biſhops could not judge the temporal Lords as their Peers: For if they were to be tried for high treaſon, they were to be judged only by a jury of Commoners: And ſince their honour was not hereditary, they could not be the Peers of thoſe whoſe blood was dignified: And therefore, tho' they were a part of that Houſe with relation to the legiſlature and judicature, yet the difference between a perſonal and hereditary Peerage made that they could not be the judges of the temporal Lords, as not being to be tried by them: The cuſtom of Parliament was the law of Parliament: And ſince they had never judged in theſe caſes, they could not pretend to it: Their proteſtations was only in barr to the Lords doing any thing beſides the trial during the time that they were withdrawn: The words of the article of *Clarendon* muſt relate to the whole trial as one complicated thing, tho' it might run out into many branches: And ſince the final ſentence did often turn upon the preliminaries, the voting in theſe was upon the matter the voting in the final ſentence: Whatever might be the firſt inducements to frame thoſe articles of the Clergy, which at this diſtance muſt be dark and uncertain, yet the laws and practice purſuant to them were ſtill in force: By the act of *Henry* the eighth it was provided, that, till a new body of canon law ſhould be formed, that which was then received ſhould be ſtill in force, unleſs it was contrary to the King's prerogative or the law of the land: And it was a remote and forced inference to pretend that the prerogative was concerned in this matter.

Thus the point was argued on both ſides. Dr. *Stillingfleet* gave upon this occaſion a great proof of his being able to make himſelf the maſter of any argument which he undertook: For after the lawyers, and others converſant in Parliament records, in particular the Lord *Hollis* who undertook the argument with great vehemence, had writ many books about it, he publiſhed a treatiſe that diſcovered more ſkill and exactneſs in

Stillingfleet wrote on this point.

1679 in judging thoſe matters than all that had gone before him. And indeed he put an end to the controverſy in the opinion of all impartial men. He proved the right that the Biſhops had to vote in thoſe preliminaries, beyond contradiction in my opinion, both from our records, and from our conſtitution. But now in the interval of Parliament other matters come to be related.

The trial of five *Jeſuits.*

The King upon the prorogation of the Parliament became ſullen and thoughtful: He ſaw, he had to do with a ſtrange ſort of people, that could neither be managed nor frightned: And from that time his temper was obſerved to change very viſibly. He ſaw the neceſſity of calling another Parliament, and of preparing matters in order to it: Therefore the proſecution of the plot was ſtill carried on. So five of the *Jeſuits* that had been accuſed of it were brought to their trial: They were *Whitebread* their Provincial, *Fenwick*, *Harcourt*, *Govan*, and *Turner*. *Oates* repeated againſt them his former evidence: And they prepared a great defence againſt it: For ſixteen perſons came over from their Houſe at St. *Omers*, who teſtified that *Oates* had ſtaid among them all the while from *December* ſeventy ſeven till *June* ſeventy eight; ſo that he could not poſſibly be at *London* in the *April* between at thoſe conſultations, as he had ſworn. They remembred this the more particularly, becauſe he ſat at the table by himſelf in the refectory, which made his being there to be the more obſerved; for as he was not mixed with the ſcholars ſo neither was he admitted to the *Jeſuits* table. They ſaid, he was among them every day, except one or two in which he was in the infirmary: They alſo teſtified, that ſome of thoſe who he ſwore came over with him into *England* in *April* had ſtaid all that ſummer in *Flanders*. In oppoſition to this *Oates* had found out ſeven or eight perſons who depoſed that they ſaw him in *England* about the beginning of *May*; and that he being known formerly to them in a Clergyman's habit, they had obſerved him ſo much the more by reaſon of that change of habit. With one of theſe he dined; and he had much diſcourſe with him about his travels. An old Dominican *Frier*, who was ſtill of that Church and Order, ſwore alſo that he ſaw him, and ſpoke frequently with him at that time: By this the credit of the St. *Omer*'s ſcholars was quite blaſted. There was no reaſon to miſtruſt thoſe who had no intereſt in the matter, and ſwore that they ſaw *Oates* about that time; whereas the evidence given by ſcholars bred in the *Jeſuits* college, when it was to ſave ſome of their Order, was liable to a very juſt ſuſpicion. *Bedlow* now ſwore againſt them

all, not upon hearſay as before, but on his own knowledge; and no regard was had to his former Oath mentioned in *Ireland*'s trial. *Dugdale* did likewiſe ſwear againſt ſome of them: One part of his evidence ſeemed ſcarce credible. He ſwore, that *Whitebread* did in a letter that was directed to himſelf, tho' intended for *F. Evers*, and that came to him by the common poſt, and was ſigned by *Whitebread*, deſire him to find out men proper to be made uſe of in killing the King, of what quality ſoever they might be. This did not look like the cunning of *Jeſuits* in an age, in which all people made uſe either of cyphers, or of ſome diſguiſed cant. But the overthrowing the St. *Omers* evidence was now ſuch an additional load on the *Jeſuits*, that the jury came quickly to a verdict; and they were condemned. At their execution they did with the greateſt ſolemnity, and the deepeſt imprecations poſſible, deny the whole evidence upon which they were condemned: And proteſted, that they held no opinions either of the lawfulneſs of aſſaſſinating Princes, or of the Pope's power of depoſing them, and that they counted all equivocation odious and ſinful. All their ſpeeches were very full of theſe heads. *Govan*'s was much laboured, and too rhetorical. A very zealous Proteſtant, that went oft to ſee them in priſon, told me, that they behaved themſelves with great decency, and with all the appearances both of innocence and devotion. 1679

Langhorn, the lawyer, was tried next: He made uſe of the St. *Omer*'s ſcholars: But their evidence ſeemed to be ſo baffled, that it ſerved him in no ſtead. He inſiſted next on ſome contradictions in the ſeveral depoſitions that *Oates* had given at ſeveral trials: But he had no other evidence of that beſides the printed trials, which was no proof in law. The Judges ſaid upon this, (that which is perhaps good in law, but yet does not ſatisfy a man's mind,) that great difference was to be made between a narrative upon oath, and an evidence given in Court. If a man was falſe in any one oath, there ſeemed to be juſt reaſon to ſet him aſide, as no good witneſs. *Langhorn* likewiſe urged this, that it was ſix weeks after *Oates*'s firſt diſcovery before he named him: Whereas, if the commiſſions had been lodged with him, he ought to have been ſeized on and ſearched firſt of all. *Bedlow* ſwore, he ſaw him enter ſome of *Coleman*'s treaſonable letters in a regiſter, in which expreſs mention was made of killing the King. He ſhewed the improbability of this, that a man of his buſineſs could be ſet to regiſter letters. Yet all was of no uſe to him; for he was caſt. Great pains was taken to perſuade him to diſcover all he knew; and *Langhorn*'s Trial.

1679 his execution was delayed for ſome weeks, in hopes that ſomewhat might be drawn from him. He offered a diſcovery of the eſtates and ſtock that the *Jeſuits* had in *England*, the ſecret of which was lodged with him: But he proteſted, that he could make no other diſcovery; and perſiſted in this to his death. He ſpent the time, in which his execution was reſpited, in writing ſome very devout and well compoſed meditations. He was in all reſpects a very extraordinary man: He was learned, and honeſt in his Profeſſion; but was out of meaſure bigotted in his religion. He died with great conſtancy.

And death.

Theſe executions, with the denials of all that ſuffered, made great impreſſions on many. Several books were writ, to ſhew that lying for a good end was not only thought lawful among them, but had been often practiſed, particularly by ſome of thoſe who died for the gunpowder treaſon, denying thoſe very things which were afterwards not only fully proved, but confeſſed by the perſons concerned in them: Yet the behaviour, and laſt words, of thoſe who ſuffered made impreſſions which no books could carry off.

Some months after this one *Serjeant*, a ſecular Prieſt, who had been always in ill terms with the *Jeſuits*, and was a zealous Papiſt in his own way, appeared before the Council upon ſecurity given him; and he averred, that *Govan*, the *Jeſuit*, who died proteſting he had never thought it lawful to murder Kings, but had always deteſted it, had at his laſt being in *Flanders* ſaid to a very devout perſon, from whom *Serjeant* had it, that he thought the Queen might lawfully take away the King's life for the injuries he had done her, but much more becauſe he was a heretick. Upon that *Serjeant* run out into many particulars, to ſhew how little credit was due to the proteſtations made by *Jeſuits* even at their death. This gave ſome credit to the tendereſt part of *Oates*'s evidence with relation to the Queen. It ſhewed, that the trying to do it by her means had been thought of by them. All this was only evidence from ſecond hand: So it ſignified little. *Serjeant* was much blamed for it by all his own ſide. He had the reputation of a ſincere and good, but of an indiſcreet, man. The executions were generally imputed to Lord *Shaftsbury*, who drove them on in hopes that ſome one or other to have ſaved himſelf would have accuſed the Duke. But by theſe the credit of the witneſſes, and of the whole plot, was ſinking apace. The building ſo much, and ſhedding ſo much blood, upon the weakeſt part of it, which was the credit of the witneſſes, raiſed a general prejudice againſt it all; and took away

the force of that, which was certainly true, that the whole party had been contriving a change of religion by a foreign aſſiſtance, ſo that it made not impreſſion enough, but went off too faſt. It was like the letting blood, (as one obſerved,) which abates a fever. Every execution, like a new bleeding, abated the heat that the Nation was in; and threw us into a cold deadneſs, which was like to prove fatal to us. 1679

Wakeman's trial came on next. *Oates* ſwore, he ſaw him write a bill to *Aſhby* the *Jeſuit*, by which he knew his hand: And he ſaw another letter of his writ in the ſame hand, in which he directed *Aſhby*, who was then going to the *Bath*, to uſe a milk diet, and to be pump'd at the *Bath*; and that in that letter he mentioned his zeal in the deſign of killing the King. He next repeated all the ſtory he had ſworn againſt the Queen: Which he brought only to make it probable that *Wakeman*, who was her phyſician, was in it. To all this *Wakeman* objected, that at firſt *Oates* accuſed him only upon hearſay: And did ſolemnly proteſt he knew nothing againſt him: Which was fully made out. So he ſaid, all that *Oates* now ſwore againſt him muſt be a forgery not thought of at that time. He alſo proved by his own ſervant, and by the apothecary at the *Bath*, that *Aſhby*'s paper was not writ, but only dictated by him: For he hapned to be very weary when he came for it, and his man wrote it out: And that of the milk diet was a plain indication of an ill laid forgery, ſince it was known that nothing was held more inconſiſtent with the *Bath* water than milk. *Bedlow* ſwore againſt him, that he ſaw him receive a bill of 2000 *l.* from *Harcourt* in part of a greater ſum; and that *Wakeman* told him afterwards that he had received the money; and that *Harcourt* told him for what end it was given, for they intended the King ſhould be killed, either by thoſe they ſent to *Windſor*, or by *Wakeman*'s means: And, if all other ways failed, they would take him off at *Newmarket*. *Bedlow* in the firſt giving his evidence depoſed, that this was ſaid by *Harcourt* when *Wakeman* was gone out of the room. But obſerving, by the queſtions that were put him, that this would not affect *Wakeman*, he ſwore afterwards, that he ſaid it likewiſe in his hearing. *Wakeman* had nothing to ſet againſt all this, but that it ſeemed impoſſible that he could truſt himſelf in ſuch matters to ſuch a perſon: And if *Oates* was ſet aſide, he was but one witneſs. Three other Benedictin Prieſts were tried with *Wakeman*. *Oates* ſwore, that they were in the plot of killing the King; that one of them, being their Superior, had engaged to give 6000 *l.* towards *Wakeman*'s trial.

the

1679 the carrying it on. *Bedlow* ſwore ſomewhat circumſtantial to the ſame purpoſe againſt two of them: But that did not riſe up to be treaſon: And he had nothing to charge the third with. They proved, that another perſon had been their Superior for ſeveral years; and that *Oates* was never once ſuffered to come within their houſe, which all their ſervants depoſed. And they alſo proved, that when *Oates* came into their houſe the night after he made his diſcovery, and took *Pickering* out of his bed, and ſaw them, he ſaid, he had nothing to lay to their charge. They urged many other things to deſtroy the credit of the witneſſes: And one of them made a long declamation, in a high bombaſt ſtrain, to ſhew what credit was due to the ſpeeches of dying men. The eloquence was ſo forced and childiſh, that this did them more hurt than good. *Scroggs* ſummed up the evidence very favonrably for the priſoners, far contrary to his former practice. The truth is, that this was looked on, as the Queen's trial, as well as *Wakeman*'s. The priſoners were acquitted: And now the witneſſes ſaw they were blaſted. And they were enraged upon it; which they vented with much ſpite upon *Scroggs*. And there was in him matter enough to work on for ſuch foul mouthed people as they were. The Queen got a man of great Quality to be ſent over Ambaſſador from *Portugal*, not knowing how much ſhe might ſtand in need of ſuch a protection. He went next day with great ſtate to thank *Scroggs* for his behaviour in this trial. If he meant well in this complement, it was very unadviſedly done: For the Chief Juſtice was expoſed to much cenſure by it. And therefore ſome thought it was a ſhew of civility done on deſign to ruin him. For, how well pleaſed ſoever the Papiſts were with the ſucceſs of this trial, and with *Scrogg*'s management, yet they could not be ſuppoſed to be ſo ſatisfied with him, as to forgive his behaviour in the former trials, which had been very indecently partial and violent.

He was acquitted.

Debates about diſſolving the Parliament.

It was now debated in Council whether the Parliament, now prorogned, ſhould be diſſolved, or not. The King prevailed on the Lords of *Eſſex* and *Halifax* to be for a diſſolution, promiſing to call another Parliament next winter. Almoſt all the new Counſellors were againſt the diſſolution. They ſaid, the Crown had never gained any thing by diſſolving a Parliament in anger: The ſame men would probably be choſen again, while all that were thought favourable to the Court would be blaſted, and for the moſt part ſet aſide. The new men thus choſen, being fretted by a diſſolution, and put to the charge and trou-

ble of a new election, they thought the next Parliament would be more uneasy to the King than this if continued. Lord *Essex* and *Halifax* on the other hand argued, that since the King was fixed in his resolutions, both with relation to the Exclusion and to the Lord *Danby*'s pardon, his Parliament had engaged so far in both these, that they could not think that these would be let fall: Whereas a new Parliament, tho' composed of the same members, not being yet engaged, might be persuaded to take other methods. The King followed this advice, which he had directed himself: Two or three days after, Lord *Halifax* was made an Earl, which was called the reward of his good counsel. And now the hatred between the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and him broke out into many violent and indecent instances. On Lord *Shaftsbury*'s side more anger appeared, and more contempt on Lord *Halifax*'s. Lord *Essex* was a softer man, and bore the censure of the party more mildly: He saw how he was cried out on for his last advice: But as he was not apt to be much heated, so all he said to me upon it was, that he knew he was on a good bottom, and that good intentions would discover themselves, and be justified by all in conclusion. 1679

I now put a stop in the further relation of affairs in *England*, to give an account of what past in *Scotland*. The party against Duke *Lauderdale* had lost all hopes, seeing how affairs were carried in the last convention of Estates: But they began to take heart upon this great turn in *England*. The Duke was sent away, and the Lord *Danby* was in the Tower, who were that Duke's chief supports: And when the new council was settled, Duke *Hamilton* and many others were encouraged to come up and accuse him. The truth was, the King found his memory was failing him; and so he resolved to let him fall gently, and bring all *Scottish* affairs into the Duke of *Monmouth*'s hands. The *Scottish* Lords were desired, not only by the King, but by the new Ministers, to put the heads of their charge against Duke *Lauderdale* in writing; and the King promised to hear lawyers on both sides, and that the Earls of *Essex* and *Halifax* should be present at the hearing. *Mackenzie* was sent for, being the King's advocate, to defend the administration; and *Lockhart* and *Cunningham* were to argue against it. The last of these had not indeed *Lockhart*'s quickness, nor his talent in speaking; but he was a learned and judicious man, and had the most universal, and indeed the most deserved reputation for integrity and vertue of any man, not only of his own profession, but of the whole Nation. The affairs of *Scotland*.

1679 Nation. The hearing came on as was promiſed; and it was made out beyond the poſſibility of an anſwer, that the giving commiſſions to an Army to live on free Quarters in a quiet time was againſt the whole conſtitution, as well as the expreſs laws of that Kingdom; and that it was never done but in an enemy's country, or to ſuppreſs a rebellion: They ſhewed likewiſe, how unjuſt and illegal all the other parts of his adminiſtration were. The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Haliſax* told me every thing was made out fully; *Mackenzie* having nothing to ſhelter himſelf in, but that flouriſh in the act againſt field Conventicles, in which they were called the rendezvous of rebellion; from which he inferred, that the country where theſe had been frequent was in a ſtate of rebellion. Kings naturally love to hear prerogative magnified: Yet on this occaſion the King had nothing to ſay in defence of the adminiſtration. But when *May*, the maſter of the privy purſe, aſked him in his familiar way what he thought now of his *Lauderdale*, he anſwered, as *May* himſelf told me, that they had objected many damned things that he had done againſt them, but there was nothing objected that was againſt his ſervice. Such are the notions that many Kings drink in, by which they ſet up an intereſt for themſelves in oppoſition to the intereſt of the people: And as ſoon as the people obſerve that, which they will do ſooner or later, then they will naturally mind their own intereſt, and ſet it up as much in oppoſition to the Prince: And in this conteſt the people will grow always too hard for the Prince, unleſs he is able to ſubdue and govern them by an army. The Duke of *Monmouth* was beginning to form a ſcheme of a miniſtry: But now the government in *Scotland* was ſo remiſs, that the people apprehended they might run into all ſort of confuſion. They heard that *England* was in ſuch diſtractions that they needed fear no force from thence. Duke *Lauderdale*'s party was loſing heart, and were fearing ſuch a new model there as was ſet up here in *England*. All this ſet thoſe mad people that had run about with the field Conventicles into a frenzy: They drew together in great bodies: Some parties of the troops came to diſperſe them, but found them both ſo reſolute and ſo ſtrong, that they did not think fit to engage them: Sometimes they fired on one another, and ſome were killed of both ſides.

The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* is murdered.

When a party of furious men were riding thro' a moor near St. *Andrews*, they ſaw the Archbiſhop's coach appear: He was coming from a council day, and was driving home: He had

had ſent ſome of his ſervants home before him, to let them know he was coming, and others he had ſent off on complements; ſo that there was no horſemen about the coach. They ſeeing this concluded, according to their frantick enthuſiaſtick notions, that God had now delivered up their greateſt enemy into their hands: Seven of them made up to the coach, while the reſt were as ſcouts riding all about the moor. One of them fired a piſtol at him, which burnt his coat and gown, but did not go into his body: Upon this they fancied he had a magical ſecret to ſecure him againſt a ſhot; and they drew him out of his coach, and murdered him barbarouſly, repeating their ſtrokes till they were ſure he was quite dead: And ſo they got clear off, no body happening to go croſs the moor all the while. This was the diſmal end of that unhappy man: It ſtruck all people with horror, and ſoftned his enemies into ſome tenderneſs: So that his memory was treated with decency by thoſe who had very little reſpect for him during his life. 1679

A week after that, there was a great field Conventicle held within ten miles of *Glaſgow:* A body of the guards engaged with them, and they made ſuch vigorous reſiſtance, that the guards having loſt thirty of their number were forced to run for it: So the Conventicle formed itſelf into a body and marched to *Glaſgow:* The perſon that led them had been bred by me, while I lived at *Glaſgow*, being the younger ſon of Sir *Tho. Hamilton* that had married my ſiſter, but by a former wife: He was then a lively hopeful young man: Bnt getting into that company, and into their notions, he became a crack-brained enthuſiaſt. Duke *Lauderdale* and his party publiſhed every where that this rebellion was headed by a nephew of mine, whom I had prepared for ſuch a work while he was in my hands: Their numbers were ſo magnified, that a company or two which lay at *Glaſgow* retired in all haſt, and left the town to them, tho' they were then not above four or five hnndred; and theſe were ſo ill armed, and ſo ill commanded, that a troop of horſe could have eaſily diſperſed them. The Council at *Edinburgh* ſent the Earl of *Linlithgow* againſt them with a thouſand foot, two hundred horſe, and two hnndred dragoons: A force much greater than was neceſſary for making head againſt ſuch a rabble. He marched till he came within ten miles of them; and then he pretended he had intelligence that they were above eight thouſand ſtrong; ſo he marched back; for he ſaid, it was the venturing the whole force the King had upon too great an

A rebellion in *Scotland.*

1679 inequality: He could never prove that he had any ſuch intelligence: Some imputed this to his fear: Others thought, that being much engaged with Duke *Lauderdale*, he did this on purpoſe to give them time to encreaſe their numbers: And thought their madneſs would be the beſt juſtification of all the violences that had been committed in Duke *Lauderdale*'s adminiſtration. Thus the country was left in their hands: And if there had been any deſigns or preparations made formerly for a rebellion, now they had time enough to run together and to form themſelves: But it appeared that there had been no ſuch deſigns, by this, that none came into it but thoſe deſperate intercommoned men, who were as it were hunted from their houſes into all thoſe extravagances that men may fall in, who wander about inflaming one another, and are heated in it with falſe notions of Religion. The rebels having the country left to their diſcretion fancied that their numbers would quickly encreaſe: And they ſet out a ſort of manifeſto, complaining of the oppreſſions they lay under, aſſerting the obligation of the covenant: And they concluded it with the demand of a free Parliament. When the news of this came to Court, Duke *Lauderdale* ſaid, it was the effect of the encouragement that they had from the King's hearkning to their complaints: Whereas all indifferent men thought it was rather to be imputed to his inſolence and tyranny.

Monmouth ſent down to ſuppreſs it.

The King reſolved to loſe no time: So he ſent the Duke of *Monmouth* down poſt, with full powers to command in chief: And directions were ſent to ſome troops that lay in the north of *England* to be ready to march upon his orders. Duke *Lauderdale* apprehended that thoſe in arms would preſently ſubmit to the Duke of *Monmouth*, if there was but time given for proper inſtruments to go among them, and that then they would pretend they had been forced into that riſing by the violence of the government: So he got the King to ſend poſitive orders after him, that he ſhould not treat with them, but fall on them immediately: Yet he marched ſo ſlowly that they had time enough given them to diſpoſe them to a ſubmiſſion. They fixed at *Hamilton*, near which there is a bridge on *Clide*, which it was believed they intended to defend; but they took no care of it. They ſent ſome to treat with the Duke of *Monmouth*: He anſwered, that if they would ſubmit to the King's mercy, and lay down their arms, he would interpoſe for their pardon, but that he would not treat with them as long as they were in arms: And ſome were be-

ginning to preſs their rendring themſelves at diſcretion: They had neither the grace to ſubmit, nor the ſenſe to march away, nor the Courage to fight it out: But ſuffered the Duke of *Monmouth* to make himſelf maſter of the bridge. They were then four thouſand men: But few of them were well armed: If they had charged thoſe that came firſt over the bridge, they might have had ſome advantage: But they looked on like men that had loſt both ſenſe and courage: And upon the firſt charge they threw down their arms and ran away: There were between two or three hundred killed, and twelve hundred taken priſoners. The Duke of *Monmouth* ſtopt the execution that his men were making as ſoon as he could, and ſaved the priſoners; for ſome moved, that they ſhould be all killed upon the ſpot. Yet this was afterwards objected to him as a neglect of the King's ſervice, and as a courting the people: The Duke of *York* talked of it in that ſtrain: And the King himſelf ſaid to him, that if he had been there they ſhould not have had the trouble of priſoners: He anſwered, he could not kill men in cold blood; that was work only for butchers. Duke *Lauderdale*'s creatures preſſed the keeping the army ſome time in that Country, on deſign to have eat it up: But the Duke of *Monmouth* ſent home the Militia, and put the troops under diſcipline: So that all that Country was ſenſible, that he had preſerved them from ruin: The very fanatical party confeſſed that he treated them as gently as poſſible, conſidering their madneſs: He came back to Court as ſoon as he had ſettled matters, and moved the King to grant an indemnity for what was paſt, and a liberty to hold meetings under the King's licenſe or connivance: He ſhewed the King that all this madneſs of field Conventicles flowed only from the ſeverity againſt thoſe that were held within doors. Duke *Lauderdale* drew the indemnity in ſuch a manner that it carried in ſome clauſes of it a full pardon to himſelf and all his party; but he clogged it much with relation to thoſe for whom it was granted. All Gentlemen, Preachers and Officers were excepted out of it; ſo that the favour of it was much limited two of their Preachers were hanged, but the other priſoners were let go upon their ſigning a bond for keeping the peace: Two hundred of them were ſent to *Virginia*, but they were all caſt away at ſea. Thus ended this tumultuary rebellion, which went by the name of *Bothwell-Bridge*, where the action was. The King ſoon after ſent down orders for allowing meeting houſes: But the Duke of *Monmouth*'s intereſt ſunk ſo ſoon after this, that theſe were

1679

They were ſoon broken.

1679 scarce opened when they were shut up again: Their enemies said, this looked like a rewarding them for their rebellion.

The King taken ill, and the Duke comes to Court.

An accident happened soon after this that put the whole Nation in a fright, and produced very great effects: The King was taken ill at *Windsor* of an intermitting fever: The fits were so long and so severe, that the physicians apprehended he was in danger: Upon which he ordered the Duke to be sent for, but very secretly; for it was communicated to none but to the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Essex* and *Halifax*. The Duke made all possible haste, and came in disguise thro' *Calais*, as the quicker passage: But the danger was over before he came: The fits did not return after the King took *Quinquina*, called in *England* the *Jesuits powder:* As he recovered it was moved, that the Duke should be again sent beyond sea: He had no mind to it: But when the King was positive in it, he moved that the Duke of *Monmouth* should be put out of all command, and likewise sent beyond sea. The Duke of *Monmouth*'s friends advised him to agree to this; for he might depend on it, that as soon as the Parliament met an address would be made to the King for bringing him back, since his being thus divested of his commissions, and sent away at the Duke's desire, would raise his interest in the Nation.

The many false stories spread to raise jealousy.

At this time the party that began to be made for the Duke of *York* were endeavouring to blow matters up into a flame every where: Of which the Earl of *Essex* gave me the following instance, by which it was easy to judge what sort of intelligence they were apt to give, and how they were possessing the King and his ministers with ill grounded fears: He came once to *London* on some treasury business the day before the common Hall was to meet in the City: So the spies that were employed to bring news from all corners came to him, and assured him that it was resolved next day to make use of the noise of that meeting, and to seize on the Tower, and do all such things as could be managed by a popular fury. The advertisements came to him from so many hands, that he was inclined to believe there was somewhat in it: Some pressed him to send soldiers into the Tower and to the other parts of the City. He would not take the alarm so hot, but he sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to be on his guard: And he ordered some companies to be drawn up in *Covent-Garden* and in *Lincolns Inn Fields:* And he had two hundred men ready, and barges prepared to carry them to the Tower, if there should have been the least shadow of tumult: But he would not seem

ſeem to fear a diſorder too much, leſt perhaps that might have produced one: Yet after all the affrightning ſtories that had been brought him, the next day paſt over very calmly, it not appearing by the leaſt circumſtance that any thing was deſigned, beſides the buſineſs for which the common Hall was ſummoned. He often reflected on this matter: Thoſe mercenary ſpies are very officious, that they may deſerve their pay; and they ſhape their ſtory to the tempers of thoſe whom they ſerve: And to ſuch creatures, and to their falſe intelligence, I imputed a great deal of the jealouſy that I found the King poſſeſſed with. Both the Dukes went now beyond ſea: And that enmity which was more ſecret before, and was covered with a Court civility, did now break out open and barefaced. But it ſeemed that the Duke of *York* had prevailed with the King not to call the Parliament that winter, in hope that the heat the Nation was in would with the help of ſome time grow cooler, and that the party that began now to declare more openly for the right of ſucceſſion would gain ground. There was alſo a pretended diſcovery now ready to break ont, which the Duke might be made believe would carry off the plot from the Papiſts, and caſt it on the contrary party. 1679

A pretended plot diſcovered, called the *Meal-tub* plot.

Dangerfield, a ſubtile and dexterous man, who had gone thro' all the ſhapes and practices of roguery, and in particular was a falſe coiner, undertook now to coin a plot for the ends of the Papiſts. He was in jayl for debt, and was in an ill intrigne with one *Cellier* a Popiſh midwife, who had a great ſhare of wit, and was abandoned to lewdneſs. She got him to be brought out of priſon, and carried him to the Conntes of *Powis* a zealous managing Papiſt. He, after he had laid matters with her, as will afterwards appear, got into all companies, and mixed with the hotteſt men of the Town, and ſtudied to engage others with himſelf to ſwear, that they had been invited to accept of commiſſions, and that a new form of government was to be ſet up, and that the King and the Royal Family were to be ſent away. He was carried with this ſtory firſt to the Duke, and then to the King, and had a weekly allowance of money, and was very kindly uſed by many of that ſide; ſo that a whiſper run about Town, that ſome extraordinary thing would quickly break out: And he having ſome correſpondence with one Collonel *Manſel*, he made up a bnndle of ſeditious but ill contrived letters, and laid them in a dark corner of his room: And then ſome ſearchers were ſent from the Cuſtom Houſe to look for ſome forbid-

1679 den goods, which they heard were in *Manſel*'s chamber. There were no goods found: But as it was laid they found that bundle of letters: And upon that a great noiſe was made of a diſcovery: But upon enquiry it appeared the letters were counterfeited, and the forger of them was ſuſpected; ſo they ſearched into all *Dangerfield*'s haunts, and in one of them they found a paper that contained the ſcheme of this whole fiction, which becauſe it was found in a *Meal-tub* came to be called the *Meal-tub* plot. *Dangerfield* was upon that clapt up, and he ſoon after confeſſed how the whole matter was laid and managed: In which it is very probable he mixed much of his own invention with truth, for he was a profligate liar. This was a great diſgrace to the Popiſh party, and the King ſuffered much by the countenance he had given him: The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Haliſax* were ſet down in the ſcheme to be ſworn againſt with the reſt.

Great jealouſies of the King.

Upon this they preſſed the King vehemently to call a Parliament immediately. But the King thought that if a Parliament ſhould meet while all mens ſpirits were ſharpned by this new diſcovery, he would find them in worſe temper than ever: When the King could not be prevailed on to do that, Lord *Eſſex* left the treaſury. The King was very uneaſy at this. But Lord *Eſſex* was firm in his reſolution not to meddle in that poſt more ſince a Parliament was not called: Yet, at the King's earneſt deſire, he continued for ſome time to go to Council. Lord *Haliſax* fell ill, much from a vexation of mind: His ſpirits were oppreſſed, a deep melancholy ſeizing him: For a fortnight together I was once a day with him, and found then that he had deep impreſſions of Religion on him: Some fooliſh people gave it out that he was mad: But I never knew him ſo near a ſtate of true wiſdom as he was at that time. He was much troubled at the King's forgetting his promiſe to hold a Parliament that winter; and expoſtulated ſeverely upon it with ſome that were ſent to him from the King: He was offered to be made Secretary of State, but he refuſed it. Some gave it out that he pretended to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and was uneaſy when that was denied him: But he ſaid to me that it was offered him, and he had refuſed it. He did not love, he ſaid, a new ſcene, nor to dine with ſound of trumpet and thirty ſix diſhes of meat on his table. He likewiſe ſaw that Lord *Eſſex* had a mind to be again there; and he was confident he was better fitted for it than he himſelf was. My being much with him at that time

time was reflected on: It was ſaid, I had heightned his diſaffection to the Court. I was with him only as a divine. 1679

The Court went on in their own pace: Lord *Twedale* being then at *London* moved the Earl of *Peterborough*, that it would be more honourable, and more for the Duke's intereſt, inſtead of living beyond ſea to go and live in *Scotland*. Lord *Peterborough* went immediately with it to the King, who approved of it. So notice was given the Dnke: And he was appointed to meet the King at *New-Market* in *October*. Lord *Twedale* ſaw, that ſince the Duke of *Monmouth* had loſt his credit with the King, Duke *Lauderdale* would again be continued in his poſts; and that he would act over his former extravagances: Whereas he reckoned that this would be checked by the Duke's going to *Scotland*; and that he would ſtudy to make himſelf acceptable to that Nation, and bring things among them into order and temper. The Duke met the King at *New-Market* as it was ordered: But upon that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was yet Preſident of the Council, tho' he had quite loſt all his intereſt in the King, called a Council at *White-Hall*, and repreſented to them the danger the King was in by the Duke's being ſo near him; and preſſed the Council to repreſent this to the King. But they did not agree to it: And upon the King's coming to *London* he was turned out, and Lord *Roberts*, made then Earl of *Radnor*, was made Lord Preſident.

Monmouth's diſgrace.

The Duke went to *Scotland* ſoon after: And upon that the Duke of *Monmouth* grew impatient, when he found he was ſtill to be kept beyond ſea. He begged the King's leave to return: But when he ſaw no hope of obtaining it, he came over without leave. The King upon that would not ſee him, and required him to go back; on which his friends were divided. Some adviſed him to comply with the King's pleaſure: But he gave himſelf fatally up to the Lord *Shaftsbury's* conduct, who put him on all the methods imaginable to make himſelf popular. He went round many parts of *England*, pretending it was for hunting and horſe matches, many thouſands coming together in moſt places to ſee him: So that this looked like the muſtering up the force of the party: But it really weakned it: Many grew jealous of the deſign, and fancied here was a new civil war to be raiſed. Upon this they joined in with the Duke's party. Lord *Shaftsbury* ſet alſo on foot petitions for a Parliament, in order to the ſecuring the King's perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion. Theſe were carried about and ſigned in many places, not-

Petitions for a Parliament.

1679 withſtanding the King ſet out a proclamation againſt them: Upon that a ſet of counter petitions was promoted by the Court, expreſſing an abhorrence of all ſeditious practices, and referring the time of calling a Parliament wholly to the King. There were not ſuch numbers that joined in the petitions for the Parliament, as had been expected: So this ſhewed rather the weakneſs than the ſtrength of the party: And many well meaning men began to diſlike thoſe practices, and to apprehend that a change of government was deſigned.

Some made a reflection on that whole method of proceeding, which may deſerve well to be remembred: In the intervals of Parliament, men that complain of the government by keeping themſelves in a ſullen and quiet ſtate, and avoiding cabals and publick aſſemblies, grow thereby the ſtronger and more capable to make a ſtand when a Parliament comes: Whereas by their forming of parties out of Parliament, unleſs in order to the managing of elections, they do both expoſe themſelves to much danger, and bring an ill character on their deſigns over the Nation; which naturally loves parliamentary cures, but is jealous of all other methods.

Great diſcontent on all ſides.

The King was now wholly in the Duke's intereſt, and reſolved to paſs that winter without a Parliament. Upon which the Lords *Ruſſel* and *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and Mr. *Powel*, four of the new Counſellors, deſired to be excuſed from their attendance in Council. Several of thoſe who were put in the Admiralty and in other commiſſions deſired likewiſe to be diſmiſſed: With this the King was ſo highly offended, that he became more ſullen and intractable than he had ever been before.

Godolphin's character.

The men that governed now were the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord *Hide*, and *Godolphin:* The laſt of theſe was a younger brother of an ancient Family in *Cornwall*, that had been bred about the King from a page, and was now conſidered as one of the ableſt men that belonged to the Court: He was the ſilenteſt and modeſteſt man that was perhaps ever bred in a Court. He had a clear apprehenſion, and diſpatched buſineſs with great method, and with ſo much temper that he had no perſonal enemies: But his ſilence begot a jealouſy, which has hung long upon him. His notions were for the Court: But his incorrupt and ſincere way of managing the concerns of the treaſury created in all people a very high eſteem for him. He loved gaming the moſt of any man of buſineſs I ever knew; and gave one reaſon for it, becauſe it delivered him from the obligation to talk much: He had true

true principles of religion and vertue, and was free from all vanity, and never heaped up wealth: So that all things being laid together, he was one of the worthieſt and wiſeſt men that has been employed in our time: And he has had much of the confidence of four of our ſucceeding Princes. 1679

In the ſpring of the year eighty the Duke had leave to come to *England*; and continued about the King till next winter, that the Parliament was to ſit. Foreign affairs ſeemed to be forgot by our Court. The Prince of *Orange* had projected an alliance againſt *France:* And moſt of the *German* Princes were much diſpoſed to come into it: For the *French* had ſet up a new Court at *Metz*, in which many Princes were, under the pretence of dependencies and ſome old fotgot or forged titles, judged to belong to the new *French* conqueſts. This was a mean as well as a perfidious practice, in which the Court of *France* raiſed much more jealouſy and hatred againſt themſelves than could ever be balanced by ſuch ſmall acceſſions as were adjudged by that mock Court. The Earl of *Sunderland* entred into a particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*, which he managed by his Uncle Mr. *Sidney*, who was ſent Envoy to *Holland:* The Prince ſeemed confident, that if *England* would come heartily into it, a ſtrong confederacy might then have been formed againſt *France*. *Van Beuning* was then in *England:* And he wrote to the town of *Amſterdam*, that they could not depend on the faith or aſſiſtance of *England*. He aſſured them the Court was ſtill in the *French* intereſt: He alſo looked on the jealouſy between the Court and the Country party as then ſo high, that he did not believe it poſſible to heal matters ſo as to encourage the King to enter into any alliance that might draw on a war: For the King ſeemed to ſet that up for a maxim, that his going into a war was the putting himſelf into the hands of his Parliament; and was firmly reſolved againſt it. Yet the project of a leagne was formed: And the King ſeemed inclined to go into it, as ſoon as matters could be well adjuſted at home. 1680

An alliance projected againſt *France*.

There was this year at midſummer a new practice begun in the city of *London*, that produced very ill conſequences. The city of *London* has by Charter the ſhrivalry of *Middleſex*, as well as of the city: And the two Sheriffs were to be choſen on midſummer day. But the common method had been for the Lord *Mayor* to name one of the Sheriffs by drinking to him on a publick occaſion: And that nomination

The election of the Sheriffs of *London*.

1679 nation was commonly confirmed by the Common Hall: And then they named the other Sheriff. The truth was, the way in which the Sheriffs lived made it a charge of about 5000 *l.* a year: So they took little care about it, but only to find men that would bear the charge; which recommended them to be choſen Aldermen upon the next vacancy, and to riſe up according to their ſtanding to the Mayoralty, which generally went in courſe to the ſenior Alderman. When a perſon was ſet up to be Sheriff that would not ſerve, he compounded the matter for 400 *l.* fine. All juries were returned by the Sheriffs: But they commonly left that wholly in the hands of their Under-Sheriffs: So it was now pretended that it was neceſſary to look a little more carefully after this matter. The Under-Sheriffs were generally Attorneys, and might be eaſily brought under the management of the Court: So it was propoſed, that the Sheriffs ſhould be choſen with more care, not ſo much that they might keep good tables, as that they ſhould return good juries: The perſon to whom the preſent Mayor had drunk was ſet aſide: And *Bethel* and *Corniſh* were choſen Sheriffs for the enſuing year. *Bethel* was a man of knowledge, and had writ a very judicious book of the intereſts of Princes: But as he was a known republican in principle, ſo he was a ſullen and wilful man; and turned from the ordinary way of a Sheriff's living into the extream of ſordidneſs, which was very unacceptable to the body of the citizens, and proved a great prejudice to the party. *Corniſh*, the other Sheriff was a plain, warm, honeſt man; and lived very nobly all his year: The Court was very jealous of this, and underſtood it to be done on deſign to pack juries: So that the party ſhould be alwayes ſafe, whatever they might engage in. It was ſaid, that the King would not have common juſtice done him hereafter againſt any of them, how guilty ſoever. The ſetting up *Bethel* gave a great colour to this jealouſy; for it was ſaid, he had expreſſed his approving the late King's death in very indecent terms. Theſe two perſons had never before received the Sacrament in the Church, being Independents: But they did it now to qualify themſelves for this office, which gave great advantages againſt the whole party: It was ſaid, that the ſerving an end was a good reſolver of all caſes of conſcience, and purged all ſcruples.

Thus matters went on till the winter eighty, in which the King reſolved to hold a ſeſſion of Parliament: He ſent the Duke to *Scotland* a few days before their meeting: And

upon that the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth* declared openly for the Excluſion; and ſo did Lord *Sunderland* and *Godolphin*. Lord *Sunderland* aſſured all people, that the King was reſolved to ſettle matters with his Parliament on any terms, ſince the intereſt of *England* and the affairs of *Europe* made a league againſt *France* indiſpenſably neceſſary at that time; which could not be done without a good underſtanding at home. Lord *Sunderland* ſent Lord *Arran* for me: I declined this new acquaintance as much as I could: But it could not be avoided: He ſeemed then very zealous for a happy ſettlement: And this I owe him in Juſtice, that tho' he went off from the meaſures he was in at that time, yet he ſtill continued perſonally kind to my ſelf: Now the great point was, whether the limitations ſhould be accepted, and treated about, or the Excluſion be purſued. Lord *Halifax* aſſured me, that any limitations whatſoever that ſhould leave the title of King to the Duke, tho' it ſhould be little more than a meer title, might be obtained of the King: But that he was poſitive and fixed againſt the Excluſion. It is true, this was in a great meaſure imputed to his management, and that he had wrought the King up to it. 1680

The bill of excluſion again taken up.

The moſt ſpecious handle for recommending the limitations was this: The Duke declared openly againſt them: So if the King ſhould have agreed to them, it muſt have occaſioned a breach between him and the Duke: And it ſeemed to be very deſirable to have them once fall out; ſince, as ſoon as that was brought about, the King of his own accord and for his own ſecurity might be moved to promote the Excluſion. The truth is, Lord *Halifax*'s hatred of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and his vanity in deſiring to have his own notion preferred, ſharpned him at that time to much indecency in his whole deportment: But the party depended on the hopes that Lady *Portſmouth* and Lord *Sunderland* gave them: Many meetings were appointed between Lord *Halifax* and ſome leading men; in which as he tried to divert them from the Excluſion, ſo they ſtudied to perſuade him to it, both without effect. The majority had engaged themſelves to promote the Excluſion, Lord *Ruſſel* moved it firſt in the Houſe of Commons, and was ſeconded by *Capel*, *Mountague*, and *Winnington*: *Jones* came into the Houſe a few days after this, and went with great zeal into it: *Jenkins*, now made Secretary of State in *Coventry*'s place, was the chief manager for the Court. He was a man of an exemplary life, and conſiderably learned: But he was dull and ſlow: He was

1680 ſuſpected of leaning to Popery, tho' very unjuſtly: But he was ſet on every punctilio of the Church of *England* to ſuperſtition, and was a great aſſertor of the divine right of monarchy, and was for carrying the prerogative high: He neither ſpoke nor writ well: But being ſo eminent for the moſt courtly qualifications, other matters were the more eaſily diſpenſed with. All his ſpeeches and arguments againſt the Excluſion were heard with indignation: So the bill was brought into the Houſe. It was moved by thoſe who oppoſed it, that the Duke's daughters might be named in it, as the next in the ſucceſſion: But it was ſaid, that was not neceſſary; for ſince the Duke was only perſonally diſabled, as if he had been actually dead, that carried the ſucceſſion over to his daughters: Yet this gave a jealouſy, as if it was intended to keep that matter ſtill undetermined; and that upon another occaſion it might be pretended, that the diſabling the Duke to ſucceed did likewiſe diſable him to derive that right to others, which was thus cut off in himſelf. But tho' they would not name the Duke's daughters, yet they ſent ſuch aſſurances to the Prince of *Orange*, that nothing thus propoſed could be to his prejudice, that he believed them, and declared his deſire, that the King would fully ſatisfy his Parliament: The States ſent over memorials to the King, preſſing him to conſent to the Excluſion. The Prince did not openly appear in this: But it being managed by *Fagel*, it was underſtood that he approved of it: And this created a hatred in the Duke to him, which was never to be removed. Lord *Sunderland* by *Sidney*'s means engaged the States into it: And he fancied that it might have ſome effect.

Paſt by the commons.

The bill of Excluſion was quickly brought up to the Lords. The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Shaftsbury* argued moſt for it: And the Earl of *Halifax* was the champion on the other ſide: He gained great honour in the debate; and had a viſible ſuperiority to Lord *Shaftsbury* in the opinion of the whole Houſe: And that was to him triumph enough. In concluſion, the bill was thrown out upon the firſt reading: The country party brought it nearer an equality, than was imagined they could do, conſidering the King's earneſtneſs in it, and that the whole bench of the Biſhops was againſt it. The Commons were inflamed when they ſaw the fate of their bill: They voted an addreſs to the King to remove Lord *Halifax* from his counſels and preſence for ever: Which was an unparliamentary thing; ſince it was viſible that it was for his arguing as he did in the Houſe of Lords, tho' they pretended it was for

But rejected by the Lords.

for his adviſing the diſſolution of the laſt Parliament: But that was a thin diſguiſe of their anger: Yet without deſtroying the freedom of debate, they could not found their addreſs on that which was the true cauſe of it. *Ruſſel* and *Jones*, tho' formerly Lord *Halifax*'s friends, thought it was enough not to ſpeak againſt him in the Houſe of Commons: But they ſat ſilent. Some called him a Papiſt: Others ſaid he was an Atheiſt. *Chichely*, that had married his mother, moved, that I might be ſent for to ſatisfy the Houſe as to the truth of his Religion. I wiſh, I could have ſaid as much to have perſuaded them that he was a good Chriſtian, as that he was no Papiſt: I was at that time in a very good character in that Houſe: The firſt volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation was then out; and was ſo well received, that I had the thanks of both Houſes for it, and was deſired by both to proſecute that work. The Parliament had made an addreſs to the King for a faſt day. Dr. *Sprat* and I were ordered to preach before the Houſe of Commons: My turn was in the morning: I mentioned nothing relating to the plot, but what appeared in *Coleman*'s letters: Yet I laid open the cruelties of the Church of *Rome* in many inſtances that hapned in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, which were not then known: And I aggravated, tho' very truly, the danger of falling under the power of that Religion. I preſſed alſo a mutual forbearance among our ſelves in leſſer matters: But I inſiſted moſt on the impiety and vices that had worn out all ſenſe of Religion, and all regard to it among us. *Sprat* in the afternoon went further into the belief of the plot than I had done: But he inſinuated his fears of their undutifulneſs to the King in a ſuch manner, that they were highly offended at him: So the Commons did not ſend him thanks, as they did to me; which raiſed his merit at Court, as it increaſed the diſpleaſure againſt me. *Sprat* had ſtudied a polite ſtile much: But there was little ſtrength in it: He had the beginnings of learning laid well in him: But he has allowed himſelf in a courſe of ſome years in much ſloth and too many liberties. 1680

The King ſent many meſſages to the Houſe of Commons, preſſing for a ſupply, firſt for preſerving *Tangier*, he being then in a war with the King of *Fez*, which by reaſon of the diſtance put him to much charge; but chiefly, for enabling him to go into alliances neceſſary for the common preſervation.

The

1680 The House of Commons proceeded against some with severity.

The House upon that made a long representation to the King of the dangers that both he and they were in; and assured him, they would do every thing that he could expect of them, as soon as they were well secured: By which they meant, as soon as the Exclusion should pass, and that bad Ministers, and ill Judges should be removed. They renewed their address against Lord *Halifax*; and made addresses both against the Marquis of *Worcester*, soon after made Duke of *Beaufort*, and against Lord *Clarendon* and *Hide*, as men inclined to Popery. *Hyde* spoke so vehemently to vindicate himself from the suspicions of Popery, that he cried in his speech: And *Jones* upon the score of old friendship got the words relating to Popery to be struck out of the address against him. The Commons also impeached several of the Judges, and Mr. *Seymour*: The Judges were accused for some illegal charges and judgments; and *Seymour*, for corruption and male-administration in the office of treasurer of the Navy. They impeached *Scroggs* for high treason: But it was visible that the matters objected to him were only misdemeanors: So the Lords rejected the impeachment; which was carried chiefly by the Earl of *Danby*'s party, and in favour to him. The Commons did also assert the right of the people to petition for a Parliament: And because some in their counter-petitions had expressed their abhorrence of this practice, they voted these abhorrers to be betrayers of the liberties of the Nation. They expelled one *Withins* out of their House for signing one of these, tho' he with great humility confessed his fault, and begged pardon for it. The merit of this raised him soon to be a Judge; for indeed he had no other merit: They fell also on Sir *George Jefferies*, a furious declaimer at the bar: But he was raised by that, as well as by this prosecution. The House did likewise send their Serjeant to many parts of *England* to bring up abhorrers as delinquents: Upon which the right that they had to imprison any besides their own members came to be much questioned, since they could not receive an information upon oath, nor proceed against such as refused to appear before them. In many places those for whom they sent their Serjeant refused to come up. It was found, that such practices were grounded on no law, and were no elder than Queen *Elizabeth*'s time: While the House of Commons used that power gently, it was submitted to in respect to it: But now it grew to be so much extended, that many resolved not to submit to it. The former Parliament had past a very strict act for the due execution of the *Habeas Corpus*;

Corpus; which was indeed all they did: It was carried by an odd artifice in the Houſe of Lords. Lord *Grey* and Lord *Norris* were named to be the tellers: Lord *Norris*, being a man ſubject to vapours, was not at all times attentive to what he was doing: So a very fat Lord coming in, Lord *Grey* counted him for ten, as a jeſt at firſt: But ſeeing Lord *Norris* had not obſerved it, he went on with this miſreckoning of ten: So it was reported to the Houſe, and declared that they who were for the bill were the Majority, tho' it indeed went on the other ſide: And by this means the bill paſt. There was a bold forward man, *Sheredon*, a native of *Ireland*, whom the Commons committed: And he moved for his *Habeas Corpus:* Some of the Judges were afraid of the Houſe, and kept out of the way: But Baron *Weſton* had the courage to grant it. The ſeſſion went yet into a higher ſtrain; for they voted, that all anticipations on any branches of the Revenue were againſt law, and that whoſoever lent any money upon the credit of thoſe anticipations were publick enemies to the Kingdom. Upon this it was ſaid, that the Parliament would neither ſupply the King themſelves, nor ſuffer him to make uſe of his credit, which every private man might do. They ſaid on the other hand, that they looked on the revenue as a publick treaſure, that was to be kept clear of all anticipations, and not as a private eſtate that might be mortgaged: And they thought, when all other means of ſupply except by Parliament were ſtopped, that muſt certainly bring the King to their terms. Yet the clamour raiſed on this, as if they had intended to ſtarve the King, and blaſt his credit, was a great load on them: And their vote had no effect, for the King continued to have the ſame credit that he had before. Another vote went much higher: It was for an aſſociation, copied from that in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, for the revenging the King's death upon all Papiſts, if he ſhould happen to be killed. The precedent of that time was a ſpecious colour: But this difference was aſſigned between the two caſes: Queen *Elizabeth* was in no danger but from Papiſts: So that aſſociation ſtruck a terror into that whole party, which did prove a real ſecurity to her; and therefore her Miniſters ſet it on. But now, it was ſaid, there were many Republicans ſtill in the Nation, and many of *Cromwell*'s officers were yet alive, who ſeemed not to repent of what they had done: So ſome of theſe might by this means be encouraged to attempt on the King's life, preſuming that both the ſuſpicions and revenges of it would

1680

An aſſociation propoſed.

1680 be caſt upon the Duke and the Papiſts. Great uſe was made of this to poſſeſs all people, that this aſſociation was intended to deſtroy the King, inſtead of preſerving him.

Expedients offered in the Houſe of Lords.

There was not much done in the Houſe of Lords after they threw out the bill of Excluſion. Lord *Halifax* indeed preſſed them to go on to limitations: And he began with one, that the Duke ſhould be obliged to live five hundred miles out of *England* during the King's life. But the Houſe was cold, and backward in all that matter. Thoſe that were really the Duke's friends abhorred all thoſe motions: And Lord *Shaftsbury* and his party laughed at them: They were reſolved to let all lie in confuſion, rather than hearken to any thing beſides the Excluſion. The Houſe of Commons ſeemed alſo to be ſo ſet againſt that project, that very little progreſs was made in it. Lord *Eſſex* made a motion, which was agreed to in a thin Houſe: But it put an end to all diſcourſes of that nature: He moved, that an aſſociation ſhould be entred into to maintain thoſe expedients, and that ſome cautionary Towns ſhould be put into the hands of the aſſociators during the King's life to make them good after his death. The King looked on this as a depoſing of himſelf. He had read more in *Davila* than in any other book of hiſtory: And he had a clear view into the conſequences of ſuch things, and looked on this as worſe than the Excluſion. So that, as Lord *Halifax* often obſerved to me, this whole management looked like a deſign to unite the King more entirely to the Duke, inſtead of ſeparating him from him: The King came to think that he himſelf was levelled at chiefly, tho' for decency's ſake his brother was only named. The truth was, the leading men thought they were ſure of the Nation, and of all future elections, as long as Popery was in view. They fancied the King muſt have a Parliament, and money from it very ſoon, and that in concluſion he would come in to them. He was much beſet by all the hungry courtiers, who longed for a bill of money: They ſtudied to perſuade him, from his Father's misfortunes, that the longer he was in yielding, the terms would grow the higher.

Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*'s conduct in this matter little underſtood.

They relied much on the Lady *Portſmouth*'s intereſt, who did openly declare her ſelf for the Houſe of Commons: And they were ſo careful of her, that when one moved that an addreſs ſhould be made to the King for ſending her away, he could not be heard, tho' at another time ſuch a motion would have been better entertained. Her behaviour in this matter was unaccountable: And the Duke's behaviour to her after-

afterwards looked liker an acknowledgment than a reſentment. Many refined upon it, and thought ſhe was ſet on as a decoy to keep the party up to the Excluſion, that they might not hearken to the limitations. The Duke was aſſured, that the King would not grant the one: And ſo ſhe was artificially managed to keep them from the other, to which the King would have conſented, and of which the Duke was moſt afraid. But this was too fine: She was hearty for the Excluſion: Of which I had this particular account from *Mountague*, who I believe might be the perſon that laid the bait before her. It was propoſed to her, that if ſhe could bring the King to the Excluſion, and to ſome other popular things, the Parliament would go next to prepare a bill for ſecuring the King's perſon; in which a clauſe might be carried, that the King might declare the Succeſſor to the Crown, as had been done in *Henry* the eighth's time. This would very much raiſe the King's authority, and would be no breach with the Prince of *Orange*, but would rather oblige him to a greater dependance on the King. The Duke of *Monmouth* and his party would certainly be for this clauſe, ſince he could have no proſpect any other way; and he would pleaſe himſelf with the hopes of being preferred by the King to any other perſon. But ſince the Lady *Portſmouth* found ſhe was ſo abſolutely the miſtreſs of the King's ſpirit, ſhe might reckon, that if ſuch an act could be carried the King would be prevailed on to declare her ſon his ſucceſſor: And it was ſuggeſted to her, that in order to the ſtrengthening her Son's intereſt ſhe ought to treat for a match with the King of *France*'s natural Daughter, now the Ducheſs of *Bourbon*. And thus the Duke of *Monmouth* and ſhe were brought to an agreement to carry on the Excluſion, and that other act perſuant to it: And they thought they were making tools of one another to carry on their own ends. The Nation was poſſeſſed with ſuch a diſtruſt of the King, that there was no reaſon to think they could ever be brought to ſo entire a confidence in him, as to deliver up themſelves and their poſterity ſo blindfold into his hands. *Mountague* aſſured me, that ſhe not only acted heartily in this matter, but ſhe once drew the King to conſent to it, if ſhe might have had 800000 *l.* for it: And that was afterwards brought down to 600000 *l.* But the jealouſies upon the King himſelf were ſuch, that the managers in the Houſe of Commons durſt not move for giving money till the bill of Excluſion ſhould paſs, leſt they ſhould have loſt their credit by ſuch

1680

1680 ſuch a motion: And the King would not truſt them. So near was this point brought to an agreement, if *Montague* told me true.

That which reconciled the Duke to the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth* was, that the King aſſured him, ſhe did all by his order, that ſo ſhe might have credit with the party, and ſee into their deſigns: Upon which the Duke ſaw it was neceſſary to believe this, or at leaſt to ſeem to believe it.

Stafford's trial.

The other great buſineſs of this Parliament was the trial of the Viſcount of *Stafford*, who was the younger ſon of the old Earl of *Arundell*, and ſo was uncle to the Duke of *Norfolk*. He was a weak, but a fair conditioned man: He was in ill terms with his nephew's family: And had been guilty of great vices in his youth, which had almoſt proved fatal to him: He married the heireſs of the great Family of the *Staffords*. He thought the King had not rewarded him for his former ſervices as he had deſerved: So he often voted againſt the Court, and made great applications always to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. He was in no good terms with the Duke; for the great conſideration the Court had of his nephew's family made him to be the moſt neglected: When *Oates* depoſed firſt againſt him, he happned to be out of the way: And he kept out a day longer. But the day after he came in, and delivered himſelf: Which, conſidering the feebleneſs of his temper, and the heat of that time, was thought a ſign of innocence. *Oates* and *Bedlow* ſwore, he had a patent to be paymaſter general to the army, *Dugdale* ſwore, that he offered him 500 *l.* to kill the King. *Bedlow* had died the ſummer before at *Briſtol*. It was in the time of the aſſizes: *North*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, being there, he ſent for him, and by oath confirmed all that he had ſworn formerly, except that which related to the Queen, and to the Duke. He alſo denied upon oath, that any perſon had ever practiſed upon him, or corrupted him: His diſowning ſome of the particulars which he had ſworn had an appearance of ſincerity, and gave much credit to his former depoſitions. I could never hear what ſenſe he expreſſed of the other ill parts of his life, for he vaniſhed ſoon out of all men's thoughts.

Another witneſs appeared againſt Lord *Stafford*, one *Turbervill*; who ſwore, that in the year ſeventy five the Lord *Stafford* had taken much pains to perſuade him to kill the King: He began the propoſition to him at *Paris*; and ſent him by the way of *Diep* over to *England*, telling him that he

he intended to follow by the ſame road: But he wrote afterwards to him that he was to go by *Calais*. But he ſaid he never went to ſee him upon his coming to *England*. *Turbervill* ſwore the year wrong at firſt: But upon recollection he went and corrected that error. This at ſuch a diſtance of time ſeemed to be no great matter: It ſeemed much ſtranger, that after ſuch diſcourſes once begun he ſhould never go near the Lord *Stafford*; and that Lord *Stafford* ſhould never enquire after him. But there was a much more material objection to him. *Turbervill*, upon diſcourſe with ſome in St. *Martin*'s pariſh, ſeemed inclined to change his Religion: They brought him to Dr. *Lloyd*, then their miniſter: And he convinced him ſo fully that he changed upon it: And after that he came often to him, and was chiefly ſupported by him: For ſome months he was conſtantly at his table. *Lloyd* had preſſed him to recollect all that he had heard among the Papiſts relating to plots and deſigns againſt the King or the Nation. He ſaid that which all the converts at that time ſaid often, that they had it among them that within a very little while their Religion would be ſet up in *England*; and that ſome of them ſaid, a great deal of blood would be ſhed before it could be brought about: But he proteſted that he knew no particulars. After ſome months dependance on *Lloyd* he withdrew entirely from him; and he ſaw him no more till he appeared now an evidence againſt Lord *Stafford*: *Lloyd* was in great difficulties upon that occaſion. It had been often declared, that the moſt ſolemn denials of witneſſes before they make diſcoveries did not at all invalidate their evidence; and that it imported no more, but that they had been ſo long firm to their promiſe of revealing nothing: So that this negative evidence againſt *Turbervill* could have done Lord *Stafford* no ſervice. On the other hand, conſidering the load that already lay on *Lloyd* on the account of *Berry*'s buſineſs, and that his being a little before this time promoted to be Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* was imputed to that, it was viſible that his diſcovering this againſt *Turbervill* would have aggravated thoſe cenſures, and very much blaſted him. In oppoſition to all this here was a juſtice to be done, and a ſervice to truth, towards the ſaving a man's life: And the queſtion was very hard to be determined. He adviſed with all his friends, and with my ſelf in particular. The much greater number were of opinion that he ought to be ſilent. I ſaid, my own behaviour in *Staley*'s affair ſhewed what I would do if I was in that caſe:

1686

1680 But his circumſtances were very different: So I concurred with the reſt as to him. He had another load on him: He had writ a book with very ſincere intentions, but upon a very tender point: He propoſed, that a diſcrimination ſhould be made between the regular Prieſts that were in a dependance and under directions from *Rome*, and the ſecular Prieſts that would renounce the Pope's depoſing power and his infallibility: He thought this would raiſe heats among themſelves, and draw cenſures from *Rome* on the ſeculars, which in concluſion might have very good effects. This was very plauſibly writ, and deſigned with great ſincerity: But angry men ſaid, all this was intended only to take off ſo much from the apprehenſions that the Nation had of Popery, and to give a milder idea of a great body among them: And as ſoon as it had that effect, it was probable that all the miſſionaries would have leave given them to put on that diſguiſe, and to take thoſe diſcriminating teſts till they had once prevailed: And then they would throw them off. Thus the moſt zealous man againſt Popery that I ever yet knew, and the man of the moſt entire ſincerity, was ſo heavily cenſured at this time, that it was not thought fit, nor indeed ſafe, for him to declare what he knew concerning *Turbervill*.

The trial was very auguſt: The Earl of *Nottingham* was the Lord High Steward: It continued five days. On the firſt day the Commons brought only general evidence to prove the plot: *Smith* ſwore ſome things that had been ſaid to him at *Rome* of killing the King: An *Iriſh* Prieſt that had been long in *Spain* confirmed many particulars in *Oates*'s narrative: Then the witneſſes depoſed all that related to the plot in general. To all this Lord *Stafford* ſaid little, as not being much concerned in it: Only he declared, that he was always againſt the Pope's power of depoſing Princes. He alſo obſerved a great difference between the gunpowder plot and that which was now on foot: That in the former all the chief conſpirators died confeſſing the fact; but that now all died with the ſolemneſt proteſtations of their innocence. On the ſecond day the evidence againſt himſelf was brought: He urged againſt *Oates* that he ſwore he had gone in among them on deſign to betray them: So that he had been for ſome years taking oaths and receiving ſacraments in ſo treacherous a manner, that no credit could be given to a man that was ſo black by his own confeſſion. On the third day he brought his evidence to diſcredit the witneſſes: His ſervant

vant ſwore, that while he was at the Lord *Aſton*'s *Dugdale* never was in his chamber but once; and that was on the account of a foot race. Some depoſed againſt *Dugdale*'s reputation: And one ſaid, that he had been practiſing on himſelf to ſwear as he ſhould direct him. The miniſter of the pariſh and another gentleman depoſed, that they heard nothing from *Dugdale* concerning the killing a Juſtice of Peace in *Weſtminſter*, which, as he had ſworn, he had ſaid to them. As to *Turbervill*, who had ſaid that the Lord *Stafford* was at that time in a fit of the gout, his ſervants ſaid they never knew him in a fit of the gout: And he himſelf affirmed, he never had one in his whole life. He alſo proved that he did not intend to come to *England* by *Diep*; for he had writ for a Yacht which met him at *Calais*. He alſo proved by ſeveral witneſſes, that both *Dugdale* and *Turbervill* had often ſaid that they knew nothing of any plot; and that *Turbervill* had lately ſaid, he would ſet up for a witneſs, for none lived ſo well as witneſſes did: He inſiſted likewiſe on the miſtake of the year, and on *Turbervill*'s never coming near him after he came over to *England*. The ſtrongeſt part of his defence was, that he made it out unanſwerably, that he was not at the Lord *Aſton*'s on one of the times that *Dugdale* had fixed on; for at that time he was either at *Bath* or at *Badminton*. For *Dugdale* had once fixed on a day; tho' afterwards he ſaid it was about that time: Now that day happned to be the Marquis of *Worceſter*'s wedding day: And on that day it was fully proved that he was at *Badminton*, that Lord's houſe, not far from the *Bath*. On the fourth day proofs were brought to ſupport the credit of the witneſſes: It was made out, that *Dugdale* had ſerved the Lord *Aſton* long and with great reputation. It was now two full years ſince he began to make diſcoveries: And in all that time they had not found any one particular to blemiſh him with; tho' no doubt they had taken pains to examine into his life. His publiſhing the news of *Godfrey*'s death was well made out, tho' two perſons in the company had not minded it: Many proofs were brought that he was often in Lord *Stafford*'s company, of which many more affidavits were made after that Lord's death. Two women that were ſtill Papiſts ſwore, that upon the breaking out of the plot he ſearched into many papers and burnt them: He gave many of theſe to one of the women to fling in the fire; but finding a book of accounts he laid that aſide, ſaying, there is no treaſon here, 1680

1680 here, which imported that he thought the others were treaſonable. He proved that one of the witneſſes brought againſt him was ſo infamous in all reſpects, that Lord *Stafford* himſelf was convinced of it. He ſaid, he had only preſſed a man, who now appeared againſt him, to diſcover all he knew: He ſaid, at ſuch a diſtance of time he might miſtake as to time or a day; but could not be miſtaken as to the things themſelves. *Turbervill* deſcribed both the ſtreet and the room in *Paris* in which he ſaw Lord *Stafford*. He found a witneſs that ſaw him at *Diep*, to whom he complained, that a Lord for whom he looked had failed him: And upon that he ſaid he was no good ſtaff to lean on; by which, tho' he did not name the Lord, he believed he meant Lord *Stafford*. *Dugdale* and he both confeſſed they had denied long that they knew any thing of the plot, which was the effect of the reſolution they had taken, to which they adhered long, of diſcovering nothing: It was alſo proved that Lord *Stafford* was often lame, which *Turbervill* took for the gout. On the fifth day Lord *Stafford* reſumed all his evidence, and urged every particular very ſtrongly. *Jones* in the name of the Commons did on the other hand reſume the evidence againſt him with great force: He ſaid indeed nothing for ſupporting *Oates*; for the objection againſt him was not to be anſwered. He made it very clear that *Dugdale* and *Turbervill* were two good witneſſes, and were not at all diſcredited by any thing that was brought againſt them.

He was condemned. When it came to the giving of judgment, above fifty of the Peers gave it againſt Lord *Stafford*, and above thirty acquitted him: Four of the *Howards*, his kinſmen, condemned him: Lord *Arundell*, afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*, tho' in enmity with him, did acquit him. Duke *Lauderdale* condemned him: And ſo did both the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Angleſey*. Lord *Halifax* acquitted him. Lord *Nottingham* when he gave judgment delivered it with one of the beſt ſpeeches he had ever made. But he committed one great indecency in it: For he ſaid, who can doubt any longer that *London* was burnt by Papiſts, tho' there was not one word in the whole trial relating to that matter. Lord *Stafford* behaved himſelf during the whole time, and at the receiving his ſentence, with much more conſtancy than was expected from him.

He ſent for me, and employed me to do him ſervice. Within two days after he ſent a meſſage to the Lords, deſiring that the Biſhop of *London* and I might be appointed to come to him. We waited on him: His deſign ſeemed to

be only to poſſeſs us with an opinion of his innocence, of which he made very ſolemn proteſtations. He heard us ſpeak of the points in difference between us and the Church of *Rome* with great temper and attention. At parting he deſired me to come back to him next day; for he had a mind to be more particular with me. When I came to him, he repeated the proteſtations of his innocence; and ſaid, he was confident the villany of the witneſſes would ſoon appear: He did not doubt I ſhould ſee it in leſs than a year. I preſſed him in ſeveral points of Religion; and urged ſeveral things, which he ſaid he had never heard before. He ſaid, theſe things on another occaſion would have made ſome impreſſion upon him; but he had now little time, therefore he would looſe none in controverſy: So I let that diſcourſe fall. I talked to him of thoſe preparations for death in which all Chriſtians agree: He entertained theſe very ſeriouſly. He had a mind to live, if it was poſſible: He ſaid, he could diſcover nothing with relation to the King's life, proteſting that there was not ſo much as an intimation about it that had ever paſt among them. But he added, that he could diſcover many other things, that were more material than any thing that was yet known, and for which the Duke would never forgive him: And of theſe, if that might ſave his life, he would make a full diſcovery. I ſtopt him when he was going on to particulars; for I would not be a confident in any thing in which the publick ſafety was concerned. He knew beſt the importance of thoſe ſecrets; and ſo he could only judge, whether it would be of that value as to prevail with the two Houſes to interpoſe with the King for his pardon. He ſeemed to think it would be of great uſe, chiefly to ſupport what they were then driving on with relation to the Duke: He deſired me to ſpeak to Lord *Eſſex*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and Sir *William Jones*. I brought him their anſwer the next day; which was, that if he did diſcover all he knew concerning the Papiſt's deſigns, and more particularly concerning the Duke, they would endeavour that it ſhould not be inſiſted on, that he muſt confeſs thoſe particulars for which he was judged. He aſked me, what if he ſhould name ſome who had now great credit, but had once engaged to ſerve their deſigns: I ſaid, nothing could be more acceptable than the diſcovering ſuch diſguiſed Papiſts, or falſe Proteſtants: Yet upon this I charged him ſolemnly not to think of redeeming his own life by accuſing any other falſly, but to tell the truth, and all the truth, as far as the common ſafety

1680

1680 was concerned in it. As we were diſcourſing of theſe matters, the Earl of *Carliſle* came in: In his hearing, by Lord *Stafford*'s leave, I went over all that had paſſed between us, and did again ſolemnly adjure him to ſay nothing but the truth. Upon this he deſired the Earl of *Carliſle* to carry a meſſage from him to the Houſe of Lords, that whenſoever they would ſend for him he would diſcover all that he knew: Upon that he was immediately ſent for. And he began with a long relation of their firſt conſultations after the Reſtoration about the methods of bringing in their Religion, which they all agreed could only be brought about by a toleration. He told them of the Earl of *Briſtol*'s project; and went on to tell who had undertaken to procure the toleration for them: And then he named the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. When he named him he was ordered to withdraw: And the Lords would hear no more from him. It was alſo given out, that in this I was a Tool of Lord *Halifax*'s to bring him thither to blaſt Lord *Shaftsbury*. He was ſent back to the Tower: And then he compoſed himſelf in the beſt way he could to ſuffer, which he did with a conſtant and undiſturbed mind: He ſupped and ſlept well the night before his execution, and died without any ſhew of fear or diſorder. He denied all that the witneſſes had ſworn againſt him. And this was the end of the plot. I was very unjuſtly cenſured on both hands. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* railed ſo at me that I went no more near him. And the Duke was made believe, that I had perſuaded Lord *Stafford* to charge him, and to diſcover all he knew againſt him: Which was the beginning of the implacable hatred he ſhewed on many occaſions againſt me. Thus the innocenteſt and beſt meant parts of a man's life may be miſunderſtood, and highly cenſured.

His execution.

1681 The Houſe of Commons had another buſineſs before them in this ſeſſion: There was a ſevere act paſt in the end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, when ſhe was highly provoked with the ſeditious behaviour of the *Puritans*, by which thoſe who did not conform to the Church were required to abjure the Kingdom under the pain of death: And for ſome degrees of Non-conformity they were adjudged to die, without the favour of baniſhment. Both Houſes paſt a bill for repealing this act: It went indeed heavily in the Houſe of Lords; for many of the Biſhops, tho' they were not for putting that law in execution, which had never been done but in one ſingle inſtance, yet they thought the terror of it was of ſome uſe,

Motions in the favour of the Non-conformiſts.

use, and that the repealing it might make the party more insolent. On the day of the prorogation the bill ought to have been offered to the King, but the Clerk of the Crown, by the King's particular order, withdrew the bill. The King had no mind openly to deny it: But he had less mind to pass it. So this indiscreet method was taken, which was a high offence in the Clerk of the Crown. There was a bill of comprehension offered by the episcopal party in the House of Commons, by which the Presbyterians would have been taken into the Church. But to the amazement of all people their party in the House did not seem concerned to promote it: On the contrary they neglected it. This increased the jealousy, as if they had hoped they were so near the carrying all before them, that they despised a comprehension: There was no great progress made in this bill. But in the morning before they were prorogued two votes were carried in the House of a very extraordinary nature: The one was, that the laws made against recusants ought not to be executed against any but those of the Church of *Rome*. That was indeed the primary intention of the law: Yet all persons who came not to Church, and did not receive the sacrament once a year, were within the letter of the law. The other vote was, that it was the opinion of that House, that the laws against Dissenters ought not to be executed. This was thought a great invasion of the Legislature, when one House pretended to suspend the execution of laws: Which was to act like dictators in the State; for they meant that Courts and Juries should govern themselves by the opinion that they now gave: Which, instead of being a kindness to the Non-conformists, raised a new storm against them over all the Nation. When the King saw no hope of prevailing with the Commons on any other terms, but his granting the Exclusion, he resolved to prorogue the Parliament. And it was dissolved in a few days after, in *January* eighty one. 1681

The King resolved to try a Parliament once more: But apprehending that they were encouraged, if not inflamed by the city of *London*, he summoned the next Parliament to meet at *Oxford*. It was said, men were now very bold about *London*, by their confidence in the Juries that the Sheriffs took care to return. Several printers were indited for scandalous libels that they had printed: But the Grand Juries returned an *Ignoramus* upon the bills against them, on this pretence, that the law only condemned the printing such The Parliament was dissolved.

1681 libels maliciouſly and ſeditiouſly, and that it did not appear that the Printers had any ill intentions in what they did; whereas, if it was found that they printed ſuch libels, the conſtruction of law made that to be malicious and ſeditious. The elections over *England* for the new Parliament went generally for the ſame perſons that had ſerved in the former Parliament: And in many places it was given as an inſtruction to the members to ſtick to the bill of Excluſion.

The King was now very uneaſy: He ſaw he was deſpiſed all *Europe* over, as a Prince that had neither treaſure nor power: So one attempt more was to be made, which was to be managed chiefly by *Littleton*, who was now brought into the commiſſion of the Admiralty. I had once in a long diſcourſe with him argued againſt the expedients, becauſe they did really reduce us to the ſtate of a Commonwealth. I thought a much better way was, that there ſhould be a Protector declared, with whom the regal power ſhould be lodged; and that the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be the perſon. He approved the notion: But thought that the title Protector was odious, ſince *Cromwell* had aſſumed it, and that therefore Regent would be better: We dreſſed up a ſcheme of this for near two hours: And I dreamt no more of it. But ſome days after he told me the notion took with ſome, and that both Lord *Haliſax* and *Seymour* liked it: But he wondered to find Lord *Sunderland* did not go into it. He told me after the Parliament was diſſolved, but in great ſecrecy, that the King himſelf liked it. Lord *Nottingham* talked in a general and odd ſtrain about it. He gave it out, that the King was reſolved to offer one expedient, which was beyond any thing that the Parliament could have the confidence to aſk. *Littleton* preſſed me to do what I could to promote it; and ſaid, that as I was the firſt that had ſuggeſted it, ſo I ſhould have the honour of it, if it proved ſo ſucceſsful as to procure the quieting of the Nation. I argued upon it with *Jones:* But I found they had laid it down for a maxim, to hearken to nothing but the Excluſion. All the Duke of *Monmouth*'s party looked on this as that which muſt put an end to all his hopes. Others thought, in point of honour they muſt go on as they had done hitherto: *Jones* ſtood upon a point of law, of the unſeparableneſs of the prerogative from the perſon of the King. He ſaid, an infant or a lunatick was in a real incapacity of ſtruggling with his guardians; but that if it was not ſo, the law that

A new expedient of a Prince Regent.

conſtituted their guardians would be of no force. He ſaid, if the Duke came to be King, the prerogative would by that veſt in him; and the Prince Regent and he muſt either ſtrike up a bargain, or it muſt end in a civil war, in which he believed the force of law would give the King the better of it. It was not to be denied but that there was ſome danger in this: But in the ill circumſtances in which we were no remedies could be propoſed that were without great inconveniences, and that were not liable to much danger. In the mean while both ſides were taking all the pains they could to fortify their party: And it was very viſible, that the ſide which was for the Excluſion was like to be the ſtrongeſt. 1681

A few days before the King went to *Oxford* *Fitzharris*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, was taken up for framing a malicious and treaſonable libel againſt the King and his whole Family. He had met with one *Everard*, who pretended to make diſcoveries, and as was thought had mixed a great deal of falſehood with ſome truth: But he held himſelf in general terms, and did not deſcend to ſo many particulars as the witneſſes had done. *Fitzharris* and he had been acquainted in *France:* So on that confidence he ſhewed him his libel: And he made an appointment to come to *Everard*'s chamber, who thought he intended to trepann him, and ſo had placed witneſſes to overhear all that paſt. *Fitzharris* left the libel with him, all writ in his own hand: *Everard* went with the paper and with his witneſſes and informed againſt *Fitzharris*, who upon that was committed. But ſeeing the proof againſt him was like to be full, he ſaid, the libel was drawn by *Everard*, and only copied by himſelf: But he had no ſort of proof to ſupport this. *Corniſh* the Sheriff going to ſee him, he deſired he would bring him a Juſtice of Peace; for he could make a great diſcovery of the plot, far beyond all that was yet known. *Corniſh* in the ſimplicity of his heart went and acquainted the King with this: For which he was much blamed; for it was ſaid, by this means that diſcovery might have been ſtopt: But his going firſt with it to the Court proved afterwards a great happineſs both to himſelf and to many others. The Secretaries and ſome privy Counſellors were upon that ſent to examine *Fitzharris*; to whom he gave a long relation of a practice to kill the King, in which the Duke was concerned, with many other particulars which need not be mentioned; for it was all a fiction. The Secretaries came to him a ſecond time to examine him farther: He boldly ſtood to all he had ſaid: And *Fitzharris* was taken.

1681 he desired that some Justices of the City might be brought to him. So *Clayton* and *Treby* went to him: And he made the same pretended discovery to them over again; and insinuated, that he was glad it was now in safe hands that would not stifle it. The King was highly offended with this, since it plainly shewed a distrust of his ministers: And so *Fitzharris* was removed to the Tower; which the Court resolved to make the prison for all offenders, till there should be Sheriffs chosen more at the King's devotion. Yet the deposition made to *Clayton* and *Treby* was in all points the same that he had made to the Secretaries: So that there was no colour for the pretence afterward put on this, as if they had practised on him.

The Parliament of *Oxford* was soon dissolved.

The Parliament met at *Oxford* in *March:* The King opened it with severe reflections on the proceedings of the former Parliament. He said, he was resolved to maintain the succession of the Crown in the right line: But for quieting his peoples fears he was willing to put the administration of the government into Protestant's hands. This was explained by *Ernley* and *Littleton* to be meant of a Prince Regent, with whom the regal prerogative should be lodged during the Duke's life. *Jones* and *Littleton* managed the debate on the grounds formerly mentioned: But in the end the proposition was rejected; and they resolved to go again to the bill of Exclusion, to the great joy of the Duke's party, who declared themselves more against this than against the Exclusion it self. The Commons resolved likewise to take the management of *Fitzharris*'s affair out of the hands of the Court: So they carried to the Lords bar an impeachment against him, which was rejected by the Lords upon a pretence with which Lord *Nottingham* furnished them. It was this: *Edward* the third had got some Commoners to be condemned by the Lords; of which when the House of Commons complained, an order was made, that no such thing should be done for the future. Now that related only to proceedings at the King's suit: But it could not be meant, that an impeachment from the Commons did not lie against a Commoner. Judges, Secretaries of State, and the Lord Keeper were often Commoners: So if this was good law, here was a certain method offered to the Court, to be troubled no more with impeachments, by employing only Commoners. In short, the Peers saw the design of this impeachment, and were resolved not to receive it: And so made use of this colour to reject it. Upon that the Commons past a vote, that

justice

juſtice was denied them by the Lords: And they alſo voted, that all thoſe who concurred in any ſort in trying *Fitzharris* in any other Court were betrayers of the liberties of their Country. By theſe ſteps which they had already made the King ſaw what might be expected from them: So very ſuddenly, and not very decently, he came to the Houſe of Lords, the Crown being carried between his feet in a ſedan: And he put on his robes in haſt, without any previous notice, and called up the Commons, and diſſolved the Parliament; and went with ſuch haſt to *Windſor*, that it looked as if he was afraid of the crouds that this meeting had brought to *Oxford*. 1681.

A great change in affairs.

Immediately upon this the Court took a new ply; and things went in another channel: Of which I go next to give as impartial an account, as I have hitherto given of the plot, and of all that related to it. At this time the diſtinguiſhing names of *Whig* and *Tory* came to be the denominations of the parties. I have given a full account of all errors during this time with the more exactneſs, to warn poſterity from falling into the like exceſſes, and to make it appear how mad and fatal a thing it is to run violently into a torrent, and in a heat to do thoſe things which may give a general diſguſt, and to ſet precedents to others, when times turn, to juſtify their exceſſes, by ſaying they do only follow the ſteps of thoſe who went before them. The ſhedding ſo much blood upon ſuch doubtful evidence was like to have proved fatal to him who drove all theſe things on with the greateſt fury: I mean the Earl of *Shaftsbury* himſelf. And the ſtrange change that appeared over the Nation with relation to the Duke, from ſuch an eager proſecution of the Excluſion to an indecent courting and magnifying him, not without a viſible coldneſs towards the King in compariſon of him, ſhewed how little men could build on popular heats, which have their ebbings and flowings, and their hot and cold fits, almoſt as certainly as ſeas or fevers have. When ſuch changes happen, thoſe who have been as to the main with the ſide that is run down will be charged with all the errors of their ſide, how much ſoever they may have oppoſed them. I who had been always in diſtruſt of the witneſſes, and diſſatisfied with the whole method of proceedings, yet came to be fallen on not only in pamphlets and poems, but even in ſermons, as if I had been an incendiary, and a main ſtickler againſt the Court, and in particular againſt the Duke. So upon this I went into a cloſer retirement: And to keep my mind from

1681 running after news and affairs, I ſet my my ſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Algebra. I diverted my ſelf with many proceſſes in Chymiſtry: And I hope I went into the beſt exerciſes, from which I had been much diverted by the buſtling of a great town in ſo hot a time. I had been much truſted by both ſides: And that is a very dangerous ſtate; for a man may come upon that to be hated and ſuſpected by both. I withdrew much from all converſation: Only I lived ſtill in a particular confidence with the Lords *Eſſex* and *Ruſſel*.

The King's declaration.

The King ſet out a declaration for ſatisfying his people. He reckoned up in it all the hard things that had been done by the three laſt Parliaments; and ſet out their undutiful behaviour to himſelf in many inſtances: Yet in concluſion he aſſured his good ſubjects, that nothing ſhould ever alter his affection to the Proteſtant Religion as eſtabliſhed by law, nor his love to Parliaments: For he would have ſtill frequent Parliaments. When this paſt in Council, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* moved, that an order ſhould be added to it, requiring the Clergy to publiſh it in all the Churches of *England:* This was looked on as a moſt pernicious precedent, by which the Clergy were made the heralds to publiſh the King's declarations, which in ſome inſtances might come to be not only indecent but miſchievous. An anſwer was writ to the King's declaration with great ſpirit and true judgment. It was at firſt penned by *Sidney:* But a new draught was made by *Somers*, and corrected by *Jones*. The ſpirit of that ſide was now ſpent: So that this, tho' the beſt writ paper in all that time, yet had no great effect. The declaration raiſed over *England* a humour of making addreſſes to the King, as it were in anſwer to it. The Grand Juries and the bench of Juſtices in the counties, the cities and boroughs, the franchiſes and corporations, many mannors, the companies in towns, and at laſt the very apprentices ſent up addreſſes. Of theſe ſome were more modeſtly penned, and only expreſſed their joy at the aſſurances they ſaw in the King's declaration; and concluded, that they upon that dedicated their lives and fortunes to his ſervice. But the greater number, and the moſt acceptable, were thoſe who declared they would adhere to the unalterable ſucceſſion of the Crown in the lineal and legal deſcent, and condemned the bill of Excluſion. Others went higher, and arraigned the late Parliaments as guilty of ſedition and treaſon. Some reflected ſeverely on the Non-conformiſts; and thanked the King for

Addreſſes to the King from all parts of *England*.

his

his not repealing that act of the thirty fifth of Queen *Elizabeth*; which they prayed might be put in execution. Some of the addreſſes were very high panegyricks, in which the King's perſon and government were much magnified. Many of thoſe who brought theſe up were knighted upon it: And all were well treated at Court. Many zealous healths were drunk among them: And in their cups the old valour and the ſwaggerings of the Cavaliers ſeemed to be revived. The Miniſters ſaw thro' this, and that it was an empty noiſe, and a falſe ſhew. But it was thought neceſſary then to encourage it. Tho' Lord *Halifax* could not reſtrain himſelf from ſhewing his contempt of it, in a ſaying that was much repeated: He ſaid, the petitioners for a Parliament ſpit in the King's face, but the addreſſers ſpit in his mouth. As the country ſent up addreſſes, ſo the town ſent down pamphlets of all ſorts, to poſſeſs the Nation much againſt the late Parliament: And the Clergy ſtruck up to a higher note, with ſuch zeal for the Duke's ſucceſſion, as if a Popiſh King had been a ſpecial bleſſing from heaven, to be much longed for by a Proteſtant Church. They likewiſe gave themſelves ſuch a looſe againſt Non-conformiſts, as if nothing was ſo formidable as that party: So that in all their ſermons Popery was quite forgot, and the force of their zeal was turned almoſt wholly againſt the Diſſenters; who were now by order from the Court to be proceeded againſt according to law. There was alſo a great change made in the commiſſions all *England* over: None were left either on the Bench, or in the Militia, that did not with zeal go into the humour of the Court. And ſuch of the Clergy as would not engage in that fury were cried out upon as the betrayers of the Church, and as ſecret favourers of the Diſſenters. The truth is, the numbers of theſe were not great: One obſerved right, that, according to the proverb in the Goſpel, *where the carcaſe is the Eagles will be gathered together:* The ſcent of preferment will draw aſpiring men after it. 1681

Fitzharris's trial came on in *Eaſter* Term: *Scroggs* was turned out, and *Pemberton* was made Chief Juſtice. His riſe was ſo particular, that it is worth the being remembred: In his youth he mixed with ſuch lewd company that he quickly ſpent all he had; and ran ſo deep in debt that he was caſt into a jayl, where he lay many years: But he followed his ſtudies ſo cloſe in the jayl, that he became one of the ableſt men of his profeſſion. He was not wholly for the Court: He had been a Judge before, and was turned out by *Scroggs*'s *Fitzharris*'s trial.

1681 means: And now he was raiſed again, and was afterwards made Chief Juſtice of the other Bench: But not being compliant enough, he was turned out a ſecond time, when the Court would be ſerved by none but by men of a thorough paced obſequiouſneſs. *Fitzharris* pleaded the impeachment in Parliament: But ſince the Lords had thrown that out it was over-ruled. He pretended he could diſcover the ſecret of *Godfrey*'s murder: He ſaid, he heard the Earl of *Danby* ſay at *Windſor*, that it muſt be done: But when the Judge told the Grand Jury, that what was ſaid at *Windſor* did not lie before them, *Fitzharris* immediately ſaid, he had heard him ſay the ſame thing at *Whitehall*. This was very groſs: Yet upon ſo ſlight an evidence they found the bill againſt the Lord *Danby*. And when they were reproached with it, they ſaid a dubious evidence was a ſufficient ground for a Grand Jury: Yet another doctrine was ſet up by the ſame ſort of men within a few months.

Plunket an *Iriſh* Biſhop condemned and executed.

Plunket, the Popiſh Primate of *Armagh*, was at this time brought to his trial. Some lewd *Iriſh* Prieſts, and others of that Nation, hearing that *England* was at that time diſpoſed to hearken to good ſwearers, thought themſelves well qualified for the employment: So they came over to ſwear, that there was a great plot in *Ireland*, to bring over a *French* army, and to maſſacre all the *Engliſh*. The witneſſes were brutal and profligate men: Yet the Earl of *Shaftsbury* cheriſhed them much: They were examined by the Parliament at *Weſtminſter:* And what they ſaid was believed. Upon that encouragement it was reckoned that we ſhould have witneſſes come over in whole companies. Lord *Eſſex* told me, that this *Plunket* was a wiſe and ſober man, who was always in a different intereſt from the two *Talbots*; the one of theſe being the titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and the other raiſed afterwards to be Duke of *Tirconnell*. Theſe were medling and factious men; whereas *Plunket* was for their living quietly, and in due ſubmiſſion to the government, without engaging into intrigues of State. Some of theſe Prieſts had been cenſured by him for their lewdneſs: And they drew others to ſwear as they directed them. They had appeared the winter before upon a bill offered to the Grand Jury: But as the foreman of the Jury, who was a zealous Proteſtant, told me, they contradicted one another ſo evidently, that they would not find the bill. But now they laid their ſtory better together; and ſwore againſt *Plunket*, that he had got a great bank of money to be prepared, and that he had an army liſted,

liſted, and was in a correſpondence with *France* to bring over a fleet from thence. He had nothing to ſay in his own defence, but to deny all: So he was condemned; and ſuffered very decently, expreſſing himſelf in many particulars as became a Biſhop. He died denying every thing that had been ſworn againſt him. 1681

Fitzharris was tried next: And the proof was ſo full that he was caſt. He moved in Court that I might be ordered to come to him, upon what reaſon I could never imagine: A rule was made that I might ſpeak to him in the preſence of the Lieutenant of the Tower. I went to him, and preſſed him vehemently to tell the truth, and not to deceive himſelf with falſe hopes. I charged him with the improbabilities of his diſcovery; and laid home to him the ſin of perjury, chiefly in matters of blood, ſo fully, that the Lieutenant of the Tower made a very juſt report of it to the King, as the King himſelf told me afterwards. When he ſaw there was no hope, he ſaid the Lord *Howard* was the author of the libel. *Howard* was ſo ill thought of, that, it being known that there was a familiarity between *Fitzharris* and him, it was apprehended from the beginning that he was concerned in it. I had ſeen him in Lord *Howard*'s company, and had told him how indecent it was to have ſuch a man about him: He ſaid he was in want, and was as honeſt as his Religion would ſuffer him to be. I found out afterwards, that he was a ſpy of the Lady *Portſmouth*'s: And that he had carried Lord *Howard* to her: And, as Lord *Howard* himſelf told me, ſhe brought the King to talk with him twice or thrice. The King, as he ſaid, entred into a particular ſcheme with him of the new frame of his Miniſtry in caſe of an agreement, which ſeemed to him to be very near. As ſoon as I ſaw the libel I was ſatisfied that Lord *Howard* was not concerned in it: It was ſo ill drawn, and ſo little diſguiſed in the treaſonable part, that none but a man of the loweſt form could be capable of making it. The report of Lord *Howard*'s being charged with this was over the whole Town a day before any warrant was ſent out againſt him; which made it appear, that the Court had a mind to give him time to go out of the way. He came to me, and ſolemnly vowed he was not at all concerned in that matter: So I adviſed him not to ſtir from home. He was committed that night: I had no liking to the man's temper: Yet he inſinuated himſelf ſo into me, that without being rude to him it was not poſſible to avoid him. He was a man of a pleaſant con-

1681 converſation: But he railed ſo indecently both at the King and the Clergy, that I was very uneaſy in his company: Yet now, during his impriſonment, I did him all the ſervice I could. But *Algernoon Sidney* took his concerns and his family ſo to heart, and managed every thing relating to him with that zeal, and that care, that none but a monſter of ingratitude could have made him the return that he did afterwards. When the bill againſt Lord *Howard* was brought to the Grand Jury, *Fitzharris*'s wife and maid were the two witneſſes againſt him: But they did ſo evidently forſwear themſelves, that the Attorney General withdrew it. Lord *Howard* lay in the Tower till the Michaelmas term; and came out by the *Habeas Corpus*. I went no more to *Fitzharris*: But *Hawkins* the Miniſter of the Tower took him into his management; and prevailed with him not only to deny all his former diſcovery, but to lay it on *Clayton*, *Treby*, and the Sheriffs, as a ſubornation of theirs, tho' it was evident that was impoſſible to be true. Yet at the ſame time he writ letters to his wife, who was not then admitted to him, which I ſaw and read, in which he told her, how he was practiſed upon with the hopes of life. He charged her to ſwear falſly againſt none: One of theſe was writ that very morning in which he ſuffered: And yet before he was led out he ſigned a new paper containing the former charge of ſubornation, and put it in *Hawkins*'s hands. And at *Tyburn* he referred all he had to ſay to that paper, which was immediately publiſhed: But the falſhood of it was ſo very notorious, that it ſhewed what a ſort of man *Hawkins* was: Yet he was ſoon after rewarded for this with the Deanry of *Chicheſter*. But when the Court heard what letters *Fitzharris* had writ to his wife they were confounded: And all further diſcourſe about him was ſtifled. But the Court practiſed on her by the promiſe of a penſion ſo far, that ſhe delivered up her huſband's letters to them. But ſo many had ſeen them before that, that this baſe practice turned much to the reproach of all their proceedings.

Practices upon *Fitzharris* at his death.

A Proteſtant plot.

Soon after this *Dugdale*, *Turbervill*, *Smith*, and the *Iriſh* witneſſes came under another management; and they diſcovered a plot laid againſt the King to be executed at *Oxford*. The King was to be killed, and the government was to be changed. One *Colledge*, a Joyner by trade, was an active and hot man, and came to be known by the name of the Proteſtant Joyner. He was firſt ſeized on: And the witneſſes ſwore many treaſonable ſpeeches againſt him: He was believed

lieved to have ſpoken oft with great indecency of the King, and with a ſort of threatning, that they would make him paſs the bill of Excluſion. But a deſign to ſeize on the King was ſo notorious a falſhood, that notwithſtanding all that the witneſſes ſwore the Grand Jury returned *Ignoramus* upon the bill. Upon this the Court cried out againſt the Juries now returned, that they would not do the King juſtice, tho' the matter of the bill was ſworn by witneſſes whoſe teſtimony was well believed a few months before: It was commonly ſaid, theſe Juries would believe every thing one way, and nothing the other. If they had found the bill, ſo that *Colledge* had been tried upon it, he would have been certainly ſaved: But ſince the witneſſes ſwore that he went to *Oxford* on that deſign, he was triable there. *North* went to *Oxford*, *Colledge* being carried thither: And he tried him there. *North*'s behaviour in that whole matter was ſuch, that probably, if he had lived to ſee an impeaching Parliament, he might have felt the ill effects of it. The witneſſes ſwore ſeveral treaſonable words againſt *Colledge*, and that his coming to *Oxford* was in order to the executing theſe: So here was an over-act. *Colledge* was upon a negative: So he had nothing to ſay for himſelf, but to ſhew how little credit was due to the witneſſes. He was condemned, and ſuffered with great conſtancy, and with appearances of devotion. He denied all the treaſonable matter that had been ſworn againſt him, or that he knew of any plot againſt the King. He confeſſed, that a great heat of temper had carried him to many undutiful expreſſions of the King: But he proteſted he was in no deſign againſt him. And now the Court intended to ſet the witneſſes to ſwear againſt all the hot party; which was plainly murder in them, who believed them falſe witneſſes, and yet made uſe of them to deſtroy others. One paſſage happned at *Colledge*'s trial, which quite ſunk *Dugdale*'s credit: It was objected to him by *Colledge*, to take away his credit, that, when by his lewdneſs he had got the *French Pox*, he to cover that gave it out that he was poyſoned by Papiſts: Upon which he, being then in Court, proteſted ſolemnly that he never had that diſeaſe; and ſaid, that if it could be proved by any phyſician that he ever had it, he was content that all the evidence he had ever given ſhould be diſcredited for ever. And he was taken at his word: For *Lower*, who was then the moſt celebrated phyſician in *London*, proved at the Council board that he had been under cure in his hands for that diſeaſe; which was made

1681

Colledge condemned, and died upon it.

1681 but both by his bills, and by the Apothecary that ſerved them. So he was never more heard of.

Shaftsbury ſent to the Tower.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was committed next, and ſent to the Tower upon the evidence of the *Iriſh* witneſſes. His papers were at the ſame time ſeized on and ſearched: Nothing material was found among them, but a draught of an aſſociation, by which the King, if it had taken place, would have reigned only at the diſcretion of the party. This was neither writ, nor marked in any place with his hand: But, when there was a talk of an aſſociation, ſome had formed this paper, and brought it to him; of which he always profeſſed, after the matter was over, that he remembred nothing at all. So it is probable, that, as is ordinary when any great buſineſs is before the Parliament that zealous men are at the doors with their ſeveral draughts, this was one of theſe caſt careleſſly by, and not thought on by him when he had ſent his more valuable papers out of the way. There was likewiſe bnt one witneſs that could ſwear to its being found there: And that was the Clerk of the Council, who had peruſed thoſe papers without marking them in the preſence of any witneſs, as taken among Lord *Shaftsbury*'s papers.

Practices upon witneſſes.

There was all this ſummer ſtrange practiſing with witneſſes to find more matter againſt him: *Wilkinſon*, a priſoner for debt that had been often with him, was dealt with to accuſe him. The Conrt had found out two ſolicitors to manage ſuch matters, *Burton* and *Graham*, who were indeed fitter men to have ſerved in a court of inquiſition than in a legal government. It was known, that Lord *Shaftsbury* was apt to talk very freely, and without diſcretion: So the two ſolicitors ſought ont all that had frequented his company; and tried what they could draw from them, not by a barefaced ſubornation, but by telling them, they knew well that Lord *Shaftsbury* had talked ſuch and ſuch things, which they named, that were plainly treaſonable; and they required them to atteſt it, if they did ever hear ſuch things from him: And they made them great promiſes upon their telling the truth. So that they gave hints and made promiſes to ſuch as by ſwearing boldly would deſerve them, and yet kept themſelves out of danger of ſubornation, having witneſſes in ſome corner of their chambers that over heard all their diſcourſe. This was their common practice, of which I had a particular account from ſome whom they examined with relation to my ſelf. In all this foul dealing

ing the King himſelf was believed to be the chief director: And Lord *Halifax* was thought deep in it, tho' he always expreſſed an abhorrence of ſuch practices to me. 1681

His reſentments wrought ſo violently on him, that he ſeemed to be gone off from all his former notions. He preſſed me vehemently to accept of preferment at Court; and ſaid, if I would give him leave to make promiſes in my name, he could obtain for me any preferment I pleaſed. But I would enter into no engagements. I was contented with the condition I was in, which was above neceſſity, tho' below envy: The maſterſhip of the Temple was like to fall, and I liked that better than any thing elſe. So both Lord *Halifax* and Lord *Clarendon* moved the King in it. He promiſed I ſhould have it. Upon which Lord *Halifax* carried me to the King. I had reaſon to believe, that he was highly diſpleaſed with me for what I had done a year before. Mrs. *Roberts*, whom he had kept for ſome time, ſent for me when ſhe was a dying: I ſaw her often for ſome weeks, and among other things I deſired her to write a letter to the King, expreſſing the ſenſe ſhe had of her paſt life: And at her deſire I drew ſuch a letter, as might be fit for her to write: But ſhe never had ſtrength enough to write it: So upon that I reſolved to write a very plain letter to the King: I ſet before him his paſt life, and the effects it had on the Nation, with the judgments of God that lay on him, which was but a ſmall part of the puniſhment that he might look for: I preſſed him upon that earneſtly to change the whole courſe of his life: I carried this letter to *Chiffinch*'s on the twenty ninth of *January*; and told the King in the letter, that I hoped the reflections on what had befallen his Father on the thirtieth of *January* might move him to conſider theſe things more carefully. Lord *Arran* happned to be then in waiting: And he came to me next day, and told me, he was ſure the King had a long letter from me; for he held the candle to him while he read it: He knew at all that diſtance that it was my hand: The King read it twice over, and then threw it into the fire: And not long after Lord *Arran* took occaſion to name me: And the King ſpoke of me with great ſharpneſs: So he perceived that he was not pleaſed with my letter. Nor was the King pleaſed with my being ſent for by *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*, when he died: He fancied, that he had told me many things, of which I might make an ill uſe: Yet he had read the book that I writ concerning him, and ſpoke well of it.

I was then offered preferment.

1681 In this ſtate I was in the King's thoughts, when Lord *Halifax* carried me to him, and introduced me with a very extraordinary complement, that he did not bring me to the King to put me in his good opinion ſo much as to put the King in my good opinion: And added, he hoped that the King would not only take me into his favour, but into his heart. The King had a peculiar faculty of ſaying obliging things with a very good grace: Among other things he ſaid, he knew that, if I pleaſed, I could ſerve him very conſiderably; and that he deſired no ſervice from me longer than he continued true to the Church and to the Law. Lord *Halifax* upon that added, that the King knew he ſerved him on the ſame terms, and was to make his ſtops. The King and he fell into ſome diſcourſe about Religion. Lord *Halifax* ſaid to the King, that he was the head of his Church: To which the King anſwered, that he did not deſire to be the head of nothing; for indeed he was of no Church. From that the King run out into much diſcourſe about Lord *Shaftsbury*, who was ſhortly to be tried: He complained with great ſcorn of the imputation of ſubornation that was caſt on himſelf. He ſaid, he did not wonder that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was ſo guilty of thoſe practices, ſhould faſten them on others. The diſcourſe laſted half an hour very hearty and free: So I was in favour again. But I could not hold it. I was told I kept ill company: The perſons Lord *Halifax* named to me were the Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and *Jones*. But I ſaid, I would upon no conſideration give over converſing with my friends: So I was where I was before.

Halifax carried me to the King.

A bill of indictment was preſented to the Grand Jury againſt Lord *Shaftsbury*. The Jury was compoſed of many of the chief citizens of *London*. The witneſſes were examined in open Court, contrary to the uſual cuſtom: The witneſſes ſwore many incredible things againſt him, mixed with other things that looked very like his extravagant way of talking. The draught of the aſſociation was alſo brought as a proof of his treaſon, tho' it was not laid in the indictment, and was proved only by one witneſs. The Jury returned *Ignoramus* upon the bill. Upon this the Court did declaim with open mouth againſt theſe Juries; in which they ſaid the ſpirit of the party did appear, ſince men even upon oath ſhewed they were reſolved to find bills or *Ignoramus*, as they pleaſed, without regarding the evidence. And upon this a new ſet of addreſſes went round the Kingdom, in which they expreſ-

Shaftsbury was acquitted by the Grand Jury.

ſed their abhorrence of that aſſociation found in Lord *Shaftsbury*'s cabinet; and complained, that Juſtice was denied the King; which were ſet off with all the fulſom rhetorick that the penners could varniſh them with. It was upon this occaſion ſaid, that the Grand Jury ought to find bills even upon dubious evidence, much more when plain treaſon was ſworn; ſince all they did in finding a bill was only to bring the perſon to his trial, and then the falſhood of the witneſſes was to be detected. But in defence of theſe *Ignoramus* Juries it was ſaid, that by the expreſs words of their oath they were bound to make true preſentments of what ſhould appear true to them: And therefore, if they did not believe the evidence, they could not find a bill, tho' ſworn to. A book was writ to ſupport that, in which both law and reaſon were brought to confirm it: It paſt as writ by Lord *Eſſex*, tho' I underſtood afterwards it was writ by *Somers*, who was much eſteemed and often viſited by Lord *Eſſex*, and who truſted himſelf to him, and writ the beſt papers that came out in that time. It is true, by the practice that had generally prevailed, Grand Juries were eaſy in finding bills upon a ſlight and probable evidence. But it was made out, that the words of their oath, and the reaſon of the law ſeemed to oblige them to make no preſentments but ſuch as they believed to be true. On the other hand a private ill opinion of a witneſs, or the looking on a matter as incredible, did not ſeem to warrant the return of an *Ignoramus:* That ſeemed to belong to the Jury of life and death. The chief complaint that was made in the addreſſes was grounded on their not finding the bill on the account of the draught of the aſſociation: And this was in many reſpects very unreaſonable. For as that was not laid in the bill, ſo there was but one witneſs to prove it; nor did the matter of the paper riſe up to the charge of high treaſon. And now *Dugdale* and *Turbervill*, who had been the witneſſes upon whoſe evidence Lord *Stafford* was condemned, being within a year detected, or at leaſt ſuſpected of this villany, I could not but reflect on what he ſaid to me, that he was confident I ſhould ſee within a year that the witneſſes would be found to be rogues. 1681

As to *Turbervill*, what happned ſoon after this will perhaps mitigate the cenſure: He was taken with the ſmall pox in a few days after Lord *Shaftsbury*'s trial. The ſymptoms were ſo bad, that the phyſician told him he had no hope of his recovery: Upon which he compoſed himſelf to die as 1682 *Turbervill's death.*

1682 became a Chriſtian, and ſent for Mr. *Hewes* the Curate of St. *Martins*, who was a very worthy man, and from whom I had this account of him. *Turbervill* looked on himſelf as a dead man at the firſt time he came to him: But his diſeaſe did no way affect his underſtanding or his memory. He ſeemed to have a real ſenſe of another ſtate, and of the account that he was to give to God for his paſt life. *Hewes* charged him to examin himſelf; and if he had ſworn falſly againſt any man, to confeſs his ſin and glorify God, tho' to his own ſhame. *Turbervill*, both in diſcourſe and when he received the ſacrament, proteſted that he had ſworn nothing but the truth, in what he depoſed both againſt Lord *Stafford* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and renounced the mercies of God, and the benefit of the death of *Chriſt*, if he did not ſpeak the plain and naked truth without any reſervation: And he continued in the ſame mind to his death. So here were the laſt words of dying men, againſt the laſt words of thoſe that ſuffered. To this may well be added, that one who died of ſickneſs, and under a great depreſſion in his ſpirits, was leſs able to ſtifle his conſcience, and reſiſt the impreſſions that it might then make on him, than a man who ſuffers on a ſcaffold, where the ſtrength of the natural ſpirits is entire, or rather exalted by the ſenſe of the cauſe he ſuffers for. And we know that confeſſion and abſolution in the Church of *Rome* give a quiet, to which we do not pretend, where theſe things are ſaid to be only miniſterial, and not authoritative. About a year before this *Tonge* had died, who firſt brought out *Oates*. They quarrelled afterwards: And *Tonge* came to have a very bad opinion of *Oates*, upon what reaſon I know not. He died with expreſſions of a very high devotion: And he proteſted to all who came to ſee him, that he knew of no ſubornation in all that matter, and that he was guilty of none himſelf. Theſe things put a man quite in the dark: And in this miſt matters muſt be left till the great revelation of all ſecrets. And there I leave it: And from the affairs of *England* turn to give an account of what paſt in *Scotland* during this diſorder among us here.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

The Duke behaved himſelf upon his firſt going to *Scotland* in ſo obliging a manner, that the Nobility and Gentry, who had been ſo long trodden on by Duke *Lauderdale* and his party, found a very ſenſible change: So that he gained much on them all. He continued ſtill to ſupport that ſide: Yet things were ſo gently carried, that there was no

no cauſe of complaint. It was viſibly his intereſt to make that Nation ſure to him, and to give them ſuch an eſſay of his government, as might diſſipate all the hard thoughts of him with which the world was poſſeſſed: And he purſued this for ſome time with great temper and as great ſucceſs. He adviſed the Biſhops to proceed moderately, and to take no notice of Conventicles in houſes; and that would put an end to thoſe in the fields. In matters of juſtice he ſhewed an impartial temper, and encouraged all propoſitions relating to trade: And ſo, conſidering how much that Nation was ſet againſt his Religion, he made a greater progreſs in gaining upon them than was expected. He was adviſed to hold a Parliament there in ſummer eighty one, and to take the character of the King's Commiſſioner upon himſelf. 1682

A ſtrange ſpirit of fury had broke looſe on ſome of the Preſbyterians, called *Cargillites* from one *Cargill* that had been one of the Miniſters of *Glaſgow* in the former times, and was then very little conſidered, but now was much followed to the great reproach of the Nation. Theſe held that the King had loſt the right of the Crown by his breaking the Covenant, which he had ſworn at his Coronation: So they ſaid, he was their King no more: And by a formal declaration they renounced all allegiance to him, which a party of them affixed to the croſs of *Dunfreis*, a Town near the weſt border. The guards fell upon a party of them, whom they found in arms, where *Cameron* one of their furious teachers (from whom they were alſo called *Cameronians*) was killed: But *Hackſton*, that was one of the Archbiſhop's murderers, and *Cargill* were taken. *Hackſton*, when brought before the Council would not own their authority, nor make any anſwer to their queſtions. He was ſo low by reaſon of his wounds, that it was thought he would die in the queſtion if tortured: So he was in a very ſummary way condemned to have both his hands cut off, and then to be hanged. All this he ſuffered with a conſtancy that amazed all people: He ſeemed to be all the while as in an enthuſiaſtical rapture, and inſenſible of what was done to him. When his hands were cut off, he aſked, like one unconcerned, if his feet muſt be cut off likewiſe: And he had ſo ſtrong a heart, that notwithſtanding all the loſs of blood by his wounds, and the cutting off his hands, yet when he was hanged up, and his heart cut out, it continued to palpitate ſome time after it was on the Hangman's knife, as ſome Eye-witneſſes aſſured me. *Cargill*, and many others of that mad

1682 mad ſect, both men and women, ſuffered with an obſtinacy that was ſo particular, that tho' the Duke ſent the offer of pardon to them on the Scaffold, if they would only ſay God bleſs the King, it was refuſed with great neglect: One of them, a woman, ſaid very calmly, ſhe was ſure God would not bleſs him, and that therefore ſhe would not take God's name in vain: Another ſaid more ſullenly, that ſhe would not worſhip that idol, nor acknowledge any other King but *Chriſt*: And ſo both were hanged. About fifteen or ſixteen died under this deluſion, which ſeemed to be a ſort of madneſs: For they never attempted any thing againſt any perſon: Only they ſeemed glad to ſuffer for their opinions. The Duke ſtopt that proſecution, and appointed them to be put in a houſe of correction, and to be kept at hard labour. Great uſe was made of this by prophane people to diſparage the ſuffering of the Martyrs for the Chriſtian Faith, from the unſhaken conſtancy which theſe frantick peopled expreſſed. But this is undeniable, that men who die maintaining any opinion, ſhew that they are firmly perſuaded of it: So from this the Martyrs of the firſt age, who died for aſſerting a matter of fact, ſuch as the reſurrection of *Chriſt*, or the miracles that they had ſeen, ſhewed that they were well perſuaded of the truth of thoſe facts. And that is all the uſe that is to be made of this argument.

A Parliament in *Scotland.*

Now the time of the ſitting of the Parliament drew on. The Duke ſeeing how great a man the Earl of *Argyle* was in *Scotland*, concluded it was neceſſary for him either to gain him or to ruin him. Lord *Argyle* gave him all poſſible aſſurances that he would adhere to his intereſt in every thing, except in the matters of Religion: But added, that if he went to meddle with theſe, he owned to him freely that he would oppoſe him all he could. This was well enough taken in ſhew: But Lord *Argyle* ſaid, he obſerved ever after that ſuch a viſible coldneſs and diſtruſt, that he ſaw what he might expect from him. Some moved the excepting againſt the Duke's Commiſſion to repreſent the King in Parliament, ſince by law no man could execute any office without taking the oaths: And above forty members of Parliament promiſed to ſtick to Duke *Hamilton* if he would inſiſt on that. But *Lockhart* and *Cunningham*, the two lawyers on whoſe opinion they depended chiefly, ſaid, that a commiſſion to repreſent the King's perſon fell not under the notion of an office: And ſince it was not expreſſly named in the acts of Parliament, they thought it did not fall within the general words of

of *all places and offices of truſt*. So this was laid aſide: And many who were offended at it complained of Duke *Hamilton*'s cowardiſe. He ſaid for himſelf, he had been in a ſtorm of ſeven years continuance by his oppoſing Duke *Lauderdale*, and that he would not engage in a new one with a ſtronger party, unleſs he was ſure of the majority: And they were far from pretending to be able to bring matters to near an equality. The firſt act that paſt was one of three lines, confirming all the laws formerly made againſt Popery: The Duke thought it would give a good grace to all that ſhould be done afterwards, to begin with ſuch a general and cold confirmation of all former laws. Some moved, that a Committee might be appointed to examine all the former laws, (ſince ſome of them ſeemed unreaſonably ſevere, as paſt in the firſt heat of the Reformation,) that ſo they might draw out of them all ſuch as might be fit not only to be confirmed, but to be executed by better and properer methods than thoſe preſcribed in the former ſtatutes, which had been all eluded. But it was not intended that this new confirmation ſhould have any effect: And therefore this motion was not hearkned to. But the act was hurried on, and paſt. 1682

The next act was for the unalterableneſs of the ſucceſſion of the Crown. It was declared high treaſon ever to move for any alterations in it. Lord *Argyle* ran into this with zeal: So did Duke *Hamilton:* And all others that intended to merit by it made harangues about it. Lord *Tweedale* was the only man that ventured to move, that the act might be made as ſtrict as was poſſible with relation to the Duke: But he thought it not neceſſary to carry it further; ſince the Queen of *Spain* ſtood ſo near the ſucceſſion, and it was no amiable thing to be a Province to *Spain*. Many were ſo ignorant as not to underſtand the relation of the Queen of *Spain* to the King, tho' ſhe was his niece, and thought it an extravagant motion. He was not ſeconded: And the act paſt without one contradictory vote. There was an additional revenue given for ſome years for keeping up more troops. Some complaints were alſo made of the Lords of regalities, who have all the forfeitures and the power of life and death within their regalities. It was upon that promiſed, that there ſhould be a regulation of theſe Courts, as there was indeed great cauſe for it, theſe Lords being ſo many tyrants up and down the country: So it was intended to ſubject theſe juriſdictions to the ſupream Judicatories. But

1682 the act was penned in ſuch words, as imported that the whole courſe of juſtice all over the Kingdom was made ſubject to the King's will and pleaſure: So that inſtead of appeals to the ſupream Courts, all was made to end in a perſonal appeal to the King: And by this means he was made maſter of the whole juſtice and property of the Kingdom. There was not much time given to conſider things: For the Duke, finding that he was maſter of a clear majority, drove on every thing faſt, and put bills on a very ſhort debate to the vote, which went always as he had a mind to it. An accident hapned, that begot in many a particular zeal to merit at his hands: Lord *Rothes*, who had much of his confidence, and was chiefly truſted by him, and was made a Duke by his means, died the day before the opening of the Parliament: So upon the hopes of ſucceeding him, as there were many pretenders, they tried who could deſerve it beſt by the moſt compliant ſubmiſſion and the moſt active zeal.

Several accuſations of perjury ſtifled by the Duke.

As they were going on in publick buſineſs, one ſtood up in Parliament and accuſed Lord *Halton*, Duke *Lauderdale*'s brother, of perjury, on the account of *Mitchell*'s buſineſs: He had in his hands the two letters that Lord *Halton* had writ to the Earl of *Kincardin*, mentioning the promiſe of life that was made him: And, as was told formerly, Lord *Halton* ſwore at his trial that no promiſe was made. The Lord *Kincardin* was dead a year before this: But his Lady had delivered thoſe letters to be made uſe of againſt Lord *Halton*. Upon reading them the matter appeared plain. The Duke was not ill pleaſed to have both Duke *Lauderdale* and him thus at mercy: Yet he would not ſuffer the matter to be determined in a parliamentary way: So he moved, that the whole thing might be referred to the King; which was immediately agreed to. So that infamous buſineſs was made publick, and yet ſtifled at the ſame time: And no cenſure was ever put on that baſe action. Another diſcovery was made of as wicked a conſpiracy, tho' it had not ſuch bad effects, becauſe the tools employed in it could not be wrought up to ſuch a determined pitch of wickedneſs. The Lord *Bargeny*, who was nephew to Duke *Hamilton*, had been clapt up in priſon, as concerned in the rebellion of *Bothwell-Bridge*. Several days were fixed on for his trial: But it was always put off. And at laſt he was let out without having any one thing ever objected to him. When he was at liberty he uſed all poſſible endeavours to find out on what grounds he had been committed. At laſt he diſcovered a conſpiracy, in which *Halton*

Halton and ſome others of that party were concerned: They had practiſed on ſome, who had been in that rebellion, to ſwear that he and ſeveral others were engaged in it, and that they had ſent them out to join in it. They promiſed theſe witneſſes a large ſhare of the confiſcated eſtates, if they went thro' in the buſineſs. Depoſitions were prepared for them: And they promiſed to ſwear them: Upon which a day was fixed for their trial. But the hearts of thoſe witneſſes failed them, or their conſciences roſe upon them: So that when the day came on, they could not bring themſelves to ſwear againſt an innocent man; and plainly refuſed to do it: Yet, upon new practices and new hopes, they again reſolved to ſwear boldly: Upon which new days had been ſet twice or thrice: And, their hearts turning againſt it, they were ſtill put off. Lord *Bargeny* had full proofs of all this ready to be offered: But the Duke prevailed to have this likewiſe referred to the King: And it was never more heard of. This ſhewed what Duke *Lauderdale*'s party were capable of. It likewiſe gave an ill character of the Duke's zeal for juſtice, and againſt falſe ſwearing; tho' that had been the chief topick of diſcourſe with him for above three years. He was angry at a ſuppoſed practice with witneſſes, when it fell upon his own party: But now that there were evident proofs of perjury and ſubornation, he ſtopt proceedings under pretence of referring it to the King; who was never made acquainted with it, or at leaſt never enquired after the proof of theſe allegations, nor ordered any proceedings upon them. 1682

A teſt enacted in Parliament.

The main buſineſs of this Parliament was the act concerning the new teſt that was propoſed. It had been promiſed in the beginning of the ſeſſion, that as ſoon as an act for maintaining the ſucceſſion ſhould paſs they ſhould have all the ſecurity that they could deſire for the Proteſtant Religion. So, many zealous men began to call for ſome more effectual ſecurity for their Religion: Upon which a teſt was propoſed for all that ſhould be capable of any office in Church or State, or of electing or being elected members of Parliament, that they ſhould adhere firmly to the Proteſtant Religion; to which the Court party added, the condemning of all reſiſtance in any ſort, or under any pretence, the renouncing the Covenant, and an obligation to defend all the King's rights and prerogatives, and that they ſhould never meet to treat of any matter civil or eccleſiaſtical but by the King's permiſſion, and never endeavour any altera-

1682 alteration in the government in Church or State: And they were to ſwear all this according to the literal ſenſe of the words. The teſt was thus loaded at firſt to make the other ſide grow weary of the motion and let it fall, which they would willingly have done. But the Duke was made to apprehend, that he would find ſuch a teſt as this prove much for his ſervice: So it ſeems, that article of the Proteſtant Religion was forgiven for the ſervice that was expected from the other parts of the teſt. There was a hot debate upon the impoſing it on all that might elect or be elected members of Parliament: It was ſaid, that was the moſt eſſential of all the privileges of the ſubjects, therefore they ought not to be limited in it. The Biſhops were earneſt for this, which they thought would ſecure them for ever from a Preſbyterian Parliament. It was carried in the vote: And that made many of the Court more zealous than ever for carrying thro' the act. Some propoſed that there ſhould be two teſts: One for Papiſts with higher incapacities: And another for Preſbyterians with milder cenſures. But that was rejected with much ſcorn, ſome making their Court by ſaying, they were more in danger from the Preſbyterians than from the Papiſts: And it was reported that *Paterſon*, then Biſhop of *Edenburgh*, ſaid to the Duke, that he thought the two Religions, Popiſh and Proteſtant, were ſo equally ſtated in his mind, that a few grains of loyalty, in which the Proteſtants had the better of the Papiſts, turned the balance with him. Another clauſe in the bill was liable to great objections: All the Royal Family were excepted out of it. Lord *Argyle* ſpoke zealouſly againſt this: He ſaid, the only danger we could apprehend as to Popery was, if any of the Royal Family ſhould happen to be perverted: Therefore he thought it was better to have no act at all than ſuch a clauſe in it. Some few ſeconded him: But it was carried without any conſiderable oppoſition. The niceſt point of all was, what definition or ſtandard ſhould be made for fixing the ſenſe of ſo general a term, as the Proteſtant Religion. *Dalrymple* propoſed the confeſſion of faith agreed on in the year one thouſand five hundred fifty nine, and enacted in Parliament in one thouſand five hundred ſixty ſeven, which was the only confeſſion of faith that had then the ſanction of a law. That was a book ſo worn out of uſe, that ſcarce any one in the whole Parliament had ever read it: None of the Biſhops had, as appeared afterwards. For theſe laſt thirty years the only confeſſion of faith that was read in *Scot-*

land, was that which the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter* 1682
Anno 1648 had ſet out, which the *Scottiſh* Kirk had ſet up inſtead of the old one: And the Biſhops had left it in poſſeſſion, tho' the authority that enacted it was annulled. So here a book was made the matter of an oath, (for they were to ſwear that they would adhere to the Proteſtant Religion, as it was declared in the confeſſion of faith enacted in the year 1567, that contained a large ſyſtem of Religion, that was not ſo much as known to thoſe who enacted it: Yet the Biſhops went all into it. *Dalrymple*, who had read it, thought there were propoſitions in it, which being conſidered better of would make the teſt be let fall: For in it the repreſſing of tyranny is reckoned a duty incumbent on good ſubjects. And the confeſſion being made after the *Scots* had depoſed the Queen Regent, and it being ratified in Parliament after they had forced their Queen *Mary* to reſign, it was very plain what they who made and enacted this confeſſion meant by the repreſſing of tyranny. But the Duke and his party ſet it on ſo earneſtly, that upon one day's debate the act paſt, tho' only by a majority of ſeven voices. There was ſome appearance of ſecurity to the Proteſtant Religion by this teſt: But the prerogative of the Crown in eccleſiaſtical matters had been raiſed ſo high by Duke *Lauderdale*'s act, that the obliging all people to maintain that with the reſt of the prerogative, might have made way for every thing. All eccleſiaſtical Courts ſubſiſted now by this teſt only upon the King's permiſſion, and at his diſcretion.

The Parliament of *Scotland* was diſſolved ſoon after this act paſt: And *Hyde* was ſent down from the King to the Duke immediately upon it. It was given out, that he was ſent by the King to preſs the Duke upon this victory to ſhew, that what ill uſage could not extort from him he would now do of his own accord, and return to the Church of *England*. I was aſſured, that Lord *Halifax* had prevailed with the King to write to him to that purpoſe: The letter was writ, but was not ſent: But Lord *Hyde* had it in charge to manage it as a meſſage. How much of this is true I cannot tell: One thing is certain, that if it was true it had no effect.

As ſoon as the teſt with the confeſſion of faith was printed, there was a univerſal murmuring among the beſt of the Clergy. Many were againſt the ſwearing to a ſyſtem made up of ſo many propoſitions, of which ſome were at leaſt

1682 doubtful; tho' it was found to be much more moderate in many points, than could have been well expected considering the heat of that time. There was a limitation put on the duty of subjects in the article, by which they were required not to resist any whom God had placed in authority in these words, *while they pass not the bounds of their office:* And in another they condemned those who resist the supream power *doing that thing which appertaineth to his charge.* These were propositions now of a very ill sound: They were also highly offended at the great extent of the prerogative in the point of supremacy, by which the King turned Bishops out at pleasure by a letter. It was hard enough to bear this: But it seemed intolerable to oblige men by oath to maintain it. The King might by a Proclamation put down even Episcopacy it self, as the law then stood: And by this oath they would be bound to maintain that. All meeting in Synods, or for Ordinations, were hereafter to be held only by permission: So that all the visible ways of preserving Religion depended now wholly on the King's good pleasure: And they saw that this would be a very feeble tenure under a Popish King. The being tied to all this by oath seemed very hard. And when a Church was yet in so imperfect a state without liturgy or discipline, it was a strange imposition to make people swear never to endeavour any alteration either in Church or State. Some or all of these exceptions did run so generally thro' the whole body of the Clergy, that they were all shaking in their resolutions. To prevent this, an explanation was drawn by Bishop *Paterson*, and past in Council. It was by it declared, that it was not meant that those who took the test should be bound to every article in the confession of faith, but only in so far as it contained the doctrine upon which the Protestant Churches had settled the reformation: And that the test did not cut off those rights, which were acknowledged to have been in the primitive Church for the first three hundred years after *Christ:* And an assurance was given, that the King intended never to change the government of the Church. By this it was pretended that the greatest difficulties were now removed. But to this it was answered, that they were to swear they took the oath in the literal sense of the words. So that, if this explanation was not conform to the literal sense, they would be perjured who took it upon this explanation. The imposers of an oath could only declare the sense of it: But that could not be done by any other, much less by a lower

Objections made to the test.

authority, such as the privy Councils was confessed to be. Yet when men are to be undone if they do not submit to a hard law, they willingly catch at any thing that seems to resolve their doubts. 1682

About eighty of the most learned and pious of their Clergy left all rather than comply with the terms of this law: And these were noted to be the best preachers, and the most zealous enemies to Popery, that belonged to that Church. The Bishops, who thought their refusing the test was a reproach to those who took it, treated them with much contempt, and put them to many hardships. About twenty of them came up to *England:* I found them men of excellent tempers, pious and learned, and I esteemed it no small happiness that I had then so much credit by the ill opinion they had of me at Court, that by this means I got most of them to be well settled in *England*; where they have behaved themselves so worthily, that I have great reason to rejoice in being made an instrument to get so many good men, who suffered for their consciences, to be again well employed, and well provided for. Most of them were formed by *Charteris*, who had been always a great enemy to the imposing of books and systems as tests that must be signed and sworn by such as are admitted to serve in the Church. He had been for some years Divinity Professor at *Edenburgh*, where he had formed the minds of many of the young Clergy both to an excellent temper and to a set of very good principles. He upon this retired, and lived private for some years: He writ to me, and gave me an account of this breach, that was like to be in the Church; and desired, that I would try by all the methods I could think of to stop the proceedings upon the test. But the King had put the affairs of *Scotland* so entirely in the Duke's hands, and the Bishops here were so pleased with those clauses in the test that renounced the covenant and all endeavours for any alteration in Church and State, that I saw it was in vain to make any attempt at Court. *Many turned out for not taking it.*

Upon this matter an incident of great importance happened: The Earl of *Argile* was a privy Counsellor, and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury: So when the time limited was near lapsing he was forced to declare himself. He had once resolved to retire from all employments, but his engagements with Duke *Lauderdale*'s party, and the entanglements of his own affairs overcame that. His main objection lay to that part which obliged them to endeavour no alteration *Argile's explanation.*

1682 tion in the Government in Church or State, which he thought was a limitation of the Legiſlature. He deſired leave to explain himſelf in that point: And he continued always to affirm, that the Duke was ſatisfied with that which he propoſed: So being called on the next day at the Council table to take the teſt, he ſaid, he did not think that the Parliament did intend an oath that ſhould have any contradictions in one part of it to another; therefore he took the teſt, as it was conſiſtent with it ſelf: (This related to the abſolute loyalty in the teſt, and the limitations that were on it in the confeſſion:) And he added, that he did not intend to bind himſelf up by it from doing any thing in his ſtation for the amending of any thing in Church or State, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the Proteſtant Religion and the duty of a good ſubject: And he took that as a part of his oath. The thing paſt, and he ſat that day in Council; and went next day to the Treaſury chamber, where he repeated the ſame words. Some officious people upon this came, and ſuggeſted to the Duke, that great advantage might be taken againſt him from theſe words. So at the Treaſury chamber he was deſired to write them down, and give them to the Clerk, which he did, and was immediately made a priſoner in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* upon it. It was ſaid, this was high treaſon, and the aſſuming to himſelf the legiſlative power, in his giving a ſenſe of an act of Parliament, and making that a part of his oath. It was alſo ſaid, that his ſaying that he did not think the Parliament intended an oath that did contradict it ſelf, was a tacit way of ſaying that he did think it, and was a defaming and a ſpreading lies of the proceedings of Parliament, which was capital. The liberty that he reſerved to himſelf was likewiſe called treaſonable, in aſſuming a power to act againſt law: Theſe were ſuch apparent ſtretches, that for ſome days it was believed all this was done only to affright him to a more abſolute ſubmiſſion, and to ſurrender up ſome of thoſe great juriſdictions over the *Highlands* that were in his family. He deſired he might be admitted to ſpeak with the Duke in private: But that was refuſed. He had let his old correſpondence with me fall for ſome years: But I thought it became me in this extremity to ſerve him all I could. And I prevailed with Lord *Haliſax* to ſpeak ſo oft to the King about it, that it came to be known: And Lord *Argile* writ me ſome letters of thanks upon it. Duke *Lauderdale* was ſtill in a firm friendſhip with him, and tried his whole ſtrength

He was committed upon it.

with the King to preſerve him: But he was ſinking both in body and mind, and was like to be caſt off in his old age. Upon which I alſo prevailed with Lord *Halifax* to offer him his ſervice, for which Duke *Lauderdale* ſent me very kind meſſages. I thought theſe were the only returns that I ought to make him for all the injuries he had done me, thus to ſerve him and his friends in diſtreſs. But the Duke of *York* took this, as he did every thing from me, by the worſt handle poſſible. He ſaid, I would reconcile my ſelf to the greateſt enemies I had in oppoſition to him. Upon this it was not thought fit upon many accounts that I ſhould go and ſee Duke *Lauderdale*, which I had intended to do. It was well known I had done him acts of friendſhip: So the ſcandal of being in enmity with him was over: For a Chriſtian is no man's enemy: And he will always ſtudy to overcome evil with good. 1682

Argile is tried and condemned.

Lord *Argile* was brought to a trial for the words he had ſpoke. The Fact was certain: So the debate lay in a point of law, what guilt could be made out of his words. *Lockhart* pleaded three hours for him, and ſhewed ſo manifeſtly that his words had no ſort of criminouſneſs, much leſs of treaſon in them, that, if his cauſe had not been judged before his trial, no harm could have come to him. The Court that was to judge the point of law (or the relevancy of the libel as it's called in *Scotland*) conſiſted of a Juſtice General, the Juſtice Clerk, and of five Judges. The Juſtice General does not vote, unleſs the Court is equally divided. One of the Judges was deaf, and ſo old that he could not ſit all the while the trial laſted, but went home and to bed. The other four were equally divided: So the old Judge was ſent for: And he turned it againſt Lord *Argile*. The Jury was only to find the fact proved: But yet they were officious, and found it treaſon: And, to make a ſhew of impartiality, whereas in the libel he was charged with perjury for taking the oath falſly, they acquitted him of the perjury. No ſentence in our age was more univerſally cried out on than this. All people ſpoke of it, and of the Duke who drove it on, with horror: All that was ſaid to leſſen that was, that Duke *Lauderdale* had reſtored the family with ſuch an extended juriſdiction that he was really the maſter of all the *Highlands*: So that it was fit to attaint him, that by a new reſtoring him theſe grants might be better limited. This, as the Duke wrote to the King, was all he intended by it, as Lord *Halifax* aſſured me. But Lord *Argile*

1682 was made believe, that the Duke intended to proceed to execution. Some more of the guards were ordered to come to *Edenburgh*. Rooms were alſo fitted for him in the common jayl, to which Peers uſe to be removed a few days before their execution. And a perſon of Quality, whom Lord *Argile* never named, affirmed to him on his honour, that he heard one who was in great favour ſay to the Duke, The thing muſt be done, and that it would be eaſier to ſatisfy the King about it after it was done, than to obtain his leave for doing it. It is certain, many of the *Scottiſh* Nobility did believe that it was intended he ſhould die.

He made his eſcape.

Upon theſe reaſons Lord *Argile* made his eſcape out of the Caſtle in a diſguiſe. Others ſuſpected thoſe ſtories were ſent to him on purpoſe to frighten him to make his eſcape; as that which would juſtify further ſeverities againſt him. He came to *London*, and lurked for ſome months there. It was thought I was in his ſecret. But tho' I knew one that knew it, and ſaw many papers that he then writ, giving an account of all that matter, yet I abhorred lying: And it was not eaſy to have kept out of the danger of that, if I had ſeen him, or known where he was: So I avoided it by not ſeeing him. One that ſaw him knew him; and went and told the King of it: But he would have no ſearch made for him, and retained ſtill very good thoughts of him. In one of Lord *Argile*'s papers he writ, that, if ever he was admitted to ſpeak with the King, he could convince him how much he merited at his hands by that which had drawn the Duke's indignation on him. He that ſhewed me this explained it, that at the Duke's firſt being in *Scotland*, when he apprehended that the King might have conſented to the Excluſion, he tried to engage Lord *Argile* to ſtick to him in that caſe; who told him, he would always be true to the King, and likewiſe to him when it ſhould come to his turn to be King, but that he would go no farther, nor engage himſelf in caſe the King and he ſhould quarrel.

I had lived many years in great friendſhip with the Earl of *Perth:* I lived with him as a father with a ſon for above twelve years: And he had really the ſubmiſſions of a child to me. So, he having been on Lord *Argile's* Jury, I writ him a letter about it with the freedom that I thought became me: He, to merit at the Duke's hands, ſhewed it to him, as he himſelf confeſſed to me. I could very eaſily forgive him, but could not eſteem him much after ſo unworthy an action. He was then aſpiring to great preferment, and ſo ſacri-

ſacrificed me to obtain favour: But he made greater ſacri- 1682
fices afterwards. The Duke now ſeemed to triumph in *Scotland*. All ſtooped to him. The Preſbyterian party was much depreſſed. The beſt of the Clergy were turned out. Yet, with all this, he was now more hated there than ever. Lord *Argile*'s buſineſs made him be looked on as one that would prove a terrible maſter when all ſhould come into his hands. He had promiſed to redreſs all the merchant's grievances with relation to trade, that ſo he might gain their concurrence in Parliament: But, as ſoon as that was over, all his promiſes were forgotten. The accuſations of perjury were ſtifled by him. And all the complaints of the great abuſe Lord *Halton* was guilty of in the matter of the coin ended in turning him out of all his employments, and obliging him to compound for his pardon by paying 20000 *l.* to two of the Duke's creatures: So that all the reparation the Kingdom had for the oppreſſion of ſo many years, and ſo many acts of injuſtice, was, that two new oppreſſors had a ſhare of the ſpoils, who went into the ſame tract, or rather invented new methods of oppreſſion. All theſe things, together with a load of age and of a vaſt bulk, ſunk Duke *Lauderdale* ſo that he died that ſummer. His heart ſeemed quite ſpent: There was not left above the bigneſs of a walnut of firm ſubſtance: The reſt was ſpungy, liker the lungs than the heart.

The Duke had leave given him to come to the King at *New-Market:* And there he prevailed for leave to come up, and live again at Court. As he was going back to bring the Ducheſs, the *Glocester* frigat that carried him ſtruck on a bank of ſand. The Duke got into a boat: And took care of his dogs, and ſome unknown perſons who were taken from that earneſt care of his to be his Prieſts: The long-boat went off with very few in her, tho' ſhe might have carried off above eighty more than ſhe did. One hundred and fifty perſons periſhed: Some of them men of great Quality. But the Duke took no notice of this cruel neglect, which was laid chiefly to *Leg*'s charge. The Duke comes to Court.

In *Scotland* the Duke declared the new miniſters: *Gordon*, now Earl of *Aberdeen*, was made Chancellor: And *Queensbury* was made Treaſurer: And the care of all affairs was committed to them. The Duke at parting recommended to the Council to preſerve the publick peace, to ſupport the Church, and to oblige all men to live regularly in obedience to the laws. The Biſhops made their court to him with ſo much zeal, that they wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canter-* A new miniſtry in *Scotland*.

1682 *bury*, to be communicated to the reſt of the *Engliſh* Biſhops, ſetting forth in a very high ſtrain his affection to the Church, and his care of it: And, leaſt this piece of merit ſhould have been ſtifled by *Sancroft*, they ſent a copy of it to the preſs; which was a greater reproach to them than a ſervice to the Duke, who could not but deſpiſe ſuch abject and indecent flattery. The proceedings againſt Conventicles were now like to be ſeverer than ever: All the fines, that were ſet ſo high by law that they were never before levied but on ſome particular inſtances, were now ordered to be levied without exception. All people upon that ſaw, they muſt either conform or be quite undone. The Chancellor laid down a method for proceeding againſt all offenders punctually: And the Treaſurer was as rigorous in ordering all the fines to be levied.

They proceeded with great ſeverity.

When the people ſaw this, they came all to Church again: And that in ſome places where all ſermons had been diſcontinued for many years. But they came in ſo aukward a manner, that it was viſible they did not mean to worſhip God, but only to ſtay ſome time within the Church walls: And they were either talking or ſleeping all the while. Yet moſt of the Clergy ſeemed to be tranſported with this change of their condition, and ſent up many panegyricks of the glorious ſervices that the Duke had done their Church. The enemies of Religion obſerved the ill nature of the one ſide, and the cowardlineſs of the other, and pleaſed themſelves in cenſuring them both. And by this means an impious and atheiſtical leaven began to corrupt moſt of the younger ſort. This has ſince that time made a great progreſs in that Kingdom, which was before the freeſt from it of any Nation in Chriſtendom. The beginnings of it were reckoned from the Duke's ſtay among them, and from his Court, which have been cultivated ſince with much care and but too much ſucceſs.

About the end of the year two trials gave all people ſad apprehenſions of what they were to look for. One *Home* was charged by a kinſman of his own for having been at *Bothwell-Bridge*. All Gentlemen of eſtates were excepted out of the indemnity: So he having an eſtate could have no benefit by that. One ſwore, he ſaw him go into a village, and ſeize on ſome arms: Another ſwore, he ſaw him ride towards the body of the rebels: But none did ſwear that they ſaw him there. He was indeed among them: But there was no proof of it. And he proved, that he was not in the

company where the ſingle witneſs ſwore he ſaw him ſeize on arms, and did evidently diſcredit him: Yet he was convicted and condemned on that ſingle evidence, that was ſo manifeſtly proved to be infamous. Many were ſenſible of the miſchievouſneſs of ſuch a precedent: And great applications were made to the Duke for ſaving his life: But he was not born under a pardoning planet. Lord *Aberdeen*, the Chancellor, proſecuted *Home* with the more rigour, becauſe his own grandfather had ſuffered in the late times for bearing arms on the King's ſide, and *Home*'s father was one of the Jury that caſt him. The day of his execution was ſet to be on the ſame day of the year on which Lord *Stafford* had ſuffered; which was thought done in complement to the Duke, as a retaliation for his blood. Yet *Home*'s infamous kinſman, who had ſo baſely ſworn againſt him, lived not to ſee his execution; for he died before it full of horror for what he had done. Another trial went much deeper; and the conſequences of it ſtruck a terror into the whole country. 1682

One *Weir* of *Blakewood*, that managed the Marquis of *Douglaſs*'s concerns, was accuſed of treaſon for having kept company with one that had been in the buſineſs of *Bothwell-Bridge*. *Blakewood* pleaded for himſelf, that the perſon, on whoſe account he was now proſecuted as an abettor of traitors, had never been marked out by the government by proceſs or proclamation. It did not ſo much as appear that he had ever ſuſpected him upon that account. He had lived in his own houſe quietly for ſome years after that rebellion before he employed him: And if the government ſeemed to forget his crime, it was no wonder if others entred into common dealings with him. All the lawyers were of opinion, that nothing could be made of this proſecution: So that *Blakewood* made uſe of no ſecret application, thinking he was in no danger. But the Court came to a ſtrange ſentence in this matter, by theſe ſteps: They judged, that all men who ſuſpected any to have been in the rebellion were bound to diſcover ſuch their ſuſpicion, and to give no harbour to ſuch perſons: That the bare ſuſpicion made it treaſon to harbour the perſon ſuſpected, whether he was guilty or not: That if any perſon was under ſuch a ſuſpicion, it was to be preſumed that all the neighbourhood knew it: So that there was no need of proving that againſt any particular perſon, ſince the preſumption of law did prove it: And it being proved that the

1682 perſon with whom *Blakewood* had converſed lay under that ſuſpicion, *Blakewood* was upon that condemned as guilty of high treaſon. This was ſuch a conſtructive treaſon, that went upon ſo many unreaſonable ſuppoſitions, that it ſhewed the ſhameleſſneſs of a ſort of men who had been for forty years declaiming againſt a parliamentary attainder for a conſtructive treaſon in the caſe of the Earl of *Strafford*, and did now in a common Court of Juſtice condemn a man upon a train of ſo many inferences that it was not poſſible to make it look even like a conſtructive treaſon. The day of his execution was ſet: And tho' the Marquis of *Douglas* writ earneſtly to the Duke for his pardon, that was denied. He only obtained two months reprieve for making up his accounts. The reprieve was renewed once or twice: So *Blakewood* was not executed. This put all the Gentry in a great fright: Many knew they were as obnoxious as *Blakewood* was: And none could have the comfort to know that he was ſafe. This revived among them a deſign, that *Lockhart* had ſet on foot ten years before, of carrying over a Plantation to *Carolina*. All the Preſbyterian party ſaw they were now diſinherited of a main part of their birth-right, of chooſing their repreſentatives in Parliament: And upon that they ſaid, they would now ſeek a country were they might live undiſturbed, as freemen, and as Chriſtians. The Duke encouraged the motion: He was glad to have many untoward people ſent far away, who he reckoned would be ready upon the firſt favourable conjuncture to break out into a new rebellion. Some Gentlemen were ſent up to treat with the Patentees of *Carolina*: They did not like the government of thoſe *Palatinates*, as they were called: Yet the proſpect of ſo great a Colony obtained to them all the conditions they propoſed. I was made acquainted with all the ſteps they made; for thoſe who were ſent up were particularly recommended to me. In the negotiation this year there was no mixing with the male-contents in *England*: Only they who were ſent up went among them, and informed them of the oppreſſions they lay under; in particular of the terror with which this ſentence againſt *Blakewood* had ſtruck them all. The Court reſolved to proſecute that farther: For a Proclamation was iſſued out in the beginning of the year eighty three, by which the King ordered circuit Courts to be ſent round the *Weſtern* and *Southern* Counties, to enquire after all who had been guilty of harbouring or converſing with thoſe who had been in rebellion, even tho' there had been neither proceſs nor procla-

proclamation iſſued out againſt them. He alſo ordered, that all who were found guilty of ſuch converſe with them ſhould be proſecuted as traitors. This inquiſition was to laſt three years: And at the end of that time all was to conclude in a full indemnity to ſuch as ſhould not be then under proſecution. But the indemnity was to take place immediately to all ſuch as ſhould take the Teſt. This was perhaps ſuch a Proclamation as the world had not ſeen ſince the days of the Duke of *Alva*. Upon it great numbers run in to take the Teſt, declaring at the ſame time that they took it againſt their conſciences: But they would do any thing to be ſafe. Such as reſolved not to take it were trying how to ſettle or ſell their eſtates; and reſolved to leave the country, which was now in a very oppreſſed and deſperate ſtate. 1682

Affairs in *England*.

But I muſt next turn again to the affairs of *England*. The Court was every where triumphant. The Duke was highly complemented by all, and ſeemed to have overcome all difficulties. The Court, not content with all their victories, reſolved to free themſelves from the fears of troubleſome Parliaments for the future. The Cities and Boroughs of *England* were invited, and prevailed on, to demonſtrate their loyalty, by ſurrendring up their Charters, and taking new ones modelled as the Court thought fit. It was much queſtioned, whether thoſe ſurrenders were good in law or not: It was ſaid, that thoſe who were in the government in Corporations, and had their Charters and Seals truſted to their keeping, were not the proprietors nor maſters of thoſe rights: They could not extinguiſh thoſe Corporations, nor part with any of their privileges. Others ſaid, that whatever might be objected to the reaſon and equity of the thing, yet, when the Seal of a Corporation was put to any deed, ſuch a deed was good in law. The matter goes beyond my ſkill in law to determine it: This is certain, that whatſoever may be ſaid in law, there is no ſort of theft or perfidy more criminal than for a body of men, whom their neighbours have truſted with their concerns, to ſteal away their Charters, and affix their Seals to ſuch a deed, betraying in that their truſt and their oaths. In former ages Corporations were jealous of their privileges and cuſtoms to exceſs and ſuperſtition: So that it looked like a ſtrange degeneracy, when all theſe were now delivered up; and this on deſign to pack a Parliament that might make way for a Popiſh King. So that, inſtead of ſecuring us from Popery under

All Charters of Towns were ſurrendred to the King.

1681 such a Prince, these persons were now contriving ways to make all easy to him. Popery at all times has looked odious and cruel: Yet what the Emperor had lately done in *Hungary*, and what the King of *France* was then doing against Protestants in that Kingdom, shewed that their Religion was as perfidious and as cruel in this age as it had been in the last: And by the Duke's government of *Scotland* all men did see what was to be expected from him. All this laid together, the whole looked like an extravagant fit of madness: Yet no part of it was so unaccountable, as the high strains to which the Universities and most of the Clergy were carried. The Non-conformists were now prosecuted with much eagerness. This was visibly set on by the Papists: And it was wisely done of them; for they knew how much the Non-conformists were set against them; and therefore they made use of the indiscreet heat of some angry Clergymen to ruin them: This they knew would render the Clergy odious, and give the Papists great advantages against them, if ever they should strike up into an opposition to their designs.

The dispute concerning the Sheriffs of *London*.

At Midsummer a new contest discovered how little the Court resolved to regard either justice or decency. The Court had carried the election of Sir *John Moor* to be Mayor of the city of *London* at Michaelmas eighty one. He was the Alderman on whom the election fell in course. Yet some who knew him well were for setting him aside, as one whom the Court would easily manage. He had been a Non-conformist himself, till he grew so rich that he had a mind to go thro' the dignities of the City: But tho' he conformed to the Church, yet he was still looked on as one that in his heart favoured the Sectaries: And upon this occasion he persuaded some of their preachers to go among their congregations to get votes for him. Others, who knew him to be a flexible and faint-hearted man, opposed his election: Yet it was carried for him. The opposition that was made to his election had sharpned him so much, that he became in all things compliant to the Court, in particular to Secretary *Jenkins*, who took him into his own management. When the day came in which the Mayor used to drink to one, and to mark him out for Sheriff, he drank to *North*, a merchant that was brother to the Chief Justice. Upon that it was pretended, that this ceremony was not a bare nomination, which the common Hall might receive or refuse as they had a mind to it; but that this made the Sheriff, and that the common Hall was bound to receive and

confirm him in courſe, as the King did the Mayor. On the other hand it was ſaid, that the right was to be determined by the Charter, which granted the election of the Sheriffs to the citizens of *London*; and that, whatever cuſtoms had crept in among them, the right ſtill lay where the Charter had lodged it among the citizens. But the Court was reſolved to carry this point: And they found orders that had been made in the City concerning this particular, which gave ſome colour to this pretenſion of the Mayor's. So he claimed it on Midſummer day; and ſaid, the common Hall were to go and elect one Sheriff, and to confirm the other that had been declared by him. The Hall on the other hand ſaid, that the right of chooſing both was in them. The old Sheriffs put it according to cuſtom to a poll: And it was viſible, the much greater number was againſt the Lord Mayor. The Sheriffs were always underſtood to be the officers of that Court: So the adjourning it belonged to them: Yet the Mayor adjourned the Court; which they ſaid he had no power to do, and ſo went on with the poll. There was no diſorder in the whole progreſs of the matter, if that was not to be called one, that they proceeded after the Mayor had adjourned the poll. But tho' the Mayor's party carried themſelves with great inſolence towards the other party, yet they ſhewed on this occaſion more temper than could have been expected from ſo great a body, who thought their rights were now invaded. The Mayor upon this reſolved to take another poll, to which none ſhould be admitted but thoſe who were contented to vote only for one, and to approve his nomination for the other. And it was reſolved, that his poll ſhould be that by which the buſineſs ſhould be ſettled: And tho' the Sheriffs poll exceeded his by many hundreds, yet order was given to return thoſe on the Mayor's poll, and that they ſhould be ſworn; and ſo thoſe of the Sheriffs poll ſhould be left to ſeek their remedy by law, where they could find it. *Box*, who was choſen by the Mayor's party and joined to *North*, had no mind to ſerve upon ſo doubtful an election, where ſo many actions would lie if it was judged againſt them at law: And he could not be perſuaded to hold it. So it was neceſſary to call a new common Hall, and to proceed to a new election: And then, without any Proclamation made as was uſual, one in a corner near the Mayor named *Rich*, and about thirty more applauded it, thoſe in the Hall, that was full of people and of noiſe, hearing nothing of it. Upon this it 1682

1682 was ſaid, that *Rich* was choſen without any contradiction: And ſo *North* and *Rich* were returned, and ſworn Sheriffs for the enſuing year. The violence and the injuſtice with which this matter was managed ſhewed, that the Court was reſolved to carry that point at any rate: And this gave great occaſions of jealouſy, that ſome wicked deſign was on foot, for which it was neceſſary in the firſt place to be ſure of favourable Juries.

Carried by the Court.

Lord *Shafiſbury* upon this, knowing how obnoxious he was, went out of *England*. His voyage was fatal to him: He juſt got to *Amſterdam* to die in it. Of the laſt parts of his life I ſhall have ſome occaſion to make mention afterwards. When Michaelmas day came, thoſe who found how much they had been deceived in *Moor* reſolved to chooſe a *Mayor* that might be depended on. The poll was cloſed when the Court thought they had the majority: But upon caſting it up it appeared they had loſt it: So they fell to canvaſs it: And they made ſuch exceptions to thoſe of the other ſide, that they diſcounted as many voices as gave them the majority. This was alſo managed in ſo groſs a manner, that it was viſible the Court was reſolved by fair or foul means to have the government of the City in their own hands. But becauſe they would not be at this trouble, nor run this hazard every year, it was reſolved that the Charter of the City muſt either be given up, or be adjudged to the King. The former was much the eaſier way: So great pains was taken to manage the next election of the common Council, ſo as that they might be tractable in this point. There was much injuſtice complained of in many of the wards of the City, both in the poll, and in the returns that were made. In order to the diſabling all the Diſſenters from having a vote in that election, the Biſhop and Clergy of *London* were preſſed by the Court to proſecute them in the Church Courts, that ſo they might excommunicate them; which ſome lawyers thought would render them incapable to vote, tho' other lawyers were very poſitively of another opinion. It is certain it gave at leaſt a colour to deny them votes. The Biſhop of *London* began to apprehend, that things were running too faſt, and was backward in the matter. The Clergy of the City refuſed to make preſentments: The law laid that on the Church-wardens: And ſo they would not meddle officiouſly. The King was diſpleaſed with them for their remiſſneſs: But after all the practices of the Court, in the returns of the common Council of the City, they could not

not bring it near an equality for delivering up their Charter. *Jenkins* managed the whole buſineſs of the City with ſo many indirect practices, that the reputation he had for probity was much blemiſhed by it: He ſeemed to think it was neceſſary to bring the City to a dependence on the Court in the faireſt methods he could fall on; and, if theſe did not ſucceed, that then he was to take the moſt effectual ones, hoping that a good intention would excuſe bad practices. 1682

Changes in the miniſtry, and quarrels among them.

The Earl of *Sunderland* had been diſgraced after the Excluſion Parliaments, as they were now called, were diſſolved: But the King had ſo entire a confidence in him, and Lady *Portſmouth* was ſo much in his intereſts, that upon great ſubmiſſions made to the Duke he was again reſtored to be Secretary this winter. Lord *Hyde* was the perſon that diſpoſed the Duke to it: Upon that Lord *Halifax* and he fell to be in ill terms; for he hated Lord *Sunderland* beyond expreſſion, tho' he had married his ſiſter. From Lord *Sunderland*'s returning to his poſt all men concluded, that his declaring as he did for the Excluſion was certainly done by direction from the King, who naturally loved craft and a double game, that ſo he might have proper inſtruments to work by which way ſoever he had turned himſelf in that affair. The King was the more deſirous to have Lord *Sunderland* again near him, that he might have ſome body about him who underſtood foreign affairs. *Jenkins* underſtood nothing: But he had ſo much credit with the high Church party, that he was of great uſe to the Court. Lord *Conway* was brought in to be the other Secretary, who was ſo very ignorant of foreign affairs, that his province being the *North* when one of the foreign miniſters talked to him of the Circles of *Germany*, it amazed him: He could not imagine what Circles had to do with affairs of ſtate. He was now diſmiſſed. Lord *Halifax* and Lord *Hyde* fell to be in an open war, and were both much hated. Lord *Halifax* charged *Hyde*, who was at this time made Earl of *Rocheſter*, of bribery, for having farmed a branch of the revenue much lower than had been profered for it. Lord *Halifax* acquainted the King firſt with it: And, as he told me, he deſired Lord *Rocheſter* himſelf to examine into it, he being inclined to think it was rather an abuſe put on him than corruption in himſelf. But he ſaw Lord *Rocheſter* was cold in the matter, and inſtead of proſecuting any for it protected all concerned in it. He laid the complaint before the King in Council:

1682 Council: And to convince the King how ill a bargain he had made, the complainers offered, if he would break the bargain, to give him 40000 *l.* more than he was to have from the farmers. He looked alſo into the other branches of the revenue, and found cauſe to ſuſpect much corruption in every one of them: And he got undertakers to offer ar a farm of the whole revenue. In this he had all the Court on his ſide: For the King being now reſolved ro live on his revenue, without putting himſelf on a Parliament, he was forced on a great rednction of expence: So that many payments run in arrear: And the whole Court was ſo ill paid, that the offering any rhing that would raiſe the revenue, and blemiſh the management of the treaſury, was very acceptable to all in it. Lord *Rocheſter* was alſo much hated: But rhe Duke and the Lady *Portſmouth* both protected the Earl of *Rocheſter* ſo powerfully, thar even propoſitions to the King's advantage, which blemiſhed him, were nor hearkned to. This touched in too tender a place to admit of a reconciliation: The Duke forgot all Lord *Haliſax*'s ſervice in the point of the Exclnſion: And the dearneſs that was between them was now turned upon this to a coldneſs, and afterwards to a moſt violent enmity. Upon this occaſion Lord *Haliſax* ſent for me, (for I went no more near any that belonged to the Court,) and he told me the whole matter. I aſked him how he ſtood with the King: He anſwered, that neither he nor I had the making of the King: God had made him of a particular compoſition. He ſaid, he knew what the King ſaid to himſelf: I aſked him, if he knew likewiſe what he ſaid to others; for he was apt to ſay to his ſeveral Miniſters whatſoever he thought would pleaſe them, as long as he intended to make uſe of them. By the death of the Earl of *Nottingham* the Seals were given to *North*, who was made Lord *Guilford*. He had nor the vertues of his predeceſſor: But he had parts far beyond him: They were turned tò crafr: So that whereas the former ſeemed to mean well even when he did ill, this man was believed to mean ill even when he did well. The Court finding that the City of *London* could not be wrought on ro ſurrender rheir Charter, reſolved to have it condemned by a judgment in tlie King's bench. *Jones* had died in *May:* So now *Pollexphen* and *Treby* were chiefly relied on by rhe City in this matter. *Sewyer* was the Attorney General, a dull hot man, and forwaid to ſerve all the deſigns of the Court.

Court. He undertook by the advice of *Sanders*, a learned but a very immoral man, to overthrow the Charter. 1682

The two points upon which they reſted the cauſe were, that the Common Council had petitioned the King upon a prorogation of Parliament that it might meet on the day to which it was prorogued, and had taxed the prorogation as that which occaſioned a delay of juſtice: This was conſtrued to be the raiſing ſedition, and the poſſeſſing the people with an ill opinion of the King and his government. The other point was, that the City had impoſed new taxes on their wharfs and markets, which was an invaſion of the liberty of the ſubject, and contrary to law. It was ſaid, that all that the Crown gave was forfeitable back to the Crown again upon a male-verſation of the body; and that as the Common Council was the body of the City, choſen by all the citizens, ſo they were all involved in what the Common Council did: And they inferred, that ſince they had both ſcandalized the King's government, and oppreſſed their fellow ſubjects, they had thereupon forfeited their liberties: Many precedents were brought of the ſeizing on the liberties of Towns and other Corporations, and of extinguiſhing them. The arguments for and againſt the Charter of *London*.

The arguments againſt this were made by *Treby*, then the Recorder of *London*, and *Pollexphen*, who argued about three hours apiece. They laid it down for a foundation, that trading Corporations were immortal bodies for the breeding a ſucceſſion of trading men, and for perpetuating a fund of publick chambers for the eſtates of orphans and truſts and for all pious endowments: That crimes committed by perſons entruſted in the government of them were perſonal things, which were only chargeable on thoſe who committed them, but could not affect the whole body: The treaſon of a Biſhop, or a Clerk, only forfeited his title, but did not diſſolve the Biſhoprick, or Benefice: So the magiſtrates only were to be puniſhed for their own crimes: An entailed eſtate, when a tenant for life was attainted, was not forfeited to the King, but went to the next in remainder upon his death. The government of a city, which was a temporary adminiſtration, veſted no property in the magiſtrates: And therefore they had nothing to forfeit, but what belonged to themſelves: There were alſo expreſs acts of Parliament made in favour of the City, that it ſhould not be puniſhed for the miſdemeanors of thoſe who bore office in it: They anſwered the great objection that was brought from the for-

1682 feitures of ſome Abbeys on the attainder of their Abbots in King *Henry* the eighth's time, that there were peculiar laws made at that time, upon which thoſe forfeitures were grounded, which had been repealed ſince that time: All thoſe forfeitures were confirmed in Parliament: And that purged all defects: The Common Council was a ſelected body, choſen for particular ends: And if they went beyond theſe, they were liable to be puniſhed for it: If the petition they offered the King was ſeditious, the King might proceed againſt every man that was concerned in it: And thoſe upon whom thoſe taxes had been levied, might bring their actions againſt thoſe who had levied them: But it ſeemed very ſtrange, that when none of the petitioners were proceeded againſt for any thing contained in that petition, and when no actions were brought on the account of thoſe taxes, that the whole body ſhould ſuffer in common for that, which none of thoſe who were immediately concerned in it had been ſo much as brought in queſtion for in any Court of law: If the Common Council petitioned more earneſtly than was fitting for the ſitting of the Parliament, that ought to be aſcribed to their zeal for the King's ſafety, and for the eſtabliſhed Religion: And it ought not to be ſtrained to any other ſenſe than to that which they profeſs in the body of their petition, much leſs to be carried ſo far as to diſſolve the whole body on that account: And as for the tolls and taxes, theſe were things practiſed in all the Corporations of *England*, and ſeemed to be exactly according to law: The City ſince the fire had at a vaſt charge made their wharfs and markets much more noble and convenient than they were before: And therefore they might well deny the benefit of them to thoſe who would not pay a new rate, that they ſet on them for the payment of the debt contracted in building them: This was not the impoſing a tax, but the raiſing a rent out of a piece of ground, which the City might as well do, as a man who rebuilds his houſe may raiſe the rent of it: All the precedents that were brought were examined and anſwered: Some Corporations were deſerred, and ſo upon the matter diſſolved themſelves: Judgments in ſuch caſes did not fit this in hand: The ſeizing on the liberties of a Corporation did not diſſolve the body; for when a Biſhop dies the King ſeizes the temporalries; but the Corporation ſtill ſubſiſts; and they are reſtored to the next incumbent. There were indeed ſome very ſtrange precedents made in *Richard* the ſecond's time: But they were

followed by as ſtrange a reverſe: The Judges were hanged for the judgments they gave: They alſo inſiſted on the effects that would follow on the forfeiting the Charter: The cuſtom of *London* was thereby broken: All the publick endowments, and charities lodged with the City muſt revert to the heirs of the donors. This is the ſubſtance of the argument, as I had it from *Pollexphen*. As for the more intricate points of law, I meddle not with them, but leave them to the learned men of that profeſſion. When the matter was brought near judgment, *Sanders*, who had laid the whole thing, was made Chief Juſtice. *Pemberton*, who was not ſatisfied in the point, being removed to the Common Pleas upon *North's* advancement. *Dolben*, a Judge of the King's bench, was found not to be clear: So he was turned out, and *Withins* came in his room. When ſentence was to be given, *Sanders* was ſtruck with an apoplexy: So he could not come into Court: But he ſent his judgment in writing, and died a few days after. The ſentence was given without the ſolemnity that was uſual upon great occaſions: The Judges were wont formerly in delivering their opinions to make long arguments, in which they ſet forth the grounds of law on which they went, which were great inſtructions to the ſtudents and barriſters: But that had been laid aſide ever ſince *Hale's* time. 1682

Judgment given in the matter.

The judgment now given was, that a city might forfeit its Charter; that the male-verſations of the Common Council were the acts of the whole City, and that the two points ſet forth in the pleadings were juſt grounds for the forfeiting of a Charter. Upon which premiſſes the proper concluſion ſeemed to be, that therefore the City of *London* had forfeited their Charter: But the conſequences of that were ſo much apprehended, that they did not think fit to venture on it: So they judged, that the King might ſeize the liberties of the City. The Attorney General moved, contrary to what is uſual in ſuch caſes, that the judgment might not be recorded. And upon that new endeavours were uſed to bring the Common Council to deliver up their Charter: Yet that could not be compaſſed, tho' it was brought much nearer in the numbers of the voices than was imagined could ever be done.

There were other very ſevere proceedings at this time with relation to particular perſons. *Pilkinton* was Sheriff of *London* the former year; an honeſt but an indiſcreet man, that gave himſelf great liberties in diſcourſe. He being deſired

Some other ſevere judgments.

1682 fired to go along with the Mayor and Aldermen to complement the Duke upon his return from *Scotland* declined going, and reflected on him as one concerned in the burning of the City. Two Aldermen ſaid they heard that, and ſwore it againſt him. Sir *Patience Ward*, the Mayor of the former year, ſeeing him go in to that diſcourſe had diverted him from it, but heard not the words which the others ſwore to: And he depoſed, that to the beſt of his remembrance he ſaid not thoſe words. *Pilkinton* was caſt in an 100000 *l.* damages, the moſt exceſſive that had ever been given. But the matter did not ſtop there: *Ward* was indicted of perjury, it being ſaid, that ſince he ſwore that the words were not ſpoken, and that the Jury had given a verdict upon the evidence that they were ſpoken, by conſequence he was guilty of perjury. It was ſaid on the other ſide, that when two ſwear one way, and a third ſwears another way, a Jury may believe the two better than the one: But it is not certain from thence that he is perjured: If that were law, no man would be a witneſs; if, becauſe they of the other ſide were believed, he ſhould be therefore convicted of perjury. A man's ſwearing to a negative, that ſuch words were not ſpoken, did only amount to this, that he did not hear them: And it would be hard to prove that he who ſwore ſo had heard them. But *Ward* proved by him that took the trial in ſhort hand, as he had done ſome others with great approbation, that he had ſaid, *to the beſt of his remembrance theſe words were not ſpoken by Pilkinton:* Upon which *Jefferies* had ſaid, that his invention was better than his memory: And the Attorney General in ſumming up the evidence to the Jury had ſaid, they ought to have no regard to *Ward's* evidence, ſince he had only depoſed upon his memory. Yet that Jury returned *Ward* guilty of perjury: And it was intended, if he had not gone out of the way, to have ſet him on the pillory. The truth is, Juries became at that time the ſhame of the nation, as well as a reproach to religion: For they were packt, and prepared to bring in verdicts as they were directed and not as matters appeared on the evidence.

1683 All people poſſeſſed with great fears.

Thus affairs were going on all the year eighty two, and to the beginning of eighty three. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had been for making uſe of the heat the City was in during the conteſt about the Sheriffs; and thought they might have created a great diſturbance, and made themſelves maſters of the Tower: And he believed, the firſt appearance of the leaſt

leaſt diſorder would have prevailed on the King to yield every thing. The Duke of *Monmouth*, who underſtood what a rabble was and what troops were, looked on this as a mad expoſing of themſelves and of their friends. The Lords *Eſſex* and *Ruſſel* were of the ſame mind. So Lord *Shaftsbury*, ſeeing they could not be engaged into action, flew out againſt them. He ſaid, the Duke of *Monmouth* was ſent into the party by the King for this end, to keep all things quiet till the Court had gained its point: He ſaid, Lord *Eſſex* had alſo made his bargain, and was to go to *Ireland*; and that among them Lord *Ruſſel* was deceived. With this he endeavoured to blaſt them in the City: They ſtudied to prevent the ill effects that thoſe jealouſies which he was infuſing into the citizens might have among them. So the Duke of *Monmouth* gave an appointment to Lord *Shaftsbury* or ſome of his friends to meet him, and ſome others that he ſhould bring along with him, at *Shepherd*'s, a wine merchant in whom they had an entire confidence. The night before this appointment Lord *Ruſſel* came to town on the account of his uncle's illneſs. The Duke of *Monmouth* went to him, and told him of the appointment, and deſired he would go thither with him: He conſented, the rather becauſe he intended to taſt ſome of that merchant's wine. At night they went with Lord *Grey* and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*. When they came, they found none there but *Rumſey* and *Ferguſon*, two of Lord *Shaftsbury*'s tools that he employed: Upon which, they ſeeing no better company reſolved immediately to go back. But Lord *Ruſſel* called for a taſt of the wines: And while they were bringing it him up, *Rumſey* and *Armſtrong* fell into a diſcourſe of ſurprizing the guards. *Rumſey* fancied it might have been eaſily done: *Armſtrong*, that had commanded them, ſhewed him his miſtakes. This was no conſultation about what was to be done, but only about what might have been done. Lord *Ruſſel* ſpoke nothing upon the ſubject: But as ſoon as he had taſted his wines they went away. It may ſeem, that this is too light a paſſage to be told ſo copiouſly: But much depends on it. Lord *Shaftsbury* had one meeting with the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Salisbury* before he went out of *England*. Fear, anger, and diſappointment, had wrought ſo much on him, that Lord *Eſſex* told me he was much broken in his thoughts: His notions were wild and impracticable: And he was glad that he was gone out of *England*: But ſaid, that he had done them already a great deal of miſchief,

1683

Monmouth and Ruſſel at Shepherd's.

1683 and would have done more if he had ſtayed. As ſoon as he was gone, the Lords and all the chief men of the party ſaw their danger from forward Sheriffs, willing Juries, mercenary Judges, and bold witneſſes. So they reſolved to go home, and be ſilent, to ſpeak and to meddle as little as might be in publick buſineſs, and to let the preſent ill temper the Nation was fallen into wear out: For they did not doubt but the Court, eſpecially as it was now managed by the Duke, would ſoon bring the Nation again into its wits by their ill conduct and proceedings. All that was to be done was, to keep up as much as they could a good ſpirit with relation to elections of Parliament, if one ſhould be called.

Monmouth and ſome others meet often together.

The Duke of *Monmouth* reſolved to be adviſed chiefly by Lord *Eſſex*. He would not be alone in that, but named Lord *Ruſſel*, againſt whom no objection could lie: And next to him he named *Algernoon Sidney*, brother to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, a man of moſt extraordinary courage, a ſteady man, even to obſtinacy, ſincere, but of a rough and boiſterous temper that could not bear contradiction. He ſeemed to be a Chriſtian, but in a particular form of his own: He thought, it was to be like a Divine Philoſophy in the mind: But he was againſt all publick worſhip, and every thing that looked like a Church. He was ſtiff to all republican principles; and ſuch an enemy to every thing that looked like monarchy, that he ſet himſelf in a high oppoſition againſt *Cromwell* when he was made Protector. He had ſtudied the hiſtory of government in all its branches beyond any man I ever knew. He was Ambaſſador in *Denmark* at the time of the Reſtoration, but did not come back till the year ſeventy eight, when the Parliament was preſſing the King into a war. The Court of *France* obtained leave for him to return. He did all he could to divert people from that war: So that ſome took him for a penſioner of *France:* But to thoſe to whom he durſt ſpeak freely he ſaid, he knew it was all a juggle; that our Court was in an entire confidence with *France*, and had no other deſign in this ſhew of a war but to raiſe an army, and keep it beyond ſea till it was trained and modelled. *Sidney* had a particular way of inſinuating himſelf into people that would hearken to his notions, and not contradict him. He tried me: But I was not ſo ſubmiſſive a hearer: So we lived afterwards at a great diſtance. He wrought himſelf into Lord *Eſſex*'s confidence to ſuch a degree, that he became the maſter of his ſpirit.

He

He had a great kindneſs for Lord *Howard*, as was formerly told: For that Lord hated both the King and monarchy as much as he himſelf did. He prevailed on Lord *Eſſex* to take Lord *Howard* into their ſecrets, tho' Lord *Eſſex* had expreſſed ſuch an ill opinion of him a little before to me, as to ſay he wondred how any man would truſt himſelf alone with him. Lord *Ruſſel*, tho' his couſin german, had the ſame ill opinion of him. Yet *Sidney* overcame both their averſions. Lord *Howard* had made the Duke of *Monmouth* enter into confidence with *Sidney*, who uſed to ſpeak very ſlightly of him, and to ſay, it was all one to him whether *James* Duke of *York* or *James* Duke of *Monmouth* was to ſucceed. Yet Lord *Howard* perhaps put a notion into him, which he offered often to me, that a Prince who knew there was a flaw in his title would always govern well, and conſider himſelf as at the mercy of the right heir if he was not in all things in the intereſts and hearts of his people, which was often neglected by Princes that relied on an undoubted title. Lord *Howard* by a trick put both on the Duke of *Monmouth*, and *Sidney* brought them to be acquainted. He told *Sidney* that the Duke of *Monmouth* was reſolved to come ſome day alone and dine with him: And he made the Duke of *Monmouth* believe that *Sidney* deſired this, that ſo he might not ſeem to come and court the Duke of *Monmouth*: And ſaid that ſome regard was to be had to his temper and age. *Hamden* was alſo taken into their ſecret: He was the grandſon of him that had pleaded the cauſe of *England* in the point of the ſhip money with King *Charles* the firſt. His father was a very eminent man, and had been zealous in the Excluſion: He was a young man of great parts; one of the learnedeſt Gentlemen I have ever known; for he was a critick both in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*: He was a man of great heat and vivacity, but too unequal in his temper: He had once great principles of religion: But he was much corrupted by *P. Simon*'s converſation at *Paris*. 1683

With theſe men the Duke of *Monmouth* met often. His intereſt in *Scotland*, both by the dependance that his wife's great eſtate brought him, but chiefly by the knowledge he had of their affairs while he was among them, and by the confidence he knew they had all in him, made him turn his thoughts much towards that Kingdom as the propereſt ſcene of action. He had met often with Lord *Argile* while he was in *London*, and had many conferences with him of the ſtate of They treat with ſome of the *Scottiſh* Nation.

1683 of that Kingdom, and of what might be done there: And he thought the buſineſs of *Carolina* was a very proper blind to bring up ſome of the *Scotch* Gentlemen under the appearance of treating about that. They upon this agreed to ſend one *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland*, to deſire that ſome men of abſolute confidence might be ſent up for that end. So when the Proclamation that was formerly mentioned was publiſhed, it ſpread ſuch an univerſal apprehenſion thro' all the ſuſpected counties, that they looked on themſelves as marked out to deſtruction: And it is very natural for people under ſuch impreſſions to ſet themſelves to look out for remedies as ſoon as they can.

In the beginning of *April* ſome of them came up. The perſon that was moſt entirely truſted, and to whom the journey proved fatal, was *Baillie*, of whoſe unjuſt treatment upon *Carſtairs*'s information an account was formerly given. He was my couſin german: So I knew him well. He was in the preſbyterian principles, but was a man of great piety and vertue, learned in the law, in mathematicks, and in languages: I went to him, as ſoon as I heard he was come, in great ſimplicity of heart, thinking of nothing but of *Carolina*. I was only afraid they might go too much into the company of the *Engliſh*, and give true repreſentations of the ſtate of affairs in *Scotland*: This might be reported about by men that would name them: And that might bring them into trouble. But a few weeks after I found they came not to me as they were wont to do: And I heard they were often with Lord *Ruſſel*. I was apprehenſive of this: And Lord *Eſſex* being in the country, I went to him, to warn him of the danger I feared Lord *Ruſſel* might be brought into by this converſation with my countrymen. He diverted me from all my apprehenſions; and told me, I might depend on it, Lord *Ruſſel* would be in nothing without acquainting him: And he ſeemed to agree entirely with me, that a riſing in the ſtate in which things were then would be fatal. I always ſaid, that when the root of the conſtitution was ſtruck at to be overturned, then I thought ſubjects might defend themſelves: But I thought jealouſies and fears, and particular acts of injuſtice, could not warrant this. He did agree with me in this: He thought, the obligation between Prince and ſubject was ſo equally mutual, that upon a breach on the one ſide the other was free: But tho' he thought the late injuſtice in *London*, and the end that was driven at by it, did ſet them at liberty to look to themſelves,

ſelves, yet he confeſſed things were not ripe enough yet, and that an ill laid and an ill managed riſing would be our ruin. I was then newly come from writing my hiſtory of the Reformation; and did ſo evidently ſee, that the ſtruggle for Lady *Jean Grey*, and *Wyat*'s riſing, was that which threw the nation ſo quickly into Popery after King *Edward*'s days, (for ſuch as had rendred themſelves obnoxious in thoſe matters ſaw no other way to ſecure themſelves, and found their turning was a ſure one,) that I was now very apprehenſive of this; beſides that I thought it was yet unlawful. What paſt between the *Scots* and the *Engliſh* Lords I know not; only that Lord *Argile*, who was then in *Holland*, aſked at firſt 20000 *l.* for buying a ſtock of arms and ammunition, which he afterwards brought down to 8000 *l.* and a thouſand horſe to be ſent into *Scotland:* Upon which he undertook the conduct of that matter. I know no further than general hints of their matters: For tho' *Hamden* offered frequently to give me a particular account of it all, knowing that I was writing the hiſtory of that time, yet I told him, that till by an indemnity that whole matter was buried I would know none of thoſe ſecrets, which I might be obliged to reveal, or to lie and deny my knowledge of them: So to avoid that I put it off at that time. And when I returned to *England* at the Revolution, we appointed often to meet, in order to a full relation of it all. But by ſeveral accidents it went off, as a thing is apt to do which one can recover at any time. And ſo his unhappy end came on before I had it from him. I know this, that no money was raiſed. But the thing had got ſome vent; for my own brother, a zealous Preſbyterian, who was come from *Scotland*, it not being ſafe for him to live any longer in that Kingdom knowing that he had converſed with many that had been in the rebellion, told me, there was certainly ſomewhat in agitation among them, about which ſome of their teachers had let out ſomewhat very freely to himſelf: How far that matter went, and how the ſcheme was laid, I cannot tell; and ſo muſt leave it in the dark. Their contract for the project of *Carolina* ſeemed to go on apace: They had ſent ſome thither the former year, who were now come back, and brought them a particular account of every thing: They likewiſe, to cover their negotiations with Lord *Argile*, ſent ſome over to him; but with the blind of inſtructions for buying ſhips in *Holland*, and other things neceſſary for their tranſportation. 1683

1683 While this matter was thus in a close management among them, there was another company of Lord *Shaftsbury*'s creatures that met in the Temple in the chambers of one *West*, a witty and active man, full of talk, and believed to be a determined Atheist. *Rumsey* and *Ferguson* came constantly thither. The former of these was an officer in *Cromwell*'s army, who went into *Portugal* with the forces that served there under *Schomberg*. He did a brave action in that service: And *Schomberg* writ a particular letter to the King setting it out: Upon which he got a place: And he had applied himself to Lord *Shaftsbury* as his patron. He was much trusted by him, and sent often about on messages. Once or twice he came to Lord *Russel*, but it was upon indifferent things. Lord *Russel* said to me, that at that very time he felt such a secret aversion to him, that he was in no danger of trusting him much. He was one of the bold talkers, and kept chiefly among Lord *Shaftsbury*'s creatures. He was upon all the secret of his going beyond sea; which seemed to shew, that he was not then a spy of the Court's, which some suspected he was all along. *Ferguson* was a hot and a bold man, whose spirit was naturally turned to plotting: He was always unquiet, and setting people on to some mischief: I knew a private thing of him, by which it appeared he was a profligate knave, and could cheat those that trusted him entirely: So tho' he, being a *Scottish* man, took all the ways he could to be admitted into some acquaintance with me, I would never see him, or speak with him: And I did not know his face till the Revolution: He was cast out by the Presbyterians; and then went among the Independents, where his boldness raised him to some figure, tho' he was at bottom a very empty man: He had the management of a secret press, and of a purse that maintained it: And he gave about most of the pamphlets writ of that side: And with some he past for the author of them: And such was his vanity, because this made him more considerable, that he was not ill pleased to have that believed; tho' it only exposed him so much the more. With these *Goodenough*, who had been Under-Sheriff of *London* in *Bethel*'s year, and one *Halloway* of *Bristol* met often, and had a great deal of rambling discourse, to shew how easy a thing it was of the sudden to raise four thousand men in the City. *Goodenough* by reason of his office knew the City well, and pretended he knew many men of so much credit in every corner of it, and on whom they might depend, as could raise that number,

Other Conspirators meet at the same time on designs of assassinating the King.

ber, which he reckoned would quickly grow much ſtronger: 1683
And it is probable, this was the ſcheme with which Lord *Shaftsbury* was ſo poſſeſſed, that he thought it might be depended on. They had many diſcourſes of the heads of a declaration proper for ſuch a riſing, and diſputed of theſe with much ſubtilty as they thought: And they intended to ſend *Halloway* to *Briſtol*, to try what could be done there at the ſame time. But all this was only talk, and went no further than to a few of their own confidents. *Rumſey*, *Ferguſon*, and *Weſt* were often talking of the danger of executing this, and that the ſhorter and ſurer way was to kill the two brothers. One *Rumbold*, who had ſerved in *Cromwell*'s army, came twice among them; and while they were in that wicked diſcourſe, which they expreſſed by the term *lopping*. He upon that told them, he had a farm near *Hodſden* in the way to *New-Market:* And there was a moat caſt round his houſe, thro' which the King ſometimes paſt in his way thither. He ſaid, once the coach went thro' quite alone, without any of the guards about it; and that, if he had laid any thing croſs the way to have ſtopt the coach but a minute, he could have ſhot them both, and have rode away thro' grounds that he knew ſo well that it ſhould not have been poſſible to have followed him. Upon which they ran into much wicked talk about the way of executing that. But nothing was ever fixed on: All was but talk. At one time Lord *Howard* was among them: And they talked over their ſeveral ſchemes of lopping. One of them was to be executed in the Play Houſe. Lord *Howard* ſaid, he liked that beſt, for then they would die in their calling. This was ſo like his way of talk, that it was eaſily believed, tho' he always denied it. *Walcot*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman that had been of *Cromwell*'s army, was now in *London*, and got into that company: And he was made believe, that the thing was ſo well laid that many both in City and Country were engaged in it. He liked the project of a riſing, but declared he would not meddle in their lopping. So this wicked knot of men continued their caballings from the time that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* went away: And theſe were the ſubjects of their diſcourſes. The King went conſtantly to *New-Market* for about a Month both in *April* and *October*. In *April* while he was there a fire broke out, and burnt a part of the town: Upon which the King came back a week ſooner than he intended.

While

1683 A plot is discovered.

While all these things were thus going on, there was one *Keeling*, an Anabaptist in *London*, who was sinking in his business, and began to think that of a witness would be the better trade. *Goodenough* had employed him often to try their strength in the City, and to count on whom they could depend for a sudden rising: He had also talked to him of the design of killing the two brothers: So he went and discovered all he could to *Leg*, at that time made Lord *Dartmouth*. *Leg* made no great account of it, but sent him to *Jenkins*. *Jenkins* took his depositions, but told him he could not proceed in it without more witnesses: So he went to his brother, who was a man of heat in his way, but of probity, who did not incline to ill designs, and less to discover them. *Keeling* carried his brother to *Goodenough*, and assured him he might be depended on. So *Goodenough* run out into a rambling discourse of what they both could and would do: And he also spoke of killing the King and the Duke, which would make their work easy. When they left him the discoverer pressed his brother to go along with him to *Westminster*, where he pretended business, but stopt at *White-Hall*. The other was uneasy, longing to get out of his company, to go to some friends for advice upon what had hapned. But he drew him on: And at last, he not knowing whether he was going, he drew him into *Jenkins*'s office; and there told the Secretary he had brought another witness, who had heard the substance of the plot from *Goodenough*'s own mouth just then. His brother was deeply struck with this cheat and surprize, but could not avoid the making oath to *Jenkins* of all he had heard. The Secretary, whose phlegmatick head was not turned for such a work, let them both go, and sent out no warrants, till he had communicated the matter to the rest of the Ministry, the King being then at *Windsor*. So *Keeling*, who had been thus drawn into the snare by his brother, sent advertisements to *Goodenough*, and all the other persons whom he had named, to go out of the way.

A forged story laid by *Rumsey* and *West*.

Rumsey and *West* were at this time perpetually together: And apprehending that they had trusted themselves to too many persons, who might discover them, they laid a story, in which they resolved to agree it so well together, that they should not contradict one another. They framed their story thus: That they had laid the design of their rising to be executed on the seventeenth of *November*, the day of Queen *Elizabeth*'s coming to the Crown, on which the citi-

zens uſed to run together, and carry about Popes in pro- 1683
ceſſion, and burn them: So that day ſeemed proper to cover their running together, till they met in a body. Others, they ſaid, thought it beſt to do nothing on that day, the rout being uſually at night, but to lay their riſing for the next Sunday at the hour of people's being at Church. This was laid to ſhew how near the matter was to the being executed. But the part of their ſtory that was the beſt laid, (for this looked ridiculous, ſince they could not name any one perſon of any condition that was to head this riſing,) was, that they pretended that *Rumbold* had offered them his houſe in the Heath for executing the deſign. It was called *Rye:* And from thence this was called the *Rye-Plot.* He aſked forty men, well armed and mounted, whom *Rumſey* and *Walcot* were to command in two parties: The one was to engage the guards, if they ſhould be near the coach: And the other was to ſtop the coach, and to murder the King and the Duke. *Rumſey* took the wicked part on himſelf, ſaying, that *Walcot* had made a ſcruple of killing the King, but none of engaging the guards: So *Rumſey* was to do the execution. And they ſaid, they were divided in their minds what to do next: Some were for defending the moat till night, and then to have gone off: Others were for riding thro' grounds in a ſhorter way towards the *Thames.* Of theſe forty they could name but eight. But it was pretended that *Walcot*, *Goodenough*, and *Rumbold* had undertaken to find both the reſt of the men, and the horſes: For, tho' upon ſuch an occaſion men would have taken care to have had ſure and well tried horſes, this alſo was ſaid to be truſted to others. As for arms, *Weſt* had bought ſome, as on a commiſſion for a plantation: And theſe were ſaid to be ſome of the arms with which they were to be furniſhed; tho' when they were ſeen they ſeemed very improper for ſuch a ſervice. I ſaw all *Weſt*'s narrative, which was put in Lord *Rocheſter*'s hands: And a friend of mine borrowed it of him, and lent it me. They were ſo wiſe at Court that they would not ſuffer it to be printed; for then it would have appeared too groſs to be believed.

But the part of it all that ſeemed the moſt amazing was, that it was to have been executed on the day in which the King had intended to return from *New-Market:* But the happy fire that ſent him away a week ſooner had quite defeated the whole plot, while it was within a week of its execution, and neither horſes, men, nor arms yet pro-

1683 vided. This ſeemed to be ſo eminent a Providence, that the whole nation was ſtruck with it: And both preachers and poets had a noble ſubject to enlarge on, and to ſhew how much the King and the Duke were under the watchful care of Providence.

Within three days after *Keeling*'s diſcovery the plot broke out, and became the whole diſcourſe of the Town. Many examinations were taken, and ſeveral perſons were clapt up upon it. Among theſe *Wildman* was one, who had been an agitator in *Cromwell*'s army, and had oppoſed his Protectorſhip. After the Reſtoration he being looked on as a high republican was kept long in priſon; where he had ſtudied law and phyſick ſo much, that he paſt as a man very knowing in thoſe matters. He had a way of creating in others a great opinion of his ſagacity, and had great credit with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and was now very active under *Sidney*'s conduct. He was ſeized on, and his houſe was ſearched: In his cellars there hapned to be two ſmall field-pieces that belonged to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and that lay in York-Houſe when that was ſold, and was to be pulled down: *Wildman* carried thoſe two pieces, which were finely wrought, but of little uſe, into his cellars, where they were laid on ordinary wooden carriages, and no way fitted for any ſervice: Yet theſe were carried to *White-Hall*, and expoſed to view, as an undeniable proof of a rebellion deſigned, ſince here was their cannon.

Several perſons came to me from Court, aſſuring me that there was full proof made of a plot. Lord *Howard* coming ſoon after them to ſee me talked of the whole matter in his ſpiteful way with ſo much ſcorn, that I really thought he knew of nothing, and by conſequence I believed there was no truth in all theſe diſcoveries. He ſaid, the Court knew they were ſure of Juries, and they would furniſh themſelves quickly with witneſſes: And he ſpoke of the Duke as of one that would be worſe, not only than Queen *Mary*, but than *Nero*: And with eyes and hands lifted to heaven he vowed to me, that he knew of no plot, and that he believed nothing of it.

Two days after, a Proclamation came out for ſeizing on ſome who could not be found: And among theſe *Rumſey* and *Weſt* were named. The next day *Weſt* delivered himſelf: And *Rumſey* came in a day after him. Theſe two brought out their ſtory, which, how incredible ſoever it was, paſt ſo for certain, that any man that ſeemed to doubt it was con-

concluded to be in it. That of defending themſelves within mud walls and a moat looked like the invention of a lawyer, who could not lay a military contrivance with any ſort of probability. Nor did it appear where the forty horſe were to be lodged, and how they were to be brought together. All theſe were thought objections that could be made by none but thoſe who either were of it, or wiſhed well to it. Theſe new witneſſes had alſo heard of the conferences that the Duke of *Monmouth* and the other Lords had with thoſe who were come from *Scotland*, but knew nothing of it themſelves. *Rumſey* did likewiſe remember the diſcourſe at *Shepherd*'s. 1683

When the Council found the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Ruſſel* were named, they writ to the King to come to *London:* They would not venture to go further without his preſence and leave. A meſſenger of the Council was ſent the morning before the King came to wait at Lord *Ruſſel*'s gate, to have ſtopt him if he had offered to go out. This was obſerved; for he walked many hours there: And it was looked on as done on purpoſe to frighten him away; for his back gate was not watched: So for ſeveral hours he might have gone away if he had intended it. He heard that *Rumſey* had named him: But he knew he had not truſted him, and he never reflected on the diſcourſe at *Shepherd*'s. He ſent his wife among his friends for advice. They were of different minds: But ſince he ſaid he apprehended nothing from any thing he had ſaid to *Rumſey*, they thought his going out of the way would give the Court too great an advantage, and would look like a confeſſing of guilt. So this agreeing with his own mind, he ſtayed at home till the King was come: And then a meſſenger was ſent to carry him before the Council. He received it very compoſedly, and went thither. *Rumſey* had alſo ſaid, that at *Shepherd*'s there was ſome diſcourſe of *Trenchard*'s undertaking to raiſe a body out of *Taunton*, and of his failing in it: So Lord *Ruſſel* was examined upon that, the King telling him, that no body ſuſpected him of any deſign againſt his perſon, but that he had good evidence of his being in deſigns againſt his government. Lord *Ruſſel* proteſted, he had heard nothing relating to *Trenchard:* And ſaid to the laſt, that either it was a fiction of *Rumſey*'s, or it had paſt between him and *Armſtrong*, while he was walking about the room, or taſting the wines at *Shepherd*'s; for he had not heard a word of it. Upon all this he was ſent a cloſe priſoner to the Tower.

Ruſſel and ſome others were put in priſon upon it.

Sidney

1683 *Sidney* was brought next before the Council. But his examination laſted not long. He ſaid, he muſt make the beſt defence he could, if they had any proof againſt him: But he would not fortify their evidence by any thing he ſhould ſay. And indeed that was the wiſeſt courſe; for the anſwering queſtions upon ſuch examinations is a very dangerous thing: Every word that is ſaid is laid hold on, that can be turned againſt a man's ſelf or his friends, and no regard is had to what he might ſay in favour of them: And it had been happy for the reſt, eſpecially for *Baillie*, if they had all held to this maxim. There was at that time no ſort of evidence againſt *Sidney*, ſo that his commitment was againſt law. *Trenchard* was alſo examined: He denied every thing. But one point of his guilt was well known: He was the firſt man that had moved the Excluſion in the Houſe of Commons: So he was reckoned a loſt man.

Baillie and two other Gentlemen of *Scotland*, both *Campbell*'s, had changed their lodgings while the Town was in this fermentation: And upon that they were ſeized on as ſuſpected perſons, and brought before the King. He himſelf examined them, and firſt queſtioned them about the deſign againſt his perſon, which they very frankly anſwered, and denied they knew any thing about it. Then he aſked them, if they had been in any conſultations with Lords or others in *England*, in order to an inſurrection in *Scotland*. *Baillie* faultred at this: For his conſcience reſtrained him from lying. He ſaid, he did not know the importance of thoſe queſtions, nor what uſe might be made of his anſwers: He deſired to ſee them in writing, and then he would conſider how to anſwer them. Both the King and the Duke threatned him upon this: And he ſeemed to neglect that with ſo much of the air of a Philoſopher, that it provoked them out of meaſure againſt him. The other two were ſo lately come from *Scotland*, that they had ſeen no body, and knew nothing. *Baillie* was loaded by a ſpecial direction with very heavy irons: So that for ſome weeks his life was a burden to him. *Cockran*, another of thoſe who had been concern'd in this Treaty, was complained of, as having talked very freely of the Duke's government of *Scotland*. Upon which the *Scottiſh* Secretary ſent a note to him deſiring him to come to him; for it was intended only to give him a reprimand, and to have ordered him to go to *Scotland*. But he knew his own ſecret: So he left his lodgings, and got beyond ſea. This ſhewed the

the Court had not yet got full evidence: Otherwiſe he would have been taken up, as well as others were. 1683

As ſoon as the Council roſe, the King went to the Ducheſs of *Monmouth*'s, and ſeemed ſo much concerned for the Duke of *Monmouth*, that he wept as he ſpoke to her. That Duke told a ſtrange paſſage relating to that viſit to the Lord *Cutts*, from whom I had it. The King told his Lady, that ſome were to come and ſearch her lodgings: But he had given order that no ſearch ſhould be made in her apartments: So ſhe might conceal him ſafely in them. But the Duke of *Monmouth* added, that he knew him too well to truſt him: So he went out of his lodgings. And it ſeems he judged right: For the place that was firſt ſearched for him was her rooms: But he was gone. And he gave that for the reaſon why he could never truſt the King after that. It is not likely the King meant to proceed to extremities with him, but that he intended to have him in his own hands, and in his power. *Monmouth* and others eſcaped.

An order was ſent to bring up the Lord *Grey*, which met him coming up. He was brought before the Council, where he behaved himſelf with great preſence of mind. He was ſent to the Tower. But the gates were ſhut: So he ſtaid in the meſſenger's hands all night, whom he furniſhed ſo liberally with wine, that he was dead drunk. Next morning he went with him to the Tower gate, the meſſenger being again faſt aſleep. He himſelf called at the Tower gate, to bring the Lieutenant of the Tower to receive a priſoner. But he began to think he might be in danger: He found *Rumſey* was one witneſs: And if another ſhould come in he was gone: So he called for a pair of oars, and went away, leaving the drunken meſſenger faſt aſleep. Warrants were ſent for ſeveral other perſons: Some went out of the way, and others were diſmiſſed after ſome months impriſonment. The King ſhewed ſome appearance of ſincerity in examining the witneſſes: He told them, he would not have a growing evidence: And ſo he charged them to tell out at once all that they knew: He led them into no accuſations by aſking them any queſtions: He only aſked them, if *Oates* was in their ſecret: They anſwered, that they all looked on him as ſuch a rogue, that they would not truſt him. The King alſo ſaid, he found Lord *Howard* was not among them, and he believed that was upon the ſame account. There were many more perſons named, and more particulars ſet down in *Weſt*'s narrative,

1683 rative, than the Court thought fit to make uſe of: For they had no appearance of truth in them.

Lord *Ruſſel* from the time of his impriſonment looked upon himſelf as a dead man, and turned his thoughts wholly to another world. He read much in the Scriptures, particularly in the Pſalms, and read *Baxter*'s dying thoughts. He was as ſerene and calm as if he had been in no danger at all. A Committee of Council came to examine him upon the deſign of ſeizing on the guards, and about his treating with the *Scots*. He anſwered them civilly; and ſaid, that he was now preparing for his trial, where he did not doubt but he ſhould anſwer every thing that could be objected to him. From him they went to *Sidney*, who treated them more roughly: He ſaid, it ſeemed they wanted evidence, and therefore they were come to draw it from his own mouth; but they ſhould have nothing from him. Upon this examination of Lord *Ruſſel*, in which his treating with the *Scots* was ſo poſitively charged on him, as a thing of which they were well aſſured, his Lady deſired me to ſee who this could be, that had ſo charged him: But this appeared to be only an artifice, to draw a confeſſion from him. *Cochran* was gone: And *Baillie* was a cloſe priſoner, and was very ill uſed: None were admitted to him. I ſent to the keeper of the priſon to let him want for nothing, and that I ſhould ſee him paid. I alſo at his deſire ſent him books for his entertainment, for which I was threatned with a priſon. I ſaid, I was his neareſt kinſman in the place, and this was only to do as I would be done by. From what I found among the *Scots* I quieted the fears of Lord *Ruſſel*'s friends.

Lord *Howard* was ſtill going about, and proteſting to every perſon he ſaw that there was no plot, and that he knew of none: Yet he ſeemed to be under a conſternation all the while. Lord *Ruſſel* told me, he was with him when the news was brought that *Weſt* had delivered himſelf, upon which he ſaw him change colour: And he aſked him, if he apprehended any thing from him? He confeſſed, he had been as free with him as with any man. *Hamden* ſaw him afterwards under great fears: And upon that he wiſhed him to go out of the way, if he thought there was matter againſt him, and if he had not a ſtrength of mind to ſuffer any thing that might happen to him. The King ſpoke of him with ſuch contempt, that it was not probable that he was all this while in correſpondence with the Court.

At

At laſt, four days before Lord *Ruſſel*'s trial, he was taken in his own houſe after a long ſearch; and was found ſtanding up within a chimney. As ſoon as he was taken he fell a crying: And at his firſt examination he told, as he ſaid, all that he knew. *Weſt* and *Rumſey* had reſolved only to charge ſome of the lower ſort; but had not laid every thing ſo well together, but that they were found contradicting one another. So *Rumſey* charged *Weſt* for concealing ſome things: Upon which he was laid in irons, and was threatned with being hanged: For three days he would eat nothing, and ſeemed reſolved to ſtarve himſelf: But nature overcame his reſolutions: And then he told all he knew, and perhaps more than he knew; for I believe it was at this time that he wrote his narrative. And in that he told a new ſtory of Lord *Howard*, which was not very credible, that he thought the beſt way of killing the King and the Duke, was for the Duke of *Monmouth* to fall into *New-Market* with a body of three or four hundred horſe when they were all aſleep, and ſo to take them all: As if it had been an eaſy matter to get ſuch a body together, and to carry them thither inviſibly upon ſo deſperate a ſervice. Upon Lord *Howard*'s examination, he told a long ſtory of Lord *Shaftsbury*'s deſign of raiſing the City: He affirmed, that the Duke of *Monmouth* had told him, how *Trenchard* had undertaken to bring a body of men from *Taunton*, but had failed in it: He confirmed that of a riſing intended in the City on the ſeventeenth or the nineteenth of *November* laſt: But he knew of no body that was to be at the head of it. So this was looked on as only talk. But that which came more home was, that he owned there was a Council of ſix ſettled, of which he himſelf was one; and that they had had ſeveral debates among them concerning an inſurrection, and where it ſhould begin, whether in the City or in the Country; but that they reſolved to be firſt well informed concerning the ſtate *Scotland* was in; and that *Sidney* had ſent *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland*, to bring him a ſure information from thence, and that he gave him ſixty guineas for his journey: More of that matter he did not know; for he had gone out of Town to the *Bath*, and to his eſtate in the Country. During his abſence the Lords began to apprehend their error in truſting him: And upon it Lord *Eſſex* ſaid to Lord *Ruſſel*, as the laſt told me in priſon, that the putting themſelves in the power of ſuch a man would be their reproach, as well as their ruin, for truſting a man of ſo ill a character: So they reſolved to talk

1683 *Howard's confeſſion.*

1683 talk no more to him: But at his next coming to Town they told him, they ſaw it was neceſſary at preſent to give over all conſultations, and to be quiet: And after that they ſaw him very little. *Hamden* was upon Lord *Howard*'s diſcovery ſeized on: He, when examined, deſired not to be preſſed with queſtions: So he was ſent to the Tower.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was ſent to the Tower.

A party of horſe was ſent to bring up Lord *Eſſex*, who had ſtaid all this while at his houſe in the Country; and ſeemed ſo little apprehenſive of danger, that his own Lady did not imagine he had any concern on his mind. He was offered to be conveyed away very ſafely: But he would not ſtir. His tenderneſs for Lord *Ruſſel* was the cauſe of this: For he thought his going out of the way might incline the Jury to believe the evidence the more for his abſconding. He ſeemed reſolved, as ſoon as he ſaw how that went, to take care of himſelf. When the party came to bring him up, he was at firſt in ſome diſorder, yet he recovered himſelf. But when he came before the Council, he was in much confuſion. He was ſent to the Tower: And there he fell under a great depteſſion of ſpirit: He could not ſleep at all. He had fallen before that twice under great fits of the ſpleen, which retutned now upon him with more violence. He ſent by a ſervant, whom he had long truſted, and who was ſuffered to come to him, a very melancholy meſſage to his wife; That what he was charged with was true: He was ſorry he had ruined her and her children: But he had ſent for the Earl of *Clarendon*, to talk freely to him, who had married his ſiſter. She immediately ſent back the ſervant, to beg of him that he would not think of her or her children, but only ſtudy to ſupport his own ſpirits; and deſired him to ſay nothing to Lord *Clarendon*, nor to any body elſe, till ſhe ſhould come to him, which ſhe was in hope to obtain leave to do in a day or two. Lord *Clarendon* came to him upon his meſſage: But he turned the matter ſo well to him, as if he had been only to explain ſomewhat that he had miſtaken himſelf in when he was before the Council: But as to that for which he was clapt up, he ſaid there was nothing in it, and it would appear how innocent he was. So Lord *Clarendon* went away in a great meaſure ſatisfied, as he himſelf told me. His Lady had another meſſage from him, that he was much calmer; eſpecially when he found how ſhe took his condition to heart, without ſeeming concerned for her own ſhate in it. He ordered many things to be ſent to him: And among other things he

called

called at ſeveral times for a penknife, with which he uſed to pare his nails very nicely: So this was thought intended for an amuſement. But it was not brought from his houſe in the Country, tho' ſent for. And when it did not come, he called for a razor, and ſaid, that would do as well. The King and the Duke came to the Tower that morning, as was given out, to ſee ſome invention about the ordinance. As they were going into their barge, the cry came after them of what had hapned to Lord *Eſſex:* For his man, thinking he ſtaid longer than ordinary in his cloſet, ſaid, he looked thro' the key hole, and there ſaw him lying dead: Upon which the door being broke open, he was found dead; his throat cut, ſo that both the jugulars and the gullet were cut, a little above the *Aſpera Arteria.* I ſhall afterwards give an account of the further enquiry into this matter, which paſt then univerſally as done by himſelf. The Coroners Jury found it ſelf-murder. And when his body was brought home to his own houſe, and the wound was examined by his own Surgeon, he ſaid to me, it was impoſſible the wound could be as it was, if given by any hand but his own: For except he had caſt his head back, and ſtretched up his neck all he could, the *Aſpera Arteria* muſt have been cut. But to go on with this tragical day, in which I loſt the two beſt friends I had in the world: 1683

The Lord *Ruſſel*'s trial was fixed for that day. A Jury was returned that conſiſted of citizens of *London* who were not freeholders. So the firſt point argued in law was, whether this could be a legal Jury. The ſtatute was expreſs: And the reaſon was, that none but men of certain eſtates might try a man upon his life. It was anſwered, that the practice of the City was to the contrary, upon the very reaſon of the law: For the richeſt men of the City were often no freeholders, but merchants whoſe wealth lay in their trade and ſtock. So this was over-ruled, and the Jury was ſworn. They were pickt out with great care, being men of fair reputation in other reſpects, but ſo engaged in the party for the Court, that they were eaſy to believe any thing on that ſide. *Rumſey*, *Shepherd*, and Lord *Howard* were the witneſſes, who depoſed according to what was formerly related. *Shepherd* ſwore, Lord *Ruſſel* was twice at his houſe, tho' he was never there but once. And when Lord *Ruſſel* ſent him word after his ſentence, that he forgave him all he had ſworn againſt him, but that he muſt remember that he was never within his doors but one ſingle time: To which all the The Lord *Ruſſel*'s trial.

1683 anſwer *Shepherd* made was, that all the while he was in Court during the trial he was under ſuch a confuſion, that he ſcarce knew what he ſaid. Both *Rumſey* and he ſwore, that Lord *Ruſſel* had expreſſed his conſent to the ſeizing on the guards, tho' they did not ſwear any one word that he ſpoke which imported it: So that here a man was convicted of treaſon, for being preſent by accident, or for ſome innocent purpoſe, where treaſonable matter was diſcourſed, without bearing a part in that diſcourſe, or giving any aſſent by words or otherwiſe to what was ſo diſcourſed; which at the moſt amounts to miſ-priſion, or concealment of treaſon only. As Lord *Howard* began his evidence, the news of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s death came to the Court. Upon which Lord *Howard* ſtopped, and ſaid, he could not go on till he gave vent to his grief in ſome tears. He ſoon recovered himſelf, and told all his ſtory. Lord *Ruſſel* defended himſelf by many compurgators, who ſpoke very fully of his great worth, and that it was not likely he would engage in ill deſigns. Some others beſides my ſelf teſtified, how ſolemnly Lord *Howard* had denied his knowledge of any plot upon its firſt breaking out. *Finch*, the Solicitor General, ſaid, no regard was to be had to that, for all witneſſes denied at firſt. It was anſwered, if theſe denials had been only to a magiſtrate, or at an examination, it might be thought of leſs moment: But ſuch ſolemn denials, with aſſeverations, to friends, and officionſly offered, ſhewed that ſuch a witneſs was ſo bad a man, that no credit was due to his teſtimony. It was alſo urged, that it was not ſworn by any of the witneſſes, that Lord *Ruſſel* had ſpoken any ſuch words, or words to that effect: And without ſome ſuch indication, it could not be known that he hearkned to the diſcourſe, or conſented to it. Lord *Ruſſel* alſo aſked, upon what ſtatute he was tried: If upon the old ſtatute of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the third, or if upon the ſtatute made declaring what ſhall be held treaſon during the King's reign? They could not rely on the laſt, becauſe of the limitation of time in it: Six months, and ſomething more, were paſſed ſince the time of theſe diſcourſes: So they relied on the old ſtatute. Upon which he aſked, where was the overt-act? For none appeared. It was alſo ſaid, that by that ſtatute the very imagining the King's death, when proved by an overt-act, was treaſon: But it was only the levying war, and not the imagining to levy war againſt the King, that was treaſon by that ſtatute. *Cook* and *Hale* were of this opinion, and gave their reaſons for it. And

it

it ſeemed, that the Parliament that paſt the act of treaſon during the preſent Reign were of that mind; for they enumerated conſultations to raiſe war among thoſe things which were declared to be treaſon during that Reign: This ſhewed, that they did not look on them as comprehended within the old ſtatute. The King's Counſel pretended, that conſultations to ſeize on the guards were an overt-act of a deſign againſt the King's perſon. But thoſe forces, that have got the deſignation of guards appropriated to them, are not the King's guards in law: They are not ſo much as allowed of by law: For even the lately diſſolved long Parliament, that was ſo careful of the King, and ſo kind to him, would never take notice of the King's forces, much leſs call them his guards. The guards were only a company of men in the King's pay: So that a deſign to ſeize on them amounted to no more, than to a deſign to ſeize on a part of the King's army. But the word guards ſounded ſo like a ſecurity to the King's perſon, that the deſign againſt them was conſtructed a deſign againſt his life: And yet none of the witneſſes ſpoke of any deſign againſt the King's perſon. Lord *Howard* ſwore poſitively, that they had no ſuch deſign. Yet the one was conſtructed to be the natural conſequence of the other. So that after all the declaiming againſt a conſtructive treaſon in the caſe of Lord *Strafford*, the Court was always running into it, when they had a mind to deſtroy any that ſtood in their way. Lord *Ruſſel* deſired, that his Connſel might be heard to this point of ſeizing the guards: But that was denied, unleſs he would confeſs the fact: And he would not do that, becauſe, as the witneſſes had ſworn it, it was falſe. He once intended to have related the whole fact, juſt as it was: But his Counſel adviſed him againſt it. Some of his friends were for it, who thought that it could amount to no more than a concealment and miſ-priſion of treaſon. Yet the Counſel diſtinguiſhed between a bare knowledge, and a concealing that, and a joining deſignedly in council with men that did deſign treaſon: For in that caſe, tho' a man ſhould differ in opinion from a treaſonable propoſition, yet his mixing in council with ſuch men will in law make him a traitor. Lord *Ruſſel* ſpoke but little: Yet in few words he touched on all the material points of law that had been ſuggeſted to him. *Finch* ſummed up the evidence againſt him: But in that, and in ſeveral other trials afterwards, he ſhewed more of a vicious eloquence, in turning matters with ſome ſubtlety againſt the priſoners, than of ſolid or ſincere reaſoning. 1683

1683 ſoning. *Jefferies* would ſhew his zeal, and ſpeak after him: But it was only an inſolent declamation, ſuch as all his were, full of fury and indecent invectives. *Pemberton* was the head of the Court, the other Bench not being yet filled. He ſummed up the evidence at firſt very fairly: But in concluſion he told the Jury, that a deſign to ſeize the guards was ſurely a deſign againſt the King's life. But tho' he ſtruck upon this, which was the main point, yet it was thought that his ſtating the whole matter with ſo little eagerneſs againſt Lord *Ruſſel*, was that which loſt him his place: For he was turned out ſoon after. Lord *Ruſſel*'s behaviour during the trial was decent and compoſed: So that he ſeemed very little concerned in the iſſue of the matter. He was a man of ſo much candour, that he ſpoke little as to the fact: For ſince he was adviſed not to tell the whole truth, he could not ſpeak againſt that which he knew to be true, tho' in ſome particulars it had been carried beyond the truth. But he was not allowed to make the difference: So he left that wholly to the Jury, who brought in their verdict againſt him, upon which he received ſentence.

He was condemned.

He then compoſed himſelf to die with great ſeriouſneſs. He ſaid, he was ſure the day of his trial was more uneaſy to him, than that of his execution would be. All poſſible methods were uſed to have ſaved his life: Money was offered to the Lady *Portſmouth*, and to all that had credit, and that without meaſure. He was preſſed to ſend petitions and ſubmiſſions to the King, and to the Duke: But he left it to his friends to conſider how far theſe might go, and how they were to be worded. All he was brought to was, to offer to live beyond ſea in any place that the King ſhould name, and never to meddle any more in *Engliſh* affairs. But all was in vain: Both King and Duke were fixed in their reſolutions; but with this difference, as Lord *Rocheſter* afterwards told me, that the Duke ſuffered ſome, among whom he was one, to argue the point with him, but the King could not bear the diſcourſe. Some have ſaid, that the Duke moved that he might be executed in *Southampton* ſquare before his own houſe, but that the King rejected that as indecent. So *Lincolns-Inn-Fields* was the place appointed for his execution. The laſt week of his life he was ſhut up all the mornings, as he himſelf deſired. And about noon I came to him, and ſtaid with him till night. All the while he expreſſed a very Chriſtian temper, without ſharpneſs or reſentment, vanity or affectation. His whole behaviour looked like a triumph over

death. Upon ſome occaſions, as at table, or when his friends came to ſee him, he was decently cheerful. I was by him when the Sheriffs came to ſhew him the warrant for his execution. He read it with indifference: And when they were gone he told me, it was not decent to be merry with ſuch a matter, otherwiſe he was near telling *Rich*, (who tho' he was now of the other ſide, yet had been a member of the Houſe of Commons, and had voted for the Excluſion,) that they ſhould never ſit together in that Houſe any more to vote for the bill of Excluſion. The day before his death he fell a bleeding at the noſe: Upon that he ſaid to me pleaſantly, I ſhall not now let blood to divert this: That will be done to morrow. At night it rained hard: And he ſaid, ſuch a rain to morrow will ſpoil a great ſhew, which was a dull thing in a rainy day. He ſaid, the ſins of his youth lay heavy upon his mind: But he hoped God had forgiven them, for he was ſure he had forſaken them, and for many years he had walked before God with a ſincere heart: If in his publick actings he had committed errors, they were only the errors of his underſtanding; for he had no private ends, nor ill deſigns of his own in them: He was ſtill of opinion that the King was limited by law, and that when he broke thro' thoſe limits his ſubjects might defend themſelves, and reſtrain him: He thought a violent death was a very deſirable way of ending one's life: It was only the being expoſed to be a little gazed at, and to ſuffer the pain of one minute, which, he was confident, was not equal to the pain of drawing a tooth. He ſaid, he felt none of thoſe tranſports that ſome good people felt; but he had a full calm in his mind, no palpitation at heart, nor trembling at the thoughts of death. He was much concerned at the cloud that ſeemed to be now over his Country: But he hoped his death ſhould do more ſervice, than his life could have done. 1683

His preparation for death.

This was the ſubſtance of the diſcourſe between him and me. *Tillotſon* was oft with him that laſt week. We thought the party had gone too quick in their conſultations, and too far; and that reſiſtance in the condition we were then in was not lawful. He ſaid, he had not leiſure to enter into diſcourſes of politicks; but he thought a government limited by law was only a name, if the ſubjects might not maintain thoſe limitations by force: Otherwiſe all was at the diſcretion of the Prince: That was contrary to all the notions he had lived in of our government. But he ſaid, there was nothing among them but the embrio's of things, that were never like to

1683 have any effect, and that were now quite diſſolved. He thought, it was neceſſary for him to leave a paper behind him at his death: And becauſe he had not been accuſtomed to draw ſuch papers, he deſired me to give him a ſcheme of the heads fit to be ſpoken to, and of the order in which they ſhould be laid: Which I did. And he was three days employed for ſome time in the morning to write out his ſpeech. He ordered four copies to be made of it, all which he ſigned; and gave the original with three of the copies to his Lady, and kept the other to give to the Sheriffs on the Scaffold. He writ it with great care: And the paſſages that were tender he writ in papers apart, and ſhewed them to his Lady, and to my ſelf, before he writ them ont fair. He was very eaſy when this was ended. He alſo writ a letter to the King, in which he aſked pardon for every thing he had ſaid or done contrary to his duty, proteſting he was innocent as to all deſigns againſt his perſon or government, and that his heart was ever devoted to that which he thought was his true intereſt. He added, that tho' he thought he had met with hard meaſure, yet he forgave all concerned in it from the higheſt to the loweſt; and ended, hoping that his Majeſty's diſpleaſure at him would ceaſe with his own life, and that no part of it ſhould fall on his wife and children. The day before his death he received the Sacrament from *Tillotſon* with much devotion. And I preached two ſhort ſermons to him, which he heard with great affection. And we were ſhut up till towards the evening. Then he ſuffered his children that were very young, and ſome few of his friends to take leave of him; in which he maintained his conſtancy of temper, tho' he was a very fond father. He alſo parted with his Lady with a compoſed ſilence: And, as ſoon as ſhe was gone, he ſaid to me, The bitterneſs of death is paſt: For he loved and eſteemed her beyond expreſſion, as ſhe well deſerved it in all reſpects. She had the command of her ſelf ſo much, that at parting ſhe gave him no diſturbance. He went into his chamber about midnight: And I ſtaid all night in the outward room. He went not to bed till about two in the morning: And was faſt aſleep at four, when according to his order we called him. He was quickly dreſſed, but would loſe no time in ſhaving: For he ſaid, he was not concerned in his good looks that day.

The trial and execution of *Walcot* and others.

He was not ill pleaſed with the account he heard that morning of the manner of *Walcot*'s death, who together with one

one *Hone* and *Rowſe* had ſuffered the day before. Theſe were condemned upon the evidence of the witneſſes. *Rumſey* and *Weſt* ſwore fully againſt *Walcot:* He had alſo writ a letter to the Secretary offering to make diſcoveries, in which he ſaid the plot was laid deep and wide. *Walcot* denied at his death the whole buſineſs of the *Rye-Plot*, and of his undertaking to fight the guards while others ſhould kill the King. He ſaid, *Weſt* had often ſpoken of it to him in the phraſe of *lopping*; and that he always ſaid he would not meddle in it, and that he looked on it as an infamous thing, and as that which the Duke of *Monmouth* would certainly revenge, tho' *Weſt* aſſured him that Duke had engaged under his hand to conſent to it. This confeſſion of *Walcot*'s, as it ſhewed himſelf very guilty, ſo it made *Weſt* appear ſo black, that the Court made no more uſe of him. *Hone*, a poor tradeſman in *London*, who it ſeems had ſome heat but ſcarce any ſenſe in him, was drawn in by *Keeling*, and *Lee*, another witneſs, who was alſo brought in by *Keeling* to a very wild thing, of killing the King but ſparing the Duke, upon this conceit, that we would be in leſs danger in being under a profeſſed Papiſt than under the King. *Hone* had promiſed to ſerve in the execution of it, but neither knew when, where, nor how it was to be done: So, tho' he ſeemed fitter for a *Bedlam* than a trial, yet he was tried the day before the Lord *Ruſſel*, and ſuffered with the others the day before him. He confeſſed his own guilt; but ſaid, theſe who witneſſed againſt him had engaged him in that deſign, for which they now charged him: But he knew nothing of any other perſons, beſides himſelf and the two witneſſes. The third was one *Rowſe*, who had belonged to *Player* the Chamberlain of *London*; againſt whom *Lee* and *Keeling* ſwore the ſame things. He was more affected with a ſenſe of the heat and fury with which he had been acted, than the others were: But he denied, that he was ever in any deſign againſt the King's life. He ſaid, the witneſſes had let fall many wicked things of that matter in diſcourſe with him: So that he was reſolved to diſcover them, and was only waiting till he could find out the bottom of their deſigns: But that now they had prevented him. He vindicated all his acquaintance from being any way concerned in the matter, or from approving ſuch deſigns. Theſe men dying as they did, was ſuch a diſgrace to the witneſſes, that the Court ſaw it was not fit to make any further uſe of them. Great uſe was made of the conjunction of theſe two plots, one for a riſing, and

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1683 and another for an aſſaſſination. It was ſaid, that the one was that which gave the heart and hope to the other black conſpiracy: By which they were over all *England* blended together as a plot within a plot, which caſt a great load on the whole party.

Ruſſel's execution. Lord *Ruſſel* ſeemed to have ſome ſatisfaction to find that there was no truth in the whole contrivance of the *Rye-Plot:* So that he hoped, that infamy, which now blaſted their party, would ſoon go off. He went into his chamber ſix or ſeven times in the morning, and prayed by himſelf, and then came out to *Tillotſon* and me: He drunk a little tea and ſome ſherry. He wound up his watch; and ſaid, now he had done with time, and was going to eternity. He aſked what he ſhould give the executioner: I told him ten guineas: He ſaid, with a ſmile, it was a pretty thing to give a fee to have his head cut off. When the Sheriffs called him about ten a clock, Lord *Cavendiſh* was waiting below to take leave of him. They embraced very tenderly. Lord *Ruſſel*, after he had left him, upon a ſudden thought came back to him, and preſſed him earneſtly to apply himſelf more to Religion; and told him what great comfort and ſupport he felt from it now in his extremity. Lord *Cavendiſh* had very generouſly offered to manage his eſcape, and to ſtay in priſon for him while he ſhould go away in his cloaths: But he would not hearken to the motion. The Duke of *Monmouth* had alſo ſent me word, to let him know, that, if he thought it could do him any ſervice, he would come in, and run fortunes with him. He anſwered, it would be of no advantage to him to have his friends die with him. *Tillotſon* and I went in the coach with him to the place of execution. Some of the croud that filled the ſtreets wept, while others inſulted: He was touched with the tenderneſs that the one gave him, but did not ſeem at all provoked by the other. He was ſinging Pſalms a great part of the way; and ſaid, he hoped to ſing better very ſoon. As he obſerved the great crouds of people all the way, he ſaid to us, I hope I ſhall quickly ſee a much better aſſembly. When he came to the Scaffold, he walked about it four or five times. Then he turned to the Sheriffs, and delivered his paper. He proteſted, he had always been far from any deſigns againſt the King's life or government: He prayed God would preſerve both, and the Proteſtant Religion. He wiſhed all Proteſtants might love one another, and not make way for Popery by their animoſities.

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The ſubſtance of the paper he gave them was, firſt a profeſſion of his Religion, and of his ſincerity in it: That he was of the Church of *England:* But wiſhed all would unite together againſt the common enemy: That Churchmen would be leſs ſevere, and Diſſenters leſs ſcrupulous. He owned, he had a great zeal againſt Popery, which he looked on as an idolatrous and bloody Religion: But that, tho' he was at all times ready to venture his life for his Religion or his Country, yet that would never have carried him to a black or wicked deſign. No man ever had the impudence to move to him any thing with relation to the King's life: He prayed heartily for him, that in his perſon and government he might be happy, both in this world and in the next. He proteſted, that in the proſecution of the Popiſh plot he had gone on in the ſincerity of his heart; and that he never knew of any practice with the witneſſes. He owned, he had been earneſt in the matter of the Excluſion, as the beſt way in his opinion to ſecure both the King's life and the Proteſtant religion: And to that he imputed his preſent ſufferings: But he forgave all concerned in them; and charged his friends to think of no revenges. He thought his ſentence was hard: Upon which he gave an account of all that had paſt at *Shepherd*'s. From the heats that were in chooſing the Sheriffs he concluded, that matter would end as it now did: And he was not much ſurprized to find it fall upon himſelf: He wiſhed it might end in him: Killing by forms of law was the worſt ſort of murder. He concluded with ſome very devout Ejaculations. After he had delivered this paper he prayed by himſelf: Then *Tillotſon* prayed with him. After that he prayed again by himſelf: And then undreſſed himſelf, and laid his head on the block, without the leaſt change of countenance: And it was cut off at two ſtrokes. 1683 *Ruſſel*'s laſt ſpeech.

This was the end of that great and good man: On which I have perhaps enlarged too copiouſly: But the great eſteem I had for him, and the ſhare I had in this matter, will I hope excuſe it. His ſpeech was ſo ſoon printed, that it was ſelling about the ſtreets an hour after his death: Upon which the Court was highly enflamed. So *Tillotſon* and I were appointed to appear before the Cabinet Council. *Tillotſon* had little to ſay, but only that Lord *Ruſſel* had ſhewed him his ſpeech the day before he ſuffered; and that he ſpoke to him, what he thought was incumbent on him, upon ſome parts of it, but he was not diſpoſed to alter it. I was longer before

1683 them. I ſaw they apprehended I had penned the ſpeech. I told the King, that at his Lady's deſire I writ down a very particular journal of every paſſage, great and ſmall, that had hapned during my attendance on him: I had juſt ended it, as I received my ſummons to attend his Majeſty: So, if he commanded me, I would read it to him: Which upon his command I did. I ſaw they were all aſtoniſhed at the many extraordinary things in it: The moſt important of them are ſet down in the former relation. The Lord Keeper aſked me, if I intended to print that. I ſaid, it was only intended for his Lady's private uſe. The Lord Keeper, ſeeing the King ſilent, added, You are not to think the King is pleaſed with this, becauſe he ſays nothing. This was very mean. He then aſked me, if I had not ſtudied to diſſuade the Lord *Ruſſel* from putting many things in his ſpeech. I ſaid, I had diſcharged my conſcience to him very freely in every particular: But he was now gone: So it was impoſſible to know, if I ſhould tell any thing of what had paſt between us, whether it was true or falſe: I deſired therefore to be excuſed. The Duke aſked me, if he had ſaid any thing to me in confeſſion. I anſwered, that if he had ſaid any thing to me in confidence, that was enough to reſtrain me from ſpeaking of it. Only I offered to take my oath, that the ſpeech was penned by himſelf, and not by me. The Duke, upon all that paſt in this examination, expreſſed himſelf ſo highly offended at me, that it was concluded I would be ruined. Lord *Haliſax* ſent me word, that the Duke looked on my reading the journal as a ſtudied thing, to make a panegyrick on Lord *Ruſſel's* memory. Many pamphlets were writ on that occaſion: And I was heavily charged in them all, as the adviſer, if not the author, of the ſpeech. But I was adviſed by all my friends to write no anſwer, but to bear the malice that was vented upon me with ſilence; which I reſolved to do.

Prince *George* of *Denmark* married the Princeſs *Anne*.

At this time Prince *George* of *Denmark* came into *England* to marry the Duke's ſecond daughter. The Prince of *Hanover* had come over two years before to make addreſſes to her: But he was ſcarce got hither, when he received orders from his father not to proceed in that deſign; for he had agreed a match for him with his brother the Duke of *Zell* for his daughter, which did at that time more accommodate the family. The marriage that was now made with the brother of *Denmark* did not at all pleaſe the nation: For we knew that the propoſition came from *France*.

So

So it was apprehended, that both Courts reckoned they were ſure that he would change his Religion: In which we have ſeen, ſince that time, that our fears were ill grounded. He has lived in all reſpects the happieſt with his Princeſs that was poſſible, except in one particular: For tho' there was a child born every year for many years, yet they have all died: So that the fruitfulleſt marriage that has been known in our age, has been fatally blaſted as to the effect of it. 1683

The affairs abroad were now every where in a great fermentation. The Emperor had governed *Hungary* ſo ſtrangely, as at once to perſecute the Proteſtants and to oppreſs the Papiſts in their liberties, which diſpoſed both to rebel: Upon which the male-contents were now in arms, and had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral places in the upper *Hungary*; which being near *Poland*, they were managed and aſſiſted by the *French* Miniſters in that Kingdom; in which the Cardinal of *Fourbin* was the chief inſtrument. But they not being able to maintain themſelves againſt the Emperor's whole force, *Tekeli*, who was ſet at their head, offered all ſubmiſſions to the *Turk*, and begged his protection. Upon this that great war broke out, all ſet on by the practices of the King of *France*; who, while he was perſecuting the Proteſtants in his own Kingdom, was at the ſame time encouraging the rebellion of *Hungary*, and drawing the *Turk* into Chriſtendom. I need not enlarge further on a matter ſo well known as the ſiege of *Vienna:* Which, if it had been as well proſecuted as it was firſt undertaken, the Town would have been certainly taken, and with that the Emperor and his family ruined. The King of *France* drew a great army together near the frontier of *Germany*, and ſeemed to depend upon it that the Town would be taken; and that he would be called in by the Princes of *Germany* to protect them, and upon that have been choſen Emperor. He at the ſame time ſent *Humieres* with an army into *Flanders*, upon a pretenſion to *Aloſt*, that would have ſeemed very ſtrange in any other Court but that. He had once poſſeſſed himſelf, during the war, of *Aloſt:* But afterwards he drew his troops out of it. So it not being in his hands when the peace of *Nimeguen* was made, no mention was made of reſtoring it. But now it was ſaid, that, it being once in the King's hands by the right of his arms, it was ſtill his, ſince he had not expreſſly renounced it: Therefore he now demanded it, or to have *Luxembourg* given him as an equivalent

The ſiege of *Vienna.*

1683 lent for it. *Humieres* finding no reſiſtance in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, deſtroyed and ruined the country, beyond any thing it had felt during the whole war. This was the ſtate of affairs abroad at the time of theſe trials.

All people thought we ſhould ſee a Parliament preſently called, from which both the King and the Duke might have expected every thing that they could deſire: For the body of the nation was yet ſo poſſeſſed with the belief of the plot, that probably all elections would have gone as the Court directed, and ſcarce any of the other party would have had the courage to have ſtood for an election any where. But the King of *France* began to apprehend, that the King might grow ſo much the maſter at home, that he would be no longer in their management: And they foreſaw that, what ſucceſs ſoever the King might have in a Parliament with relation to his own affairs, it was not to be imagined but that a Houſe of Commons, at the ſame time that they ſhewed their ſubmiſſion to the King, would both enable him to reſiſt the progreſs of the *French* arms, and addreſs to him to enter into alliances with the *Spaniards* and the States. So the *French* made uſe of all their inſtruments to divert our Court from calling a Parliament: And they got the King to conſent to their poſſeſſing themſelves of *Luxembourg:* For which, I was told, they gave him 300000 *l.* But I have no certainty of that. Lord *Mountague* told me of it, and ſeemed to believe it: And Lady *Portſmouth* valued her ſelf on this of *Luxembourg* as gained by her; and called it the laſt ſervice ſhe did the Court of *France*.

The author went to the Court of *France*.

At this time I went over into *France*, chiefly to be out of the way, when I was fallen on almoſt in every libel: For new ſets of addreſſes were now running about the nation, with more heat and ſwelled eloquence in them than the former ones. In all which the providential fire of *New-Market* was ſet off with great pomp: And in many of them there were hard things ſaid of Lord *Ruſſel* and his ſpeech, with inſinuations that looked towards me.

Characters of ſome he knew there.

In *France Rouvigny*, who was the Lady *Ruſſel*'s uncle, ſtudied to get me to be much viſited and known. There my acquaintance with Marſhal *Schomberg* began: And by him I was acquainted with Marſhal *Bellfonds*, who was a devout man, but very weak. He read the Scriptures much, and ſeemed to practiſe the vertues of the deſert in the midſt of that Court. I knew the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, who was a rough boiſterous man: He ſeemed to have good notions of the

the epiſcopal duty, in all things except that of the ſetting a good example to his Clergy: For he allowed himſelf in liberties of all kinds. The Duke of *Montauſier* was a pattern of vertue and ſincerity, if not too cynical in it. He was ſo far from flattering the King, as all the reſt did moſt abjectly, that he could not hold from contradicting him, as often as there was occaſion for it. And for that reaſon chiefly the King made him the *Dauphin*'s governor: To which, he told me, he had applied himſelf with great care, tho', he very frankly added, without ſucceſs. The exterior of the King was very ſolemn: The firſt time I hapned to ſee him was, when the news came of the raiſing the ſiege of *Vienna*; with which, *Schomberg* told me, he was much ſtruck, for he did not look for it. While I was at Court, which was only for four or five days, one of the King's coaches was ſent to wait on me, and the King ordered me to be well treated by all about him, which upon that was done with a great profuſion of extraordinary reſpects: At which all people ſtood amazed. Some thought, it was to encourage the ſide againſt the Court by this treatment of one then in diſgrace. Others more probably thought, that the King, hearing I was a writer of hiſtory, had a mind to engage me to write on his ſide. I was told a penſion would be offered me. But I made no ſteps towards it: For tho' I was offered an audience of the King, I excuſed it, ſince I could not have the honour to be preſented to that King by the Miniſter of *England*. I ſaw the Prince of *Conde* but once, tho' he intended to ſee me oftner. He had a great quickneſs of apprehenſion, and was thought the beſt judge in *France* both of wit and learning. He had read my hiſtory of the Reformation, that was then tranſlated into *French*, and ſeemed pleaſed with it. So were many of the great lawyers; in particular *Harlay*, then Attorney General, and now firſt Preſident of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*. The conteſts with *Rome* were then very high; for the Aſſembly of the Clergy had paſt ſome articles very derogatory to the Papal authority: So many fancied, that matter might go to a rupture: And *Harlay* ſaid very publickly, that, if that ſhould happen, I had laid before them a good plan to copy from. 1683

Bellefonds had ſo good an opinion of me, that he thought inſtances of devotion might have ſome effect on me: So he made the Ducheſs *La Valiere* think, that ſhe might be an inſtrument in converting me: And he brought a meſſage from

1683 her, desiring me to come to the grate to her. I was twice there: And she told me the steps of her conversion, and of her coming into that strict order of the *Carmelites*, with great humility and much devotion. *Treville*, one of the Duchess of *Orleans*'s admirers, was so struck with her death, that he had lived in retreat from that time, and was but newly come to appear again: He had great knowledge, with a true sense of Religion: He seemed to groan under many of the corruptions of their Church. He and some others whom I knew of the *Sorbon*, chiefly *Faur*, *Pique*, and *Brayer*, seemed to think that almost every thing among them was out of order; and wished for a regular Reformation: But their notion of the unity of the Church kept them still in a communion that they seemed uneasy in: And they said very freely, they wondered how any one that was once out of their communion should desire to come back into it. They were generally learned only in one point: *Faur* was the best read in ecclesiastical history of any man I saw among them: And I never knew any of that Church that understood the Scriptures so well as *Pique* did. They declared themselves for abolishing the Papal authority, and for reducing the Pope to the old Primacy again. They spoke to me of the Bishops of *France*, as men that were both vitious and ignorant: They seemed now to be against the Pope: But it was only because he was in the interests of the House of *Austria:* For they would declare him infallible the next day after he should turn to the interest of *France:* So they expected no good, neither from the Court nor from the Clergy. I saw St. *Amour*, the author of the journal of what past at *Rome* in the condemnation of the five propositions of *Jansenius*. He seemed to be a sincere and worthy man, who had more judgment than either quickness or learning. He told me, his whole life had been one campaign against the *Jesuits*; and spoke of them as the great plague of the Church. He lamented also that sharpness of stile with which his friend *Arnauld* treated the Protestants; for which, he said, both he and all his friends blamed him. I was carried by a Bishop to the *Jesuits* at St. *Anthoine*'s. There I saw *P. Bourdalou*, esteemed one of the greatest preachers of the age, and one of the honour of his order. He was a man of a sweet temper, not at all violent against Protestants: On the contrary, he believed good men among them might be saved, which was a pitch in charity that I had never observed in any of the learned of that Communion. I was also once with *P. de la Chaise*,

Chaiſe, the King's Confeſſor, who was a dry man. He told me, how great a man they would make me, if I would come over to them. 1683

This was my acquaintance on the Popiſh ſide. I ſay little of the Proteſtants. They came all to me: So I was well known among them. The method that carried over the men of the fineſt parts among them to Popery was this: They brought themſelves to doubt of the whole Chriſtian Religion: When that was once done, it ſeemed a more indifferent thing of what ſide or form they continued to be outwardly. The baſe practices of buying many over with penſions, and of driving others over with perpetual ill uſage and the acts of the higheſt injuſtice and violence, and the vile artifices in bringing on and carrying ſo many proceſſes againſt moſt of their Churches, as not comprehended within the edict of *Nantes*, were a reproach both to the greatneſs of their King and to the juſtice of their Courts. Many new edicts were coming out every day againſt them, which contradicted the edict of *Nantes* in the moſt expreſs words poſſible: And yet to all theſe a ſtrange clauſe was added, That the King did not intend by them to recal, nor to go againſt any article of the edict of *Nantes*, which he would maintain inviolable. I knew *Spanheim* particularly, who was Envoy from the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, who is the greateſt critick of the age in all ancient learning, and is with that a very able man in all affairs, and a frank cheerful man: Qualities that do not always meet in very learned men. After a few months ſtay I returned, and found both the King and Duke were highly offended with the reception I had met with in *France*. They did not know what to make of it, and fancied there was ſomething hid under it.

Affairs in *England*.

The addreſſes had now gone round *England*. The Grand Juries made after that high preſentments againſt all that were eſteemed Whigs and Non-conformiſts. Great pains were taken to find out more witneſſes. Pardons and rewards were offered very freely. But none came in: Which made it evident, that nothing was ſo well laid, or brought ſo near execution, as the witneſſes had depoſed: Otherwiſe people would have been crouding in for pardons. All people were apprehenſive of very black deſigns, when they ſaw *Jefferies* made Lord Chief Juſtice, who was ſcandalouſly vitious, and was drunk every day; beſides a drunkenneſs of fury in his temper, that looked like Enthuſiaſm. He did not conſider the decencies of his poſt: Nor did he ſo much as affect to ſeem impartial, as

Jefferies and other Judges preferred.

1683 as became a Judge; but run out upon all occaſions into declamations, that did not become the Bar, much leſs the Bench. He was not learned in his profeſſion: And his eloquence, tho' vitionſly copious, yet was neither correct nor agreeable. *Pemberton* was turned out of the Common Pleas, and *Jones* was put in his place: And *Jefferies* had three Judges joined with him in the King's Bench, fit to ſit by him.

The King ſent a new meſſage to the City of *London*, requiring the Common Council to deliver up their Charter, threatning them, that otherwiſe he would order the judgment to be entred. Upon this a great debate aroſe among them. Some were for their compliance, that they might prevent the prejudice that would otherwiſe ariſe. On the other hand it was ſaid, that all freemen took an oath to maintain the rights of their Corporation: So that it was perjury in them to betray theſe. They ſaid, it was better to leave the matter to the King, than by any act of their own to deliver all up. So it was carried not to do it by a few voices. Upon that the judgment was entred: And the King ſeized on their liberties. Many of the Aldermen and other officers were turned out: And others were put in their places. So they continued for ſome time a City without a Charter, or a Common Council: And the King named the magiſtrates. New Charters were ſent to moſt of the Corporations, in which the King reſerved a power to himſelf to turn out magiſtrates at his pleaſure. This was done to make all ſure for a new election of Parliament, which came now under conſideration.

1684 There was a clauſe in the act that repealed the triennial bill, which had paſt in the beginning of the troubles, which enacted that a Parliament ſhould meet every third year: But it had none of thoſe enforcing clauſes, in caſe it did not meet, that were in the other act: And the third year from the Parliament of *Oxford* was now near an end. So, ſince the King had declared he would govern according to law, and in particular that he would have frequent Parliaments, for which he had ſpecial thanks given him in many of the addreſſes, it was propoſed that a Parliament ſhould be called. A war ſeemed like to break out in *Flanders*; where the *Spaniards*, how ill ſoever they were prepared for it, had declared war, upon the *French* troops poſſeſſing themſelves of *Dixmuyd* and *Courtray*. The Prince of *Orange* was preſſing the States to go into a new war, rather than let *Luxembourg* be taken. But this was much oppoſed by the Town of *Amſterdam*. The

The calling a Parliament propoſed, but rejected.

calling

calling a new Parliament here, and *England*'s engaging, as all believed they might do, would be an effectual reſtraint on the *French*. But the King had conſented to let *Luxembourg* fall into their hands: So it was apprehended that the Parliament might fall upon that, which was the only point that could occaſion any difference between the King and them. It was alſo ſaid, that it was fit all the Chatters ſhould be firſt brought in, and all the Corporations new modelled, before the Parliament ſhould be called. The prerogative lawyers pretended, that the prerogative was indeed limited by negative and prohibiting words, but not by affirmative words. Lord *Halifax* told me, he preſſed this all he could; but there was a *French* intereſt working ſtrongly againſt it: So the thoughts of a Parliament at that time were laid aſide. The *Scottiſh* priſoners were ordered to be ſent down to be tried in *Scotland*. This was ſad news to them: For the boots there are a ſevere torture. *Baillie* had reaſon to expect the worſt uſage: He was carried to *Newgate* in the morning that Lord *Ruſſel* was tried, to ſee if he could be perſuaded to be a witneſs againſt him. Every thing that could work on him was made uſe of, but all in vain: So they were reſolved to uſe him ſeverely. 1684

Suſpicions of *Eſſex*'s being murdered.

I paſſed ſlightly over the ſuſpicions that were raiſed upon Lord *Eſſex*'s death, when I mentioned that matter. This winter the buſineſs was brought to a trial: A boy and a girl did report, that they heard great crying in his lodgings, and that they ſaw a bloody razor flung out at window, which was taken up by a woman that came out of the houſe where he was lodged. Theſe children reported this confidently that very day, when they went to their ſeveral homes: They were both about ten or twelve years old. The boy went backward and forward in his ſtory, ſometimes affirming it, and at other times denying it: But his father had an office in the Cuſtom Houſe: So it was thought, he prevailed with him to deny it in open Court. But the girl ſtood firmly to her ſtory. The ſimplicity of the children, together with the ill opinion that was generally had of the Court, inclined many to believe this. As ſoon as his Lady heard of it, ſhe ordered a ſtrict enquiry to be made about it; and ſent what ſhe found to me, to whom ſhe had truſted all the meſſages that had paſt between her Lord and her while he was in the Tower. When I peruſed all, I thought there was not a colour to found any proſecution on; which ſhe would have done with all poſſible zeal, if ſhe had found any ap-

1684 pearances of truth in the matter. Lord *Eſſex* had got into an odd ſet of ſome ſtrange principles: And in particular he thought, a man was the maſter of his own life; and ſeemed to approve of what his wife's great grandfather, the Earl of *Northumberland*, did, who ſhot himſelf in the Tower after he was arraigned. He had alſo very black fits of the ſpleen. But at that time one *Braddon*, whom I had known for ſome years for an honeſt but enthuſiaſtical man, hearing of theſe ſtories, reſolved to carry the matter as far as it would go: And he had pickt up a great variety of little circumſtances, all which laid together ſeemed to him ſo convincing, that he thought he was bound to proſecute the matter. I deſired him to come no more near me, ſince he was ſo poſitive. He talked of the matter ſo publickly, that he was taken up for ſpreading falſe news to alienate people's hearts from the King. He was tried upon it. Both the children owned, that they had reported the matter as he had talked it; the boy ſaying then, that it was a lie. *Braddon* had deſired the boy to ſet it all under his hand, tho' with that he charged him to write nothing but the truth. This was called a ſuborning: And he was fined for it in 2000 *l.* But I go next to a trial of more importance.

Sidney's trial. *Howard* was the only evidence againſt the priſoners of better rank; for they had no communication with the other witneſſes. So other things were to be found out as ſupplements to ſupport it. *Sidney* was next brought to his trial. A Jury was returned, conſiſting for moſt part of very mean perſons. Men's pulſes were tried beforehand, to ſee how tractable they would be. One *Parry*, a violent man, guilty of ſeveral murders, was not only pardoned, but was now made a Juſtice of Peace, for his officious meddling and violence. He told one of the Duke's ſervants, thinking that ſuch a one was certainly of their party, that he had ſent in a great many names of jurors, who were ſure men: That perſon told me this himſelf. *Sidney* excepted to their not being freeholders. But *Jefferies* ſaid, that had been over-ruled in Lord *Ruſſel*'s caſe: And therefore he over-ruled it; and would not ſo much as ſuffer *Sidney* to read the ſtatute. This was one of his bold ſtrains. Lord *Ruſſel* was tried at the *Old Baily*, where the Jury conſiſted of *Londoners:* And there indeed the contrary practice had prevailed, upon the reaſon before mentioned; for the merchants are ſuppoſed to be rich: But this trial was in *Middleſex*, where the contrary practice had not prevailed; for in a county a man who is no

freeholder is ſuppoſed to be poor. But *Jefferies* ſaid on another occaſion, why might not they make precedents to the ſucceeding times, as well as thoſe who had gone before them had made precedents for them? The witneſſes of the other parts of the plot were now brought out again to make a ſhew; for they knew nothing of *Sidney*. Only they ſaid, that they had heard of a Council of ſix, and that he was one of them. Yet even in that they contradicted one another; *Rumſey* ſwearing that he had it from *Weſt*, and *Weſt* ſwearing that he had it from him; which was not obſerved till the trial came out. If it had been obſerved ſooner, perhaps *Jefferies* would have ordered it to be ſtruck out; as he did all that *Sidney* had objected upon the point of the Jury, becauſe they were not freeholders. *Howard* gave his evidence, with a preface that had become a pleader better than a witneſs. He obſerved the uniformity of truth, and that all the parts of his evidence and theirs met together as two tallies. After this a book was produced, which *Sidney* had been writing, and which was found in his cloſet, in anſwer to *Filmer*'s book entitled *Patriarcha*; by which *Filmer* aſſerted the divine right of monarchy, upon the eldeſt ſon's ſucceeding to the authority of the father. It was a book of ſome name, but ſo poorly writ, that it was ſomewhat ſtrange that *Sidney* beſtowed ſo much pains in anſwering it. In this anſwer he had aſſerted, that Princes had their power from the people with reſtrictions and limitations; and that they were liable to the Juſtice of the people, if they abuſed their power to the prejudice of the ſubjects, and againſt eſtabliſhed laws. This by an Innuendo was ſaid to be an evidence to prove, that he was in a plot againſt the King's life. And it was inſiſted on, that this ought to ſtand as a ſecond witneſs. The Earls of *Clare*, *Angleſey*, and ſome others with my ſelf, depoſed what Lord *Howard* had ſaid, denying there was any plot. *Blake*, a draper, depoſed, that having aſked him when he was to have his pardon, he anſwered, not till the drudgery of ſwearing was over. *Howard* had alſo gone to *Sidney*'s houſe, and had aſſured his ſervants that there was nothing againſt him, and had deſired them to bring his goods to his own houſe. *Sidney* ſhewed, how improbable it was that *Howard*, who could not raiſe five men, and had not five ſhillings to pay them, ſhould be taken into ſuch conſultations. As for the book, it was not proved to be writ by him; for it was a judged caſe in capital matters, that a ſimilitude of hands was not a legal

1684

1684 legal proof, tho' it was in civil matters: That whatever was in thoſe papers, they were his own private thoughts, and ſpeculations of government, never communicated to any: It was alſo evident, that the book had been writ ſome years ago: So that could not be pretended to be a proof of a late plot: The book was not finiſhed: So it could not be known how it would end: A man writing againſt Atheiſm, who ſets out the ſtrength of it, if he does not finiſh his anſwer, could not be concluded an Atheiſt, becauſe there was ſuch a Chapter in his book. *Jefferies* interrupted him often very rudely, probably to put him in a paſſion, to which he was ſubject: But he maintained his temper to admiration. *Finch* aggravated the matter of the book, as a proof of his intentions, pretending it was an overt-act; for he ſaid, *ſcribere eſt agere*. *Jefferies* delivered it as law, and ſaid, that all the Judges were of the ſame mind, That if there were two witneſſes, the one to the treaſon, the other only to a circumſtance, ſuch as the buying a knife, theſe made the two witneſſes, which the ſtatute required in caſes of treaſon. In concluſion, *Sidney* was caſt. And ſome days after he was brought to Court to receive ſentence. He then went over his objections to the evidence againſt him, in which Judge *Withins* interrupted him, and by a ſtrange indecency gave him the lie in open Court. But he bore it patiently. He ſent to Lord *Halifax*, who was his nephew by marriage, a paper to be laid before the King, containing the main points of his defence: Upon which he appealed to the King, and deſired he would review the whole matter. *Jefferies* upon that in his furious way ſaid, either *Sidney* muſt die, or he muſt die. His execution was reſpited for three weeks, the trial being univerſally cried out on, as a piece of moſt enormous injuſtice. When he ſaw the warrant of his execution, he expreſſed no concern at it. And the change that was now in his temper amazed all that went to him. He told the Sheriffs that brought it, he would not expoſtulate upon any thing on his own account; (for the world was now nothing to him;) but he deſired, they would conſider how guilty they were of his blood, who had not returned a fair Jury, but one packt, and as they were directed by the King's Solicitor: He ſpoke this to them, not for his own ſake, but for their ſake. One of the Sheriffs was ſtruck with this, and wept. He told it to a perſon, from whom *Tillotſon* had it, who told it me. *Sidney* wrote a long vindication of himſelf, (which I read,) and ſummed up the ſubſtance of it

in a paper that he gave the Sheriffs: But, ſuſpecting they might ſuppreſs it, he gave a copy of it to a friend. It was a fortnight before it was printed, tho' we had all the ſpeeches of thoſe who died for the Popiſh plot printed the very next day. But, when it was underſtood that written copies of *Sidney*'s ſpeech were going about, it was alſo printed. In it he ſhewed his innocence; that Lord *Howard* was a infamous perſon, and that no credit was due to him: Yet he did not deny the matter he ſwore againſt him. As for his book, he ſhewed what reaſon all Princes had to abhor *Filmer*'s maxims: For if primogeniture from *Noah* was the ground ſettled by God for monarchy, then all the Princes now in the world were Uſurpers: None claiming by that pedigree, and this primogeniture being only in one perſon. He ſaid, ſince God did not now by any declaration of his will, as of old by Prophets, mark out ſuch or ſuch perſons for Princes, they could have no title, but what was founded on law and compact: And this was that in which the difference lay between lawful Princes and Uſurpers: If poſſeſſion was a donation from God, (which *Filmer* had ſubſtituted to the conceit of primogeniture,) then every proſperous Uſurper had a good right. He concluded with a prayer, that the nation might be preſerved from idolatry and tyranny. And he ſaid, he rejoyced that he ſuffered for the old cauſe, in which he was ſo early engaged. Theſe laſt words furniſhed much matter to the ſcriblers of that time. In his impriſonment he ſent for ſome Independent preachers, and expreſſed to them a deep remorſe for his paſt ſins, and great confidence in the mercies of God. And indeed he met death with an unconcernedneſs, that became one who had ſet up *Marcus Brutus* for his pattern. He was but a very few minutes on the ſcaffold at Tower Hill: He ſpoke little, and prayed very ſhort: And his head was cut off at one blow. 1684 His execution and laſt paper.

At this time an accident hapned, that ſurpriſed both the Court and City; and which, if well managed, might probably have produced great effects. The Duke of *Monmouth* had lurked in *England* all this ſummer, and was then deſigning to go beyond ſea, and to engage in the *Spaniſh* ſervice. The King ſtill loved him paſſionately. Lord *Halifax*, ſeeing matters run ſo much further than he apprehended, thought that nothing could ſtop that ſo effectually, as the bringing the Duke of *Monmouth* again into favour. That Duke writ to the King ſeveral letters, penned with an extraordinary *Monmouth* came in, and was pardoned.

1684 traordinary force. Lord *Halifax* drew them all, as he himſelf told me, and ſhewed me his own draughts of them. By theſe the King was mollified, and reſolved to reſtore him again to his favour. It ſtuck much at the confeſſion that he was to make. The King promiſed, that no uſe ſhould be made of it: But he ſtood on it, that he muſt tell him the whole truth of the matter. Upon which he conſented to ſatisfy the King. But he would ſay nothing to the Duke, more than to aſk his pardon in a general complement. Lord *Halifax* had preſſed him earneſtly upon his firſt appearance to be ſilent, and for a while to bear the cenſures of the Town. The laſt day of the term was very near, in which all the priſoners were to be diſcharged according to the *Habeas Corpus* act. That would ſhew he had diſcovered nothing to their prejudice. So that all diſcourſes concerning his confeſſion and diſcoveries would vaniſh in a few days. And if he had followed this, probably it would have given a great turn to affairs. The King ſpoke nothing of the reconciliation to the Duke of *York*, till the day before it was to be done. He was much ſtruck with it: But the King was poſitive. Yet the Duke's creatures in the Cabinet Council moved, that for form's ſake he ſhould be for ſome days put in the Tower. The King cut that off by ſaying, he had promiſed to pardon him. The Duke of *Monmouth*, as was agreed, made a humble confeſſion of his offences in general words to the King; and made a complement to the Duke, and begg'd that he would intercede with the King to pardon him. The King received him with a fondneſs that confounded all the Duke's party: He uſed him more tenderly than he had done formerly. The Duke put on an outward appearance of being very well pleaſed with it. The King ſaid next day, that *James* (for ſo he called him) had confirmed all that *Howard* had ſworn. This was carried to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who denied he had ever ſaid any ſuch thing; adding, that Lord *Howard* was a liar and a rogue: And this was ſet round the Town by his creatures, who run with it from Coffee-Houſe to Coffee-Houſe. The next Gazette mentioned, that the King had pardoned him upon his confeſſing the late plot. Lord *Halifax* preſſed the Duke of *Monmouth* to paſs that over, and to impute it to the importunity of his enemies, and to the King's eaſineſs: But he could not prevail. Yet he ſaid little till his pardon was paſt. But then he openly denied, that he had confeſſed the plot. By that he engaged himſelf in a plain con-

tradiction to what the King had ſaid. Some were brought by the Duke to the King, who confirmed, they had heard the Duke of *Monmouth* ſay, that he had not confeſſed the plot: Upon which the King ordered him to give a confeſſion of it under his hand. Lord *Halifax* preſſed him to write a letter to the King, acknowledging he had confeſſed the plot. Plot was a general word, that might ſignify as much or little as a man pleaſed: They had certainly dangerous conſultations among them, which might be well called plots. He ſaid, the ſervice he might do his friends by ſuch a general letter, and by his gaining the King's heart upon it, would quickly balance the ſeeming prejudice that ſuch a general acknowledgment would bring them under, which could do them no hurt. Upon that he got him to write a letter to that purpoſe which he carried to the King. And the King was ſatisfied. But the Duke of *Monmouth*, whether of himſelf, or upon the ſuggeſtion of others, reflected on what he had done, and thought it a baſe thing. Tho' this was no evidence, yet he thought it might have an influence on Juries, to make them believe every thing that might be ſworn by other witneſſes, when from his confeſſion they were poſſeſſed with a general belief of the plot. So he went full of uneaſineſs to the King, and deſired he might have his letter again, in the terms of an agony like deſpair. The King gave it back, but preſſed him vehemently to comply with his deſire: And among other things the Duke of *Monmouth* ſaid, that the King uſed this expreſſion, If you do not yield in this you will ruin me. Yet he was firm. So the King forbid him the Court, and ſpoke of him more ſeverely than he had ever done formerly. He was upon this more valued, and truſted by his own party than ever. After ſome days he went beyond ſea: And after a ſhort concealment he appeared publickly in *Holland*, and was treated by the Prince of *Orange* with a very particular reſpect. 1684 But ſoon after diſgraced.

The Prince had come for a few days to *England* after the *Oxford* Parliament, and had much private diſcourſe with the King at *Windſor*. The King aſſured him, that he would keep things quiet, and not give way to the Duke's eagerneſs, as long as he lived: And added, he was confident, whenever the Duke ſhould come to reign, he would be ſo reſtleſs and violent, that he could not hold it four years to an end. This I had from the Prince's own mouth. Another paſſage was told me by the Earl of *Portland*. The King ſhewed the

1684 the Prince one of his ſeals; and told him, that whatever he might write to him, if the letter was not ſealed with that ſeal, he was to look on it as only drawn from him by importunity. The reaſon for which I mention that in this place is, becauſe, tho' the King wrote ſome terrible letters to the Prince againſt the countenance he gave to the Duke of *Monmouth*, yet they were not ſealed with that ſeal; from which the Prince inferred, that the King had a mind that he ſhould keep him about him, and uſe him well. And the King gave orders, that in all the entries that were made in the Council books of this whole buſineſs nothing ſhould be left on record that could blemiſh him.

Hamden's trial. *Hamden* was now the only man of the ſix that was left. Yet there was nothing but *Howard*'s evidence againſt him, without ſo much as any circumſtance to ſupport it. So ſince two witneſſes were neceſſary to treaſon, (whereas one was enough for a miſdemeanor,) he was indicted of a miſdemeanor, tho' the crime was either treaſon or nothing. *Jefferies*, upon *Howard*'s evidence, charged the Jury to bring him in guilty: Otherwiſe, he told them, they would diſcredit all that had been done before. So they brought him in guilty. And the Court ſet 40000 *l.* fine on him, the moſt extravagant fine that had ever been ſet for a miſdeneanor in that Court. It amonnted indeed to an impriſonment for life.

Halloway's execution. Some time in the ſpring eighty four *Halloway* was taken in the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſent over. He was under an outlawry for treaſon. The Attorney General offered him a trial, if he deſired it. Bnt he was prevailed on, by the hope of a pardon, to ſubmit and confeſs all he knew. He ſaid, he was drawn into ſome meetings, in which they conſulted how to raiſe an inſurrection, and that he and two more had undertaken to manage a deſign for ſeizing on *Briſtol*, with the help of ſome that were to come to them from *Taunton:* But he added, that they had never made any progreſs in it. He ſaid, at their meetings at *London*, *Rumſey* and *Weſt* were often talking of *lopping* the King and the Duke: But that he had never entred into any diſcourſe with them upon that ſubject: And he did not believe, there were above five perſons that approved of it. Theſe were *Weſt*, *Rumſey*, *Rumbold*, and his brother: The fifth perſon is not named in the printed relation. Some ſaid, it was *Ferguſon:* Others ſaid, it was *Goodenough*. *Halloway* was thought by the Court not to be ſincere in his confeſſion. And ſo, ſince what he had acknowledged made himſelf very guilty, he was exe-

cuted,

cuted, and died with a firm conſtancy. He ſhewed great preſence of mind. He obſerved the partiality that was evident in managing this plot, different from what had appeared in managing the Popiſh plot. The ſame men who were called rogues, when they ſwore againſt Papiſts, were looked on as honeſt men, when they turned their evidence againſt Proteſtants. In all his anſwers to the Sheriffs, who at the place of execution troubled him with many impertinent queſtions, he anſwered them with ſo much life, and yet with ſo much temper, that it appeared he was no ordinary man. His ſpeech was ſuppreſſed for ſome days: But it broke out at laſt. In it he expreſſed a deep ſenſe of Religion: His prayer was an excellent compoſure. The credit of the *Rye-Plot* received a great blow by his confeſſion. All that diſcourſe about an inſurrection, in which the day was ſaid to be ſet, appeared now to be a fiction; ſince *Briſtol* had been ſo little taken care of, that three perſons had only undertaken to diſpoſe people to that deſign, but had not yet let it out to any of them. So that it was plain, that after all the ſtory they had made of the plot, it had gone no further, than that a company of ſeditious and inconſiderable perſons were framing among themſelves ſome treaſonable ſchemes, that were never likely to come to any thing; and that *Rumſey* and *Weſt* had puſhed on the execrable deſign of the aſſaſſination, in which, tho' there were few that agreed to it, yet too many had heard it from them, who were both ſo fooliſh, and ſo wicked, as not to diſcover them. 1684

Armſtrong's death.

But if the Court loſt much by the death of *Halloway*, whom they had brought from the *Weſt-Indies*, they loſt much more by their proceedings againſt Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, who was ſurpriſed at *Leyden*, by vertue of a warrant that *Chudleigh* the King's Envoy had obtained from the States, for ſeizing on ſuch as ſhould fly out of *England* on the account of the plot. So the Scout at *Leyden*, for 5000 gilders, ſeized on him; and delivered him to *Chudleigh*, who ſent him over in great haſt. *Armſtrong* in that confuſion forgot to claim that he was a native of the States: For he was born at *Nimeguen:* And that would have obliged the *Dutch* to have protected him, as one of their natural born ſubjects. He was truſted in every thing by the Duke of *Monmouth:* And he having led a very vitious life, the Court hoped that he, not being able to bear the thoughts of dying, would diſcover every thing. He ſhewed ſuch a dejection of mind, while he was concealing himſelf before he eſcaped out of

1684 *England*, that *Hamden*, who ſaw him at that time, told me, he believed he would certainly do any thing that would ſave his life. Yet all were diſappointed in him: For when he was examined before the Council, he ſaid, he knew of no plot but the Popiſh plot: He deſired, he might have a fair trial for his life: That was all he aſked. He was loaded with irons; tho' that was not ordinary for a man who had ſerved in ſuch poſts, as to be Lieutenant of the firſt troop of guards, and Gentleman of the horſe to the King. There was nothing againſt him, but what *Rumſey* and *Shepherd* had ſworn of the diſcourſes at *Shepherd*'s, for which Lord *Ruſſel* had ſuffered. But by this time the credit of the witneſſes was ſo blaſted, that it ſeems the Court was afraid that Juries would not now be ſo eaſy as they had been. The thing that *Rumſey* had ſworn againſt him ſeemed not very credible: For he ſwore that at the firſt meeting *Armſtrong* undertook to go and view the guards in order to the ſeizing them; and that upon a view he ſaid at a ſecond meeting that the thing was very feiſible. But *Armſtrong*, who had commanded the guards ſo long, knew every thing that related to them ſo well, that without ſuch a tranſient view he could of the ſudden have anſwered every thing relating to them. The Court had a mind to proceed in a ſummary way with him, that he ſhould by the hurry of it be driven to ſay any thing that could ſave him. He was now in an outlawry: But tho' the ſtatute was expreſs, that if an outlawed perſon came in at any time within the year, he was to have a trial notwithſtanding his outlawry. It was pretended in anſwer to this, that he not coming in, but being taken, had not a right to the benefit of the ſtatute. But there were ſeveral months of the year yet to run. And ſince a trial was a demand founded on natural juſtice, he inſiſted on it. And when he was brought to the King's bench bar, and aſked what he had to ſay why ſentence ſhould not be executed, he claimed the benefit of the ſtatute. He ſaid, he had yet, when he was taken, ſeveral months to deliberate upon his coming in: And the ſeizing on him before his time was out, ought not to bar him a right that the law gave him. He alſo mentioned *Halloway*, to whom a trial was offered the former term. And, ſince it was a point of law, he deſired Council might be heard to argue it. *Jeſſeries* rejected all this: He ſaid, the King might either offer a trial or not, as he ſaw cauſe: And he refuſed to hear Council: Which being demanded upon a point of law,

the denying it was thought a very impudent piece of injuſtice. And when *Armſtrong* inſiſted, that he aſked nothing but the law, *Jefferies* in his brutal way ſaid, he ſhould have it to the full; and ſo ordered his execution within ſix days. And the law was executed on him with the utmoſt rigor: For he was carried to *Tyburn* in a ſledge, and was quartered, and his quarters were ſet up. His carriage, during his impriſonment and at his death, was far beyond what could have been imagined. He turned himſelf wholly to the thoughts of God, and of another ſtate; and was praying continually. He rejoiced, that he was brought to die in ſuch a manner. He ſaid, it was ſcarce poſſible for him to have been awaken'd into a due ſenſe of his ſins by any other method. His pride and his reſentments were then ſo entirely conquered, that one who ſaw him ſaid to me, that it was not eaſy to think it was the ſame perſon whom he had known formerly. He received the Sacrament; and died in ſo good a temper, and with ſo much quiet in his mind, and ſo ſerene a deportment, that we have ſcarce known in our time a more eminent inſtance of the grace and mercy of God. *Armſtrong* in his laſt paper denied, that he ever knew of any deſign againſt the King's, or the Duke's life, or was in any plot againſt the government. There were no remarks publiſhed on his ſpeech, which it was believed the Court ordered: For they ſaw how much ground they had loſt by this ſtretch of law, and how little they had gained by his death. One paſſage in it was the occaſion of their ordering no ſuch reflections to be made on it, as had been made on the other ſpeeches. The King had publiſhed a ſtory all about the Court, and had told it to the foreign Miniſters, as the reaſon of this extream ſeverity againſt *Armſtrong:* He ſaid, that he was ſent over by *Cromwell* to murder him beyond ſea, and that he was warned of it, and challenged him on it; and that upon his confeſſing it he had promiſed him never to ſpeak of it any more as long as he lived. So the King, counting him now dead in law, thought he was free from that promiſe. *Armſtrong* took this heavily: And in one paper which I ſaw, writ in his own hand, the reſentments upon it were ſharper than I thought became a dying penitent. So, when that was repreſented to him, he changed it: And in the paper he gave the Sheriffs he had ſoftned it much. But yet he ſhewed the falſhood of that report: For he never went beyond ſea but once, ſent by the Earl of *Oxford*, and ſome other

1684

1684 other Cavaliers, with a conſiderable preſent to the King in money, which he delivered; and brought back letters of thanks from the King to thoſe who made the preſent. But *Cromwell* having a hint of this clapt him up in priſon, where he was kept almoſt a year. And upon the merit of that ſervice, he was made a Captain of horſe ſoon after the Reſtoration. When *Jefferies* came to the King at *Windſor* ſoon after this trial, the King took a ring of good value from his finger, and gave it him for theſe ſervices: The ring upon that was called his blood ſtone. The King gave him one advice, which was ſomewhat extraordinary from a King to a Judge; but it was not the leſs neceſſary to him: The King ſaid, it was a hot ſummer, and he was going the circuit, he therefore deſired he would not drink too much. With this I leave the affairs of *England* to look towards *Scotland*.

Great ſeverity in *Scotland*.

Great pains were taken there to make a further diſcovery of the negotiation between the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*. A Gentleman, who had been at *Bothwell-Bridge*, was ſent over by the *Cargillites* to ſome of their friends in *Holland:* And he carried with him ſome letters writ in an odd cant. He was ſeized at *New-Caſtle* together with his letters; and was ſo frighted, that he was eaſily managed to pretend to diſcover any thing that was ſuggeſted to him. But he had never been at *London:* So he could ſpeak of that negotiation but upon hearſay. His ſtory was ſo ill laid together, that the Court was aſhamed to make any uſe of it: But it turned heavily on himſelf, for he went mad upon it. Two others came in, and charged Sir *Hugh Cambell* of *Ceſnock*, an antient Gentleman of a good eſtate, that he had ſet on the rebellion of *Bothwell-Bridge*, and had chid them for deſerting it. Upon this he was brought to a trial. In *Scotland* the law allows of an exculpation, by which the priſoner is ſuffered before his trial to prove the thing to be impoſſible. This was prayed by that Gentleman, who had full proofs of his being elſewhere, and at a great diſtance from the place, at that time. But that is a favour which the Court may grant, or not: So that was denied him. The firſt witneſs that was examined at his trial began with a general ſtory: And when he came to that, in which the priſoner was concerned, *Cambell* charged him to look him full in the face, and to conſider well what he was to ſay of him; for he took God to witneſs, he never ſaw his face before, as far as he could remember. Upon that the witneſs was ſtruck, and ſtopt; and ſaid, he could

could ſay nothing of him. The Earl of *Perth* was then Juſtice General, and offered to lead him into his ſtory. But the Jury ſtopt that; and ſaid, that he upon his oath had declared he knew nothing of the priſoner, and that after that they could have no regard to any thing that he might ſay. Upon which ſome ſharp words paſſed between Lord *Perth* and them, in which he ſhewed how ready he was to ſacrifice juſtice and innocent blood to his ambition. And that was yet groſſer in this caſe; becauſe his brother was promiſed that Gentleman's eſtate, when it ſhould be confiſcated. The ſecond witneſs ſaid nothing, but ſeemed confounded: So *Cambell* was acquitted by the Jury, but was ſtill kept in priſon. Theſe witneſſes were again examined before the Council: And they adhered to their firſt depoſition againſt the priſoner. The law in *Scotland* is very ſevere againſt falſe witneſſes, and treats them as felons. But the government there would not diſcourage ſuch practices; of which, when they ſhould be more lucky, they intended to make good uſe. The Circuits went round the Country, as was directed by the Proclamation of the former year. Thoſe who were moſt guilty compounded the matter, and paid liberally to a creature of the Lord Chancellor's, that their names might be left out of the citations. Others took the teſt: And that freed them from all further trouble. They ſaid openly, that it was againſt their conſcience; but they ſaw they could not live in *Scotland* unleſs they took it. Others obſerved, that the ſeverity which the Preſbyterians formerly had uſed, forcing all people to take their covenant, was now returned back on them in this teſt, that they were thus forced to take. 1684

A breach in the Miniſtry there.

In the mean while a great breach was formed, and appeared on all occaſions, between the Earls of *Aberdeen* and *Queensbury*. The latter was very exact in his payments, both of the ſoldiers and of the penſions: So his party became the ſtrongeſt. Lord *Aberdeen*'s method was this: He writ up letters to the Duke of all affairs, and offered expedients, which he pretended were concerted at *Edenburgh*; and ſent with them the draughts of ſuch letters, as he deſired ſhould be ſent down from the King. But theſe expedients were not concerted, as he ſaid: They were only his own conceits. Lord *Queensbury*, offended with this, let the Duke underſtand how he had been deceived. So an order was ſent down that all expedients ſhould be concerted by a Junto, conſiſting of Lord *Queensbury*'s creatures. Lord

1684 *Aberdeen* ſaw that by this he came to ſignify little: And ſeeing he was loſing ground at Court, he intended to recover himſelf a little with the people. So he reſolved for the future to keep to the law, and not to go beyond it. And ſuch was the fury of that time, that this was called moderation and popularity. The Churches were now all well kept by the men: But their wives not being named in the act of Parliament, none of them went to Church. The matter was laid before the Council: And a debate aroſe upon it; whether, man and wife making one perſon in law, huſbands ſhould not be fined for their wife's offence, as well as for their own. Lord *Aberdeen* ſtood upon this, that the act did not mention the wives: It did indeed make the huſbands liable to a fine, if their wives went to Conventicles; for they had it in their power to reſtrain them: And ſince the law provided in the one caſe, that the huſband ſhould ſuffer for his wife's fault, but had made no proviſion in the other caſe, as to their going to Church, he thought the fining them on that account could not be legally done. Lord *Queensbury* was for every thing that would bring money into the treaſury: So, ſince in thoſe parts the Ladies had for many years withdrawn wholly from the Churches, he reckoned the ſetting fines on their huſbands to the rigour would make all the eſtates of the Country be at mercy; for the ſelling them outright would not have anſwered this demand for the offences of ſo many years. The Earl of *Perth* ſtruck in with this, and ſeemed to ſet it up for a maxim, that the Preſbyterians could not be governed, but with the extremity of rigour; and that they were irreconcileable enemies to the King and the Duke, and that therefore they ought to be extirpated. The Miniſtry in *Scotland* being thus divided, they referred the deciſion of the point to the King: And Lord *Perth* came up to have his reſolution upon it. The King determined againſt the Ladies: Which was thought very indecent; for in dubious caſes the nobleneſs of a Prince's temper ſhould always turn him to the merciful ſide. This was the leſs expected from the King, who had all his life time expreſſed as great a neglect of women's conſciences, as eſteem for their perſons.

The Duke governed all affairs.

But to do him right, he was determined to it by the Duke; who ſince the breaking out of the plot had got the whole management of affairs, *Engliſh* as well as *Scottiſh*, into his hands. *Scotland* was ſo entirely in his dependance, that the King would ſeldom aſk what the papers imported, which the Duke

Duke brought to be ſigned by him. In *England*, the application and dependance was viſibly on the Duke. The King had ſcarce company about him to entertain him, when the Duke's levees and couchees were ſo crouded, that the antichambers were full. The King walked about with a ſmall train of the neceſſary attendants, when the Duke had a vaſt following: Which drew a lively reflection from *Waller* the celebrated wit. He ſaid, the Houſe of Commons had reſolved that the Duke ſhould not reign after the King's death: But the King in oppoſition to them was reſolved he ſhould reign even during his life. The breach grew to that heighth between Lord *Aberdeen* and Lord *Queensbury*, that both were called up to give an account of it. It ended in diſmiſſing Lord *Aberdeen*, and making Lord *Perth* Chancellor, to which he had been long aſpiring in a moſt indecent manner. He ſaw into the Duke's temper, that his ſpirit was turned to an unrelenting ſeverity: For this had appeared very indecently in *Scotland*. 1684

The cruelty of the Duke, and of his Miniſters, in torturing.

When any are to be ſtruck in the boots, it is done in the preſence of the Council: And upon that occaſion almoſt all offer to run away. The ſight is ſo dreadful, that without an order reſtraining ſuch a number to ſtay the board would be forſaken. But the Duke, while he had been in *Scotland*, was ſo far from withdrawing, that he looked on all the while with an unmoved indifference, and with an attention, as if he had been to look on ſome curious experiment. This gave a terrible idea of him to all that obſerved it, as of a man that had no bowels nor humanity in him. Lord *Perth*, obſerving this, reſolved to let him ſee how well qualified he was to be an Inquiſitor General. The rule about the boots in *Scotland* was, that upon one witneſs and preſumptions both together, the queſtion might be given: But it was never known to be twice given; or that any other ſpecies of torture, beſides the boots, might be uſed at pleaſure. In the Court of Inquiſition they do upon ſuſpicion, or if a man refuſes to anſwer upon oath as he is required, give him the torture; and repeat it, or vary it, as often as they think fit; and do not give over, till they have got out of their mangled priſoners all that they have a mind to know from them.

This Lord *Perth* reſolved to make this his pattern: And was a little too early in letting the world ſee, what a government we were to expect under the influence of a Prince of that Religion. So, upon his going to *Scotland* one *Spence*, who was a ſervant of Lord *Argile's*, and was taken up at *London*,

1684 only upon ſuſpicion, and ſent down to *Scotland*, was required to take an oath to anſwer all the queſtions that ſhould be put to him. This was done in a direct contradiction to an expreſs law againſt obliging men to ſwear, that they will anſwer *ſuper inquirendis*. *Spence* likewiſe ſaid, that he himſelf might be concerned in what he might know: And it was againſt a very univerſal law, that excuſed all men from ſwearing againſt themſelves, to force him to take ſuch an oath. So he was ſtruck in the boots, and continued firm in his refuſal. Then a new ſpecies of torture was invented: He was kept from ſleep eight or nine nights. They grew weary of managing this. So a third ſpecies was invented: Little ſcrews of ſteel were made uſe of, that ſcrewed the thumbs with ſo exquiſite a torment, that he ſunk under this; for Lord *Perth* told him, they would ſcrew every joint of his whole body, one after another, till he took the oath. Yet ſuch was the firmneſs and fidelity of this poor man, that even in that extremity he capitulated, that no new queſtions ſhould be put to him, but thoſe already agreed on; and that he ſhould not be obliged to be a witneſs againſt any perſon, and that he himſelf ſhould be pardoned: So all he could tell them was, who were Lord *Argile*'s correſpondents. The chief of them was *Holmes* at *London*, to whom Lord *Argile* writ in a cypher, that had a peculiar curioſity in it: A double key was neceſſary: The one was, to ſhew the way of placing the words or cypher, in an order very different from that in which they lay in the paper: The other was, the key of the cyphers themſelves, which was found among *Holmes*'s papers, when he abſconded. *Spence* knew only the firſt of theſe: But he putting all in its true order, then by the other key they were decyphered. In theſe it appeared, what *Argile* had demanded, and what he undertook to do upon the granting his demands: But none of his letters ſpoke any thing of any agreement then made.

When the torture had this effect on *Spence*, they offered the ſame oath to *Carſtairs*. And, upon his refuſing to take it, they put his thumbs in the ſcrews; and drew them ſo hard, that as they put him to extream torture, ſo they could not unſcrew them, till the ſmith that made them was brought with his tools to take them off. So he confeſſed all he knew, which amounted to little more than ſome diſcourſes of taking off the Duke; to which he ſaid that he anſwered, his principles could not come up to that: Yet in this he, who was a preacher among them, was highly to blame, for

not revealing ſuch black propoſitions; tho' it cannot be denied, but that it is a hard thing to diſcover any thing that is ſaid in confidence: And therefore I ſaved my ſelf out of thoſe difficulties by ſaying to all my friends, that I would not be involved in any ſuch confidence; for as long as I thought our circumſtances were ſuch that reſiſtance was not lawful, I thought the concealing any deſign in order to it was likewiſe unlawful: And by this means I had preſerved my ſelf. But *Carſtairs* had at this time ſome ſecrets of great conſequence from *Holland* truſted to him by *Fagel*, of which they had no ſuſpicion: And ſo they aſked him no queſtions about them. Yet *Fagel* ſaw by that, as he himſelf told me, how faithful *Carſtairs* was, ſince he could have ſaved himſelf from torture, and merited highly, if he had diſcovered them. And this was the foundation of his favour with the Prince of *Orange*, and of the great confidence he put in him to his death. 1684

Upon what was thus ſcrewed out of theſe two perſons, the Earl of *Tarras*, who had married the Ducheſs of *Monmouth*'s elder ſiſter, and ſix or ſeven Gentlemen of Quality, were clapt up. The Miniſters of State were ſtill moſt earneſtly ſet on *Baillie*'s deſtruction; tho' he was now in ſo langniſhing a ſtate, occaſioned chiefly by the bad uſage he met with in priſon, that if his death would have ſatisfied the malice of the Court, that ſeemed to be very near. But they knew how acceptable a ſacrifice his dying in a more violent way would prove. So they continued even in that extremity to uſe him barbarouſly. They were alſo trying what could be drawn from thoſe Gentlemen againſt him. *Tarras* had married his niece, who was his ſecond wife. So they concluded that their confidence was entire. *Baillie*'s illneſs increaſed daily: And his wife prayed for leave to attend on him: And, if they feared an eſcape, ſhe was willing to be put in irons: But that was denied. Nor would they ſuffer his daughter, a child of twelve years old, to attend him, even when he was ſo low, that it was not probable he could live many weeks, his legs being much ſwelled. But upon theſe examinations a new method in proceeding againſt him was taken. An accuſation was ſent him, not in the form of an indictment, nor grounded on any law, but on a letter of the King's, in which he charged him not only for a conſpiracy to raiſe rebellion, but for being engaged in the *Rye-plot*; of all which he was now required to purge himſelf by oath, otherwiſe the Council would hold him guilty of it, and proceed accordingly. Proceedings againſt *Baillie*.

1684 ingly. He was not, as they ſaid, now in a criminal Court upon his life, but before the Council, who did only fine and impriſon. It was to no purpoſe for him to ſay, that by no law, unleſs it was in a Court of Inquiſition, a man could be required to ſwear againſt himſelf, the temptation to perjury being ſo ſtrong when ſelf-preſervation was in the caſe, that it ſeemed againſt all law and religion to lay ſuch a ſnare in a man's way. But to anſwer all this, it was pretended he was not now on his life, and that whatſoever he confeſſed was not to be made uſe of againſt his life; as if the ruin of his family, which conſiſted of nine children, and perpetual impriſonment, were not more terrible, eſpecially to one ſo near his end as he was, than death it ſelf. But he had to do with inexorable men: So he was required to take this oath within two days. And by that time, he not being able to appear before the Council, a Committee of Council was ſent to tender him the oath, and to take his examination. He told them, he was not able to ſpeak by reaſon of the low ſtate of his health, which appeared very evidently to them: For he had almoſt died while they were with him. He in general proteſted his innocence, and his abhorrence of all deſigns againſt the King, or the Duke's life: For the other interrogatories, he deſired they might be left with him, and he would conſider them. They perſiſted to require him to take his oath: But he as firmly refuſal it. So, upon their report, the Council conſtrued this refuſal to be a confeſſion: And fined him 6000 *l.* and ordered him to lie ſtill in priſon till it was paid. After this it was thought that this matter was at an end, and that this was a final ſentence: But he was ſtill kept ſhut up, and denied all attendance or aſſiſtance. He ſeemed all the while ſo compoſed, and even ſo cheerful, that his behaviour looked like the reviving of the ſpirit of the nobleſt of the old *Greeks* or *Romans*, or rather of the primitive *Chriſtians*, and firſt Martyrs in thoſe beſt days of the Church. But the Duke was not ſatisfied with all this. So the Miniſtry applied their arts to *Tarras*, and the other priſoners, threatning them with all the extremities of miſery, if they would not witneſs treaſonable matter againſt *Baillie*. They alſo practiſed on their wives, and frightning them ſet them on their huſbands. In concluſion, they gained what had been ſo much laboured: *Tarras*, and one *Murray* of *Philipſhaugh*, did depoſe ſome diſcourſes that *Baillie* had with them before he went up to *London*, diſpoſing them to a rebellion. In theſe they ſwelled up the matter beyond the

the truth. Yet all did not amount to a full proof. So the Miniſters, being afraid that a Jury might not be ſo eaſy as they expected, ordered *Carſtairs*'s confeſſion to be read in Court, not as an evidence, (for that had been promiſed him ſhould not be done,) but as that which would fully ſatisfy the Jury, and diſpoſe them to believe the witneſſes. So *Baillie* was hurried on to a trial. And upon the evidence he was found guilty, and condemned to be executed that ſame day: So afraid they were left death ſhould be too quick for them. He was very little diſturbed at all this: His languiſhing in ſo ſolitary a manner made death a very acceptable deliverance to him. He in his laſt ſpeech ſhewed, that in ſeveral particulars the witneſſes had wronged him: He ſtill denied all knowledge of any deſign againſt the King's life, or the Duke's; and denied any plot againſt the government: He thought it was lawful for ſubjects, being under ſuch preſſures, to try how they might be relieved from them: And their deſign never went further: But he would enter into no particulars. Thus a learned, and a worthy Gentleman, after twenty months hard uſage, was brought to ſuch a death, in a way ſo full in all the ſteps of it of the ſpirit and practice of the Courts of Inquiſition, that one is tempted to think that the methods taken in it were ſuggeſted by one well ſtudied, if not practiſed in them. The only excuſe that was ever pretended for this infamous proſecution was, that they were ſure he was guilty; and that the whole ſecret of the negotiation between the two Kingdoms was truſted to him; and that, ſince he would not diſcover it, all methods might be taken to deſtroy him: Not conſidering what a precedent they made on this occaſion, by which, if men were once poſſeſſed of an ill opinion of a man, they were to ſpare neither artifice nor violence, but to hunt him down by any means. I have been perhaps too long in this particular, but the caſe was ſo ſingular, and my relation to the perſon was ſo near, and my value for him was ſo great, that I hope I need make no apology for it.

1684

And his execution.

In this I ſaw how ambition could corrupt one of the beſt tempered men that I had ever known: I mean Lord *Perth*, who for above ten years together ſeemed to me incapable of an immoral or cruel action, and yet was now deeply engaged in the fouleſt and blackeſt of crimes. I had not now ſeen him for two years. But I hoped, that ſtill ſome good impreſſions had been left in him: And now, when he came to *London* to be made Lord Chancellor, I had a very earneſt

1684 earneſt meſſage from him, deſiring by my means to ſee *Leighton*. I thought, that angelical man might have awaken'd in him ſome of thoſe good principles which he ſeemed once to have, and which were now totally extinguiſhed in him. I writ ſo earneſtly to *Leighton*, that he came to *London*. Upon his coming to me, I was amazed to ſee him at above ſeventy look ſo freſh and well, that age ſeemed as it were to ſtand ſtill with him: His hair was ſtill black, and all his motions were lively: He had the ſame quickneſs of thought, and ſtrength of memory, but above all the ſame heat and life of devotion, that I had ever ſeen in him. When I took notice to him upon my firſt ſeeing him how well he looked, he told me, he was very near his end for all that; and his work and journey both were now almoſt done. This at that time made no great impreſſion on me. He was the next day taken with an oppreſſion, and as it ſeemed with a cold and with ſtitches, which was indeed a pluriſy.

Leighton's death. The next day *Leighton* ſunk ſo, that both ſpeech and ſenſe went away of a ſudden: And he continued panting about twelve hours; and then died without pangs or convulſions. I was by him all the while. Thus I loſt him, who had been for ſo many years the chief guide of my whole life. He had lived ten years in *Suſſex*, in great privacy, dividing his time wholly between ſtudy and retirement, and the doing of good: For in the pariſh where he lived, and in the pariſhes round about, he was always employed in preaching, and in reading prayers. He diſtributed all he had in charities, chooſing rather to have it go thro' other people's hand than his own: For I was his almoner in *London*. He had gathered a well choſen library of curious, as well as uſeful books; which he left to the Dioceſs of *Dunblane*, for the uſe of the Clergy there, that Country being ill provided with books. He lamented oft to me the ſtupidity that he obſerved among the Commons of *England*, who ſeemed to be much more inſenſible in the matters of Religion, than the Commons of *Scotland* were. He retained ſtill a peculiar inclination to *Scotland:* And if he had ſeen any proſpect of doing good there, he would have gone and lived and died among them. In the ſhort time that the affairs of *Scotland* were in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s hands, that Duke had been poſſeſſed with ſuch an opinion of him, that he moved the King to write to him, to go, and at leaſt live in *Scotland*, if he would not engage in a Biſhoprick there. But that fell with that Duke's credit. He was in his laſt years turned to a

greater ſeverity againſt Popery than I had imagined a man of his temper, and of his largeneſs in point of opinion, was capable of. He ſpoke of the corruptions, of the ſecular ſpirit, and of the cruelty that appeared in that Church, with an extraordinary concern; and lamented the ſhameful advances that we ſeemed to be making towards Popery. He did this with a tenderneſs, and an edge, that I did not expect from ſo recluſe and mortified a man. He looked on the State the Church of *England* was in with very melancholy reflections, and was very uneaſy at an expreſſion then much uſed, that it was the beſt conſtituted Church in the world. He thought it was truly ſo, with relation to the doctrine, the worſhip, and the main part of our government. But as to the adminiſtration, both with relation to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and the paſtoral care, he looked on it as one of the moſt corrupt he had ever ſeen. He thought, we looked like a fair carcaſe of a body without a ſpirit; without that zeal, that ſtrictneſs of life, and that laborioufneſs in the Clergy, that became us. 1684

There were two remarkable circumſtances in his death. He uſed often to ſay, that if he were to chooſe a place to die in, it ſhould be an inn; it looking like a Pilgrim's going home, to whom this world was all as an inn, and who was weary of the noiſe and confuſion in it. He added, that the officious tenderneſs and care of friends was an entanglement to a dying man; and that the unconcerned attendance of thoſe that could be procured in ſuch a place would give leſs diſturbance. And he obtained what he deſired; for he died at the *Bell* inn in *Warwick-Lane*. Another circumſtance was, that while he was Biſhop in *Scotland*, he took what his tenants were pleaſed to pay him: So that there was a great arrear due, which was raiſed ſlowly by one whom he left in truſt with his affairs there: And the laſt payment that he could expect from thence was returned up to him about ſix weeks before his death: So that his proviſion and journey failed both at once. And thus in the ſeveral parts of this hiſtory I have given a very particular account of every thing relating to this apoſtolical man; whoſe life I would have writ, if I had not found proper places to bring the moſt material parts of it within this work. I reckon, that I owed this to that perfect friendſhip and fatherly care with which he had always treated me.

The mentioning his death leads me to name ſome other Clergymen of note, that died in this and in the former year. The promotion of ſome Biſhops.

1684 year. *Burnet* died in *Scotland*. And *Roſs*, a poor, ignorant, worthleſs man, but in whom obedience and fury were ſo eminent, that theſe ſupplied all other defects, was raiſed to be the Primate of that Church: Which was indeed a ſad omen, as well as a ſtep to its fall and ruin. *Stearn*, Archbiſhop of *York*, died in the eighty ſixth year of his age: He was a ſour-ill tempered man, and minded chiefly the enriching his family. He was ſuſpected of Popery, becauſe he was more than ordinarily compliant in all things to the Court, and was very zealous for the Duke. *Dolben*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, ſucceeded him, a man of more ſpirit than diſcretion, and an excellent preacher, but of a free converſation, which laid him open to much cenſure in a vitious Court. And indeed he proved a much better Archbiſhop than he had been a Biſhop. *Gunning* of *Ely* died this ſummer, a man of great reading: He had in him all the ſubtilty, and the diſputing humour of a ſchoolman: And he ſtudied to infuſe that into all thoſe who were formed by him. He was ſtrict in the whole courſe of his life: But was a dry man, and much inclined to ſuperſtition. He had a great confuſion of things in his head, and could bring nothing into method: So that he was a dark and perplexed preacher. His ſermons were full of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and of the opinions of the Fathers. Yet many of the Ladies of a high form loved to hear him preach: Which the King uſed to ſay, was becauſe they did not underſtand him. *Turner* ſucceeded him. He had been long in the Duke's family, and was in high favour with him. He was a ſincere and good natured man, of too quick an imagination, and too defective a judgment. He was but moderately learned, having converſed more with men than with books: And ſo he was not able to do the Duke great ſervice. But he was ſo zealous for his ſucceſſion, that this raiſed him high upon no great ſtock of ſufficiency. Old *Morley*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, died this winter, in the eighty ſeventh year of his age. He was in many reſpects a very eminent man, zealous againſt Popery, and yet a great enemy to the Diſſenters: He was conſiderably learned, and had a great vivacity of thought: But he was too ſoon provoked, and too little maſter of himſelf upon thoſe occaſions. *Mew*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, ſucceeded him: He had been a Captain during the wars, and had been *Middletoun*'s Secretary, when he was ſent to command the inſurrection that the *Highlanders* of *Scotland* made for the King in fifty three. After that he came into Orders: And, tho' he knew very

very little of Divinity, or of any other learning, and was weak to a childiſh degree, yet obſequiouſneſs and zeal raiſed him thro' ſeveral ſteps to this great See. *Ken* ſucceeded him in *Bath* and *Wells*; a man of an aſcetick courſe of life, and yet of a very lively temper, but too hot and ſudden. He had a very edifying way of preaching: But it was more apt to move the paſſions, than to inſtruct. So that his ſermons were rather beautiful than ſolid: Yet his way in them was very taking. The King ſeemed fond of him. And by him and *Turner* the Papiſts hoped, that great progreſs might be made in gaining, or at leaſt deluding the Clergy. It was obſerved, that all the men in favour among the Clergy were unmarried; from whom, they hoped, they might more probably promiſe themſelves a diſpoſition to come over to them. 1684

Danby and the Popiſh Lords bailed.

The proſecution of the Diſſenters was carried very high all this year: They were not only proceeded againſt for going to Conventicles, but for not going to Church, and for not receiving the Sacrament; the laws made againſt Papiſts with relation to thoſe particulars being now applied to them. Many were excommunicated, and ruined by the proſecutions. The Earl of *Danby*, for all his ſeverity againſt Lord *Shafts-bury* for moving in the King's bench to be bailed, tho' committed by the Lords only for contempt, yet had been forced to move often for his being let out upon bail. It was certainly a very great hardſhip that he lay under: For he had been now five years in the Tower. And three Parliaments had ſat. The two laſt had not mentioned him. And now a Parliament ſeemed out of ſight. Yet, tho' he offered a very long and learned argument for their bailing him, the Judges of the King's bench, even *Sanders* himſelf, were afraid to meddle in it. But *Jefferies* was bolder. So he bailed him. And upon the ſame grounds all the Popiſh Lords were alſo bailed. *Oates* was proſecuted at the Duke's ſuit for ſcandalous words: Rogue and traitor were very freely beſtowed on the Duke by him: So an 100000 *l.* was given, which ſhut him up in a perpetual impriſonment, till they ſaw a fit opportunity to carry matters further againſt him. The Duke of *Beaufort*, Lord *Peterborough*, and ſome others, brought actions of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt thoſe who in the time of our great heat had ſpoke foul things of them: And great damages were given by obſequious and zealous Juries. An information of a higher nature was brought againſt *Williams*, who, tho' he was a worthleſs man, yet was for his zeal

1684 zeal choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the two laſt Parliaments. He had licenſed the printing the Votes, which had in them matters of ſcandal relating to ſome Lords. So an information was brought againſt him: And he upon it demurred to the juriſdiction of the Court. This was driven on purpoſe by the Duke's party, to cut off the thoughts of another Parliament; ſince it was not to be ſuppoſed, that any Houſe of Commons could bear the puniſhing the Speaker for obeying their orders.

Some removes made at Court.

Jenkins had now done all the drudgery that the Court had occaſion for from him: And being capable to ſerve them in nothing elſe, he was diſmiſt from being Secretary of State: And *Godolphin*, one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, ſucceeded him. Another Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, *Deering*, dying at the ſame time, the Earl of *Rocheſter* hoped to have been made Lord Treaſurer. He had loſt much ground with the King. And the whole Court hated him, by reaſon of the ſtop of all payments, which was chiefly imputed to him. Lord *Haliſax* and Lord *North* joined their intereſt to bring in two other Commiſſioners upon him, without ſo much as letting him know of it, till it was reſolved on. Theſe were *Thynn* and *North*. This laſt was to be rewarded for his ſervice during his Shrievalry in *London*. Lord *Rocheſter* engaged both the Duke and the Lady *Portſmouth* to divert this, if it was poſſible. But the King was not to be ſhaken. So he reſolved to quit the Treaſury. The Earl of *Radnor* was diſcharged from being Lord Preſident of the Council, where he had for ſome years acted a very mean part, in which he had loſt the character of a ſteady, cynical, *Engliſhman*, which he had maintained in the former courſe of his life. And Lord *Rocheſter* was made Lord Preſident: Which being a poſt ſuperior in rank, but much inferior both in advantage and credit to that he held formerly, drew a jeſt from Lord *Haliſax* that may be worth remembring: He ſaid, he had heard of many kicked down ſtairs, but never of any that was kickt up ſtairs before. *Godolphin* was weary of the drudgery that lay on a Secretary of State. He choſe rather to be the firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. And he was made a Baron. The Earl of *Middletoun*, ſon to him that had governed *Scotland*, was made Secretary of State, a man of a generous temper, but without much religion, well learned, of a good judgment, and a lively apprehenſion.

The bombarding of *Genoa*.

If foreign affairs could have awaken'd the King, the *French* did enough this ſummer in order to it. Beſides their poſ-

seſſing themſelves of *Luxembourg*, they ſent a fleet againſt *Genoa* upon no ſort of provocation, but becauſe *Genoa* would not comply with ſome demands, that were both unjuſt and unreaſonable: The King of *France* ordered it to be bombarded, hoping that in that confuſion he might by landing a few men have made himſelf eaſily maſter of that State. This would very probably have ſucceeded, if the attempt had been made upon the firſt conſternation they were in, when the bombardment began. But the thing was delayed a day or two. And by that time the *Genoeſe* not only recovered themſelves out of their firſt fright; but putting themſelves in order, they were animated with that indignation and fury that they beat off the *French* with a courage that was not expected from them. Such an aſſault, that looked liker the violence of a robber, than the attack of one that would obſerve forms in his conqueſts, ought to have provoked all Princes, eſpecially ſuch as were powerful at ſea, to have joined againſt a Prince, who by theſe practices was become the common enemy of mankind. But we were now purſuing other deſigns, from which it was reſolved that nothing from beyond ſea ſhould divert us. 1684

After the King had kept *Tangier* about twenty years, and had been at a vaſt charge in making a mole before it, in which ſeveral ſets of undertakers had failed indeed in the main deſigns, but had ſucceeded well in the enriching of themſelves, and the work was now brought near perfection, which ſeemed to give us the key of the *Mediterranean*; He, to deliver himſelf from that charge, ſent Lord *Dartmouth* with a fleet to deſtroy all the works, and to bring home all our men. The King, when he communicated this to the Cabinet Council, charged them to be ſecret. But it was believed, that he himſelf ſpoke of it to the Lord *Arlington*, and that Lord *Arlington* told it to the *Portugal* Ambaſſador: For the Ambaſſador took fire upon it; and deſired, that, if the King was weary of keeping it, he would reſtore it to his Maſter: And he undertook to pay a great ſum for the charge the King had been at, all theſe years that he had it. But the King believed, that as the money would never be paid, ſo the King of *Portugal* would not be able to maintain that place againſt the *Moors:* So that it would fall in their hands, and by that means prove too important to command the Straits. The thing was boldly denied by the Miniſters, when preſſed by the Ambaſſador upon the ſubject. Lord *Dartmouth* executed the deſign as he was ordered. So *Tangier* abandoned.

1684 an end was put to our poſſeſſing that place. This was done only to ſave charge, that the Court might hold out the longer without a Parliament. So the Republick of *Genoa*, ſeeing that we would not, and that without us the *Dutch* could not undertake their protection, were forced to make a very abject compliment to the King of *France*; if any thing could be abject, that was neceſſary to ſave their Country. The Doge and ſome of the Senators were ſent to *Verſailles* to aſk the King pardon, tho' it was not eaſy to tell for what; unleſs it was, becauſe they preſumed to reſiſt his invaſion. I hapned to be at *Paris* when the Doge was there. One ſaying of his was much repeated: When all the glory of *Verſailles* was ſet open to him, and the flatterers of the Court were admiring every thing, he ſeemed to look at them with the coldneſs that became a perſon who was at the head of a free Common Wealth: And when he was aſked, if the things he ſaw were not very extraordinary, he ſaid, the moſt extraordinary thing that he ſaw was, that he ſaw himſelf there.

Affairs beyond ſea.

The affairs of *Holland* were much broken: The Prince of *Orange* and the Town of *Amſterdam* were in very ill terms by the *French* management, to which *Chudleigh* the *Engliſh* Envoy joined his ſtrength, to ſuch a degree of inſolence, that he offered perſonal affronts to the Prince; who upon that would ſee him no more: Yet the Prince was not conſidered enough at our Court to get *Chudleigh* to be recalled upon it. The Town of *Amſterdam* went ſo far, that a motion was made of ſetting up the Prince of *Friezeland* as their Statholder: And he was invited to come to their Town in order to it. But the Prince of *Orange* prevented this by coming to a full agreement with that Town. So he and his Princeſs were invited thither: And that miſunderſtanding was removed, or at leaſt laid aſleep for that time. The war of *Hungary* went on with ſlow ſucceſs on the Emperor's ſide: He was poor, and his revenue was exhauſted, ſo that he could not preſs ſo hard upon the *Turks*, as he might have done with advantage; for they were in great confuſion. The King of *Poland* had married a *French* wife: And ſhe had a great aſcendant over him: And not being able to get her family raiſed in *France*, ſhe had turned that King to the Emperor's intereſts. So that he had the glory of raiſing the ſiege of *Vienna*. The *French* ſaw their error; and were now ready to purchaſe her at any rate: So that all the reſt of that poor King's inglorious life, after that great action at

Vienna, was a perpetual going backwards and forwards between the intereſts of *France* and *Vienna*; which depended entirely upon the ſecret negotiations of the Court of *France* with his Queen, as they came to her terms, or as they did not quite comply with them. 1684

The miſunderſtanding between the Court of *Rome* and *France* went on ſtill. The Pope declared openly for the Houſe of *Auſtria* againſt the *Turk*; and made great returns of money into *Germany*. He engaged the *Venetians* into the alliance. He found alſo fault with many of the proceedings in *France*, with relation to the Regale. And now the tables were turned: The *Jeſuits*, who were wont to value themſelves on their dependance on the Court of *Rome*, were now wholly in the intereſts of *France*; for they reſolved to be on the ſtronger ſide: And the *Janſeniſts*, whom *Rome* had treated very ill, and who were looked on as the moſt zealous aſſertors of the liberties of the *Gallican* Church, were now the men that admired the Pope, and declared for him. The perſecution of the Proteſtants went on ſtill in *France:* And no other care was had of them here, but that we ſheltred them, and ſo had great numbers of them coming over to us. A quarrel was in debate between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch Eaſt-India* company. The *Dutch* had a mind to drive us out of *Bantam*; for they did not love to ſee the *Engliſh* ſettle ſo near *Batavia*. So they engaged the old King of *Bantam* into a war with his ſon, who was in poſſeſſion of *Bantam:* And the ſon was ſupported by the *Engliſh*. But the old King drove out his ſon by the help that the *Dutch* gave him: And he drove out the *Engliſh* likewiſe, as having eſpouſed his ſon's rebellion againſt him; tho' we underſtood it, that he had reſigned the Kingdom to his ſon, but that by the inſtigation of the *Dutch* he had now invaded him. It is certain, our Court laid up this in their heart, as that upon which they would lay the foundation of a new war with the States, as ſoon as we ſhould be in condition to undertake it. The *Eaſt-India* company ſaw this, and that the Court preſſed them to make publick remonſtrances upon it, which gave a jealouſy of an ill deſign under it: So they reſolved to proceed rather in a very ſlow negotiation, than in any thing that might give a handle to a rupture.

I muſt now mix in ſomewhat with relation to my ſelf, tho' that may ſeem too inconſiderable to be put into a ſeries of matters of ſuch importance. But it is neceſſary to give ſome account of that which ſet me at liberty to go round ſome parts

The hardſhips that the author met with.

1684 parts of *Europe*, and to ſtay for ſome years out of *England*. I preached a lecture at St. *Clements* on the *Thurſdays:* But after the Lord *Ruſſel*'s death the King ſent an order to Dr. *Haſcard*, then Rector of the pariſh, to diſcharge me from it. I continued at the Rolls, avoiding very cautiouſly every thing that related to the publick: For I abhorred the making the pulpit a ſtage for venting of paſſion, or for the ſerving of intereſts. There was a pariſh in *London* vacant, where the election lay in the inhabitants: And it was probable it would have fallen on me; tho' *London* was in ſo divided a ſtate, that every thing was managed by the ſtrength of parties. Yet the King, apprehending the choice might have fallen on me, ſent a meſſage to them, to let them know, he would take it amiſs if they choſe me. Old Sir *Harbotle Grimſtone* lived ſtill to the great indignation of the Court: When the fifth of *November*, being gunpowder treaſon day, came, in which we had always ſermons at the Chapel of the Rolls, I beg'd the Maſter of the Rolls to excuſe me then from preaching; for that day led one to preach againſt Popery, and it was indecent not to do it. He ſaid, he would end his life as he had led it all along, in an open deteſtation of Popery. So, ſince I ſaw this could not be avoided, tho' I had not meddled with any point of Popery for above a year together, I reſolved, ſince I did it ſo ſeldom, to do it to purpoſe. I choſe for my text theſe words: *Save me from the lion's mouth, thou haſt heard me from the horns of the unicorns.* I made no reflection in my thoughts on the lion and unicorn, as being the two ſupporters of the King's ſcutcheon: (For I ever hated all points of that ſort, as a profanation of Scriptures:) But I ſhewed how well Popery might be compared to the lion's mouth, then open to devour us: And I compared our former deliverance from the extremities of danger to the being on the horn of a rhinoceros. And this leading me to the ſubject of the day, I mentioned that wiſh of King *James* the firſt againſt any of his poſterity that ſhould endeavour to bring that religion in among us. This was immediately carried to the Court. But it only raiſed more anger againſt me; for nothing could be made of it. They talked moſt of the choice of the text, as levelled againſt the King's coat of arms. That had never been once in my thoughts. Lord Keeper *North* diverted the King from doing any thing on the account of my ſermon. And ſo the matter ſlept till the end of the term. And then *North* writ to the Maſter of the Rolls, that the King conſi-

dered the Chapel of the Rolls as one of his own Chapels: And, ſince he looked on me as a perſon diſaffected to his government, and had for that reaſon diſmiſſed me from his own ſervice, he therefore required him not to ſuffer me to ſerve any longer in that Chapel. And thus all my ſervice in the Church was now ſtopt. For upon ſuch a publick declaration made againſt me, it was not fit for any Clergyman to make uſe of my aſſiſtance any more. And by theſe means I was ſet at liberty by the procurement of my enemies. So that I did not abandon my poſt, either out of fear, or out of any giddineſs to ramble about *Europe*. But, being now under ſuch publick marks of jealouſy, and put out of a capacity of ſerving God and the Church in the way of my function, it ſeemed a prudent and a decent thing for me to withdraw my ſelf from that fury, which I ſaw was working ſo ſtrongly, and in ſo many repeated inſtances, againſt me. 1684

Theſe diſgraces from the Court were the occaſion of my going out of *England*; which both preſerved me from what I had reaſon to apprehend, when the Duke, by the change that hapned ſoon after, might have had it in his power to make me feel all that diſpleaſure, which had been growing upon him in a courſe of ſo many years againſt me; and it alſo put me in a way to do the greateſt ſervices I was capable of, both to the intereſt of religion, and of theſe Nations. So that what was intended as a miſchief to me proved my preſervation. My employment at the Rolls would have fallen in courſe within a month, if the Court had delayed the putting me from it in ſuch an open manner; for that worthy man, Sir *Harbotle Grimſtone*, died about *Chriſtmas*. Nature ſunk all at once, he being then eighty two: He died, as he had lived, with great piety and reſignation to the will of God.

There were two famous trials in *Michaelmas* term: Three women came and depoſed againſt *Roſwell*, a Preſbyterian preacher, treaſonable words that he had delivered at a Conventicle. They ſwore to two or three periods, in which they agreed ſo exactly together, that there was not the ſmalleſt variation in their depoſitions. *Roſwell* on the other hand made a ſtrong defence: He proved, that the witneſſes were leud and infamous perſons. He proved, that he had always been a loyal man, even in *Cromwell*'s days; that he prayed conſtantly for the King in his family, and that in his ſermons he often inſiſted on the obligations to loyalty. And as for that ſermon, in which the witneſſes ſwore he deli- Trials for treaſon of *Roſwell* and *Hales*.

1684 vered thoſe words, he ſhewed what his text was, which the witneſſes could not remember, as they remembred nothing elſe in his ſermon beſides the words they had depoſed. That text, and his ſermon upon it, had no relation to any ſuch matter. Several witneſſes who heard the ſermon, and ſome who writ it in ſhort hand, declared, he ſaid no ſuch words, nor any thing to that purpoſe. He offered his own notes to prove this further: But no regard was had to them. The women could not prove by any circumſtance that they were at his meeting; or that any perſon ſaw them there on that day. The words they ſwore againſt him were ſo groſs, that it was not to be imagined any man in his wits could expreſs himſelf ſo, were he ever ſo wickedly ſet, before a mixed aſſembly. It was alſo urged, that it was highly improbable, that three women could remember ſo long a period upon one ſingle hearing; and that they ſhould all remember it ſo exactly, as to agree in the ſame depoſition. He offered to put the whole upon this iſſue: He would pronounce a period, as long as that which they had ſworn, with his uſual tone of voice with which he preached, and then leave it to them to repeat it, if they could. I ſet down all this defence more particularly, that it may appear what a ſpirit was in that time, when a verdict could be brought in upon ſuch an evidence, and againſt ſuch a defence. *Jefferies* urged the matter with his ordinary vehemence: He laid it for a foundation, that all preaching at Conventicles was treaſonable, and that this ought to diſpoſe the Jury to believe any evidence whatſoever upon that head, and that here were three poſitive concurring witneſſes: So the Jury brought him in guilty. And there was a ſhameful rejoycing upon this. It was thought, now Conventicles would be all ſuppreſſed by it; ſince any perſon that would witneſs that treaſonable words were delivered at them would be believed, how improbable ſoever it might be. But when the importance of the words came to be examined, by men learned in the law, they were found not to be treaſon by any ſtatute. So *Roſwell* moved for an arreſt of judgment, till Counſel ſhould be heard to that point, whether the words were treaſon, or not. In *Sidney*'s caſe they refuſed to grant that, unleſs he would firſt confeſs the fact. And, tho' that was much cenſured, yet it was more doubtful, whether Council ought to be heard after the Jury had brought in the verdict. But the King was ſo put out of countenance with the many ſtories that were brought him of his witneſſes, that the Attorney General had orders

orders to yield to the arreſt of judgment; tho' it had been more to the King's honour to have put an end to the buſineſs by a pardon. It was thought a good point gained, which might turn to the advantage of the ſubject, to allow that a point of law might be argued after conviction. The impudence of this verdict was the more ſhameful, ſince, tho' we had a Popiſh ſucceſſor in view, here was a precedent made, by which poſitive witneſſes, ſwearing to any thing as ſaid in a ſermon, were to be believed againſt ſo many probabilities, and ſo much proof to the contrary; which might have been at another time very fatal to the Clergy. 1684

The other trial was of more importance to the Court. In *Armſtrong*'s pocket, when he was taken, a letter was found writ by *Haies*, a Banqnier in *London*, directed to another name, which was believed a feigned one: In it credit was given him upon *Haies*'s correſpondent in *Holland* for money: He was deſired not to be too laviſh: And he was promiſed, that he ſhould be ſupplied as he needed it. Here was an abetting of a man outlawed for treaſon. Much pains was taken on *Haies*, both by perſuaſion and threatning, to induce him to diſcover that whole cabal of men, that, it ſeemed, joined in a common purſe to ſupply thoſe who had fled beyond ſea on the account of the plot. And they hoped to know all *Monmouth*'s friends; and either to have attainted them, or at leaſt to have fined them ſeverely for it. But *Haies* ſhewed a fidelity and courage far beyond what could have been expected from ſuch a man: So he was brought to a trial. He made a ſtrong defence. The letter was not exactly like his hand. It was not addreſſed to *Armſtrong*, bnt to another perſon, from whom he perhaps had it. No entry was made of it in his books, nor of any ſum paid in upon it. But his main defence was, that a Banquier examined into no perſon's concerns; and therefore, when money or good ſecurity was brought him, he gave bills of exchange, or letters of credit, as they were deſired. *Jefferies* preſſed the Jnry, in his impetnous way, to find *Haies* guilty of high treaſon; becauſe, tho' there was not a witneſs againſt *Haies*, but only preſumptions appeared upon the proof, yet, *Jefferies* ſaid, it was proved by two witneſſes that the letter was found in *Armſtrong*'s pocket; and that was ſnfficient, the reſt appearing by circnmſtances. The little difference between the writing in the letter and his ordinary hand, was ſaid to be only a feint to hide it, which made him the more guilty. He required the Jury to bring him in guilty: And ſaid,

1684 ſaid, that the King's life and ſafety depended upon this trial: So that if they did it not, they expoſed the King to a new *Rye-Plot*; with other extravagancies, with which his fury prompted him. But a Jury of merchants could not be wrought up to this pitch. So he was acquitted, which mortified the Court a little: For they had reckoned, that now Juries were to be only a point of form in a trial, and that they were always to find bills as they were directed.

Strange practices, and very unbecoming a King.

A trial in a matter of blood came on after this. A Gentleman of a noble family being at a publick ſupper with much company, ſome hot words paſt between him and another Gentleman, which raiſed a ſudden quarrel, none but three perſons being engaged in it. Swords were drawn, and one was killed out-right: But it was not certain by whoſe hand he was killed: So the other two were both indited upon it. The proof did not carry it beyond manſlaughter, no marks of any precedent malice appearing. Yet the young Gentleman was prevailed on to confeſs the indictment, and to let ſentence paſs on him for murder; a pardon being promiſed him if he ſhould do ſo, and he being threatned with the utmoſt rigour of the law if he ſtood upon his defence. After the ſentence had paſt, it appeared on what deſign he had been practiſed on. It was a rich family, and not well affected to the Court: So he was told that he muſt pay well for his pardon: And it coſt him 16000 *l*; of which the King had the one half, the other half being divided between two Ladies that were in great favour. It is a very ill thing for Princes to ſuffer themſelves to be prevailed on by importunities to pardon blood, which cries for vengeance. Yet an eaſineſs to importunity is a feebleneſs of good nature, and ſo is in it ſelf leſs criminal. But it is a monſtrous perverting of juſtice, and a deſtroying the chief end of government, which is the preſervation of the people, when their blood is ſet to ſale; and that not as a compenſation to the family of the perſon murdered, but to the Prince himſelf, and to ſome who are in favour with him upon unworthy accounts: And it was robbery if the Gentleman was innocent.

Another thing of a ſtrange nature hapned about this time. The Earl of *Clancarty* in *Ireland*, when he died, had left his Lady the guardian of his children. It was one of the nobleſt and richeſt families of the *Iriſh* Nation, which had always been Papiſts. But the Lady was a Proteſtant. And ſhe, being afraid to truſt the education of her ſon to *Ireland*, tho' in Proteſtant hands, conſidering the danger he

might be in from his kindred of that religion, brought him over to *Oxford*, and put him in *Fell*'s hands, who was both Biſhop of *Oxford* and Dean of Chriſt Church; where ſhe reckoned he would be ſafe. Lord *Clancarty* had an uncle, Coll. *Maccarty*, who was in moſt things, where his religion was not concerned, a man of honour. So he, both to pervert his nephew, and to make his own court, got the King to write to the Biſhop of *Oxford* to let the young Lord come up, and ſee the diverſions of the Town in the *Chriſtmas* time; to which the Biſhop did too eaſily conſent. When he came to Town, he, being then at the age of conſent, was married to one of the Lord *Sunderland*'s daughter. And ſo he broke thro' all his education, and ſoon after turned Papiſt. Thus the King ſuffered himſelf to be made an inſtrument in one of the greateſt of crimes, the taking an infant out of the hand of a guardian, and marrying him ſecretly; againſt which the laws of all nations have taken care to provide very effectually. But this leads me into a further view of the deſigns at Court. 1684

The Earl of *Rocheſter* grew weary of the inſignificant place of Preſident, which procured him neither confidence nor dependance. And, ſince the government of *Ireland* was the greateſt poſt next to the Treaſury, he obtained by the Duke's favour to be named Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The King ſeemed to be ſo uneaſy with him, that he was glad to ſend him away from the Court. And the King intended to begin in his perſon a new method in the government of *Ireland*. Formerly the Lords Lieutenants were Generals of the army, as well as the Governors of the Kingdom. Their intereſt in recommending to poſts in the army, and the giving the commiſſions for them, brought the army into their dependance, and encreaſed the profits of their Secretaries. It was now ſuggeſted by Lord *Sunderland*, that this was too much in one perſon: And therefore he propoſed, that there ſhould be a General of the army, independent on the Lord Lieutenant, and who ſhould be a check upon him: When there were but a few troops kept up there, it might be more reaſonable to leave them in the Lord Lieutenant's hands: But now that an army was kept, it ſeemed too much to put that, as well as the civil adminiſtration of the Kingdom, into the power of one man. In this the Earl of *Sunderland*'s deſign was, to keep that Kingdom in a dependance upon himſelf. And he told the King, that if he thought that was a good Papiſts employed in *Ireland*.

1684 maxim for the government of *Ireland*, he ought to begin it when a creature of his own was ſent thither, who had not ſuch a right to diſpute points of that kind with him, as ancient noblemen might pretend to. Lord *Rocheſter* was much mortified with this. He ſaid, the chief Governor of *Ireland* could not be anſwerable for the peace of that Kingdom, if the army was not in a dependance on him. Yet little regard was had to all that he could object to this new method; for the King ſeemed to be the more pleaſed with it, becauſe it afflicted him ſo much. The firſt inſtance, in which the King intended to begin the immediate dependance of the *Iriſh* army on himſelf, was not ſo well choſen, as to make it generally acceptable: For it was, that Coll. *Maccarty* was to have a regiment there. He had a regiment in the *French* ſervice for ſeveral years, and was called home upon that appearance that we had put on of engaging with the allies in a war with *France* in the year 1678. The Popiſh plot had kept the King from employing him for ſome years, in which the Court was in ſome management with the Nation. But now that being at an end, the King intended to employ him, upon this acceptable ſervice he had done with relation to his nephew. The King ſpoke of it to Lord *Halifax:* And he, as he told me, aſked the King, if he thought that was to govern according to law. The King anſwered, he was not tied up by the laws of *Ireland*, as he was by the laws of *England*. Lord *Halifax* offered to argue that point with any perſon that aſſerted it before him: He ſaid, that army was raiſed by a Proteſtant Parliament, to ſecure the Proteſtant intereſt: And would the King give occaſion to any to ſay, that where his hands were not bound up, he would ſhew all the favour he could to the Papiſts? The King anſwered, he did not trouble himſelf with what people ſaid, or would ſay. Lord *Halifax* replied to this, that it was a juſt piece of greatneſs in the King not to mind what his enemies ſaid; but he hoped he would never deſpiſe what his friends ſaid, eſpecially when they ſeemed to have reaſon on their ſide: And he wiſhed the King would chooſe rather to make up *Maccarty*'s loſſes for his ſervice in penſions, and other favours, than in a way that would raiſe ſo much clamour and jealouſy. In all this Lord *Halifax* only offered his advice to the King, upon the King's beginning the diſcourſe with him. Yet the King told it all to *Maccarty*; who came and expoſtulated the matter with that Lord. So he ſaw by that how little ſafe a man

man was, who ſpoke freely to the King, when he croſſed the King's own inclinations. 1684

There was a great expectation in the Court of *France*, that at this time the King would declare himſelf a Papiſt. They did not keep the ſecret very carefully there: For the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* had ſaid to my ſelf, that the King was as much theirs as his brother was, only he had not ſo much conſcience. This I reported to Lord *Halifax* to tell the King. Whether he did it, or not, I know not. But it was written over at this time from *Paris*, that the King of *France* had ſaid at his levee, or at table, that a great thing would quickly break out in *England* with relation to religion. The occaſion of that was afterwards better known. One of our *Eaſt-India* ſhips had brought over one of the Miſſionaries of *Siam*, who was a man of a warm imagination, and who talked of his having converted and baptized many thouſands in that Kingdom. He was well received at Court: And the King diverted himſelf with hearing him relate the adventures, and other paſſages of his travels. Upon this encouragement he deſired a private audience; in which in a very inflamed ſpeech, and with great vehemence, he preſſed the King to return into the boſom of the Church. The King entertained this civilly, and gave him thoſe anſwers, that he, not knowing the King's way, took them for ſuch ſteps and indications, as made him conclude the thing was very near done: And upon that he writ to *P. de la Chaiſe*, that they would hear the news of the King's converſion very quickly. The Confeſſor carried the news to the King; who, not doubting it, gave the general hint of that great turn, of which he was then full of hopes. Suſpicions of the King's declaring himſelf a Papiſt.

That Prieſt was directed by ſome to apply himſelf to Lord *Halifax*, to try if he could convert him. Lord *Halifax* told me, he was ſo vain and ſo weak a man, that none could be converted by him, but ſuch as were weary of their religion, and wanted only a pretence to throw it off. Lord *Halifax* put many queſtions to him, to which he made ſuch ſimple anſwers, as furniſhed that Lord with many very lively ſallies upon the converſions ſo much boaſted of, as made by ſuch men. Lord *Halifax* aſked him, how it came that, ſince the King of *Siam* was ſo favourable to their religion, they had not converted him? The Miſſionary upon that told him, that the King had ſaid, he would not examine into the truth of all that they had told him concerning *Jeſus Chriſt*:

1684 *Chriſt:* He thought it was not reaſonable to forſake the religion of his fathers, unleſs he ſaw good grounds to juſtify the change: And, ſince they pretended that the author of their religion had left a power of working miracles with his followers, he deſired they would apply that to himſelf: He had a palſey both in his arm, and in his leg: And if they could deliver him from that, he promiſed to them he would change immediately. Upon which the Miſſionary ſaid, that the Biſhop, who was the head of that miſſion, was bold enough (*aſſez hardi*, were the Prieſt's own words) to undertake it. A day was ſet for it. And the Biſhop, with his Prieſt and ſome others, came to the King. And after ſome prayers, the King told them, he felt ſome heat and motion in his arm; but the palſey was more rooted in his thigh: So he deſired the Biſhop would go on, and finiſh that which was ſo happily begun. The Biſhop thought he had ventured enough, and would engage no further; but told the King, that ſince their God had made one ſtep towards him, he muſt make the next to God, and at leaſt meet him half way. But the King was obſtinate, and would have the miracle finiſhed before he would change. On the other hand the Biſhop ſtood his ground. And ſo the matter went no further. Upon which Lord *Halifax* ſaid, ſince the King was ſuch an infidel, they ought to have prayed the palſey into his arm again, as well as they prayed it out: Otherwiſe, here was a miracle loſt on an obſtinate infidel: And, if the palſey had immediately returned into his arm, that would perhaps have given him a full conviction. This put the Miſſionary into ſome confuſion. And Lord *Halifax* repeated it both to the King and to the Duke with that air of contempt, that the Duke was highly provoked by it: And the Prieſt appeared at Court no more.

1685 There was at this time a new ſcheme formed, that very probably would have for ever broken the King and the Duke. But how it was laid was ſo great a ſecret, that I could never penetrate into it. It was laid at Lady *Portſmouth*'s. *Barillon* and Lord *Sunderland* were the cehief managers of it. Lord *Godolphin* was alſo in it. The Duke of *Monmouth* came over ſecretly. And tho' he did not ſee the King, yet he went back very well pleaſed with his journey. But he never told his reaſon to any that I know of. Mr. *May* of the privy purſe told me, that he was told there was a deſign to break out, with which he himſelf would be well pleaſed: And when it was ripe, he was to be called on to come and manage

A new ſcheme of government.

the King's temper, which no man underſtood better than he did; for he had been bred about the King ever ſince he was a child: And by his poſt he was in the ſecret of all his amours; but was contrary to his notions in every thing elſe, both with relation to Popery, to *France*, and to arbitrary government. Yet he was ſo true to the King in that leud confidence in which he employed him, that the King had charged him never to preſs him in any thing ſo as to provoke him. By this means he kept all this while much at a diſtance; for he would not enter into any diſcourſe with the King on matters of ſtate, till the King began with him. And he told me, he knew by the King's way things were not yet quite ripe, nor he thoroughly fixed on the deſign. That with which they were to begin was, the ſending the Duke to *Scotland*. And it was generally believed, that if the two brothers ſhould be once parted, they would never meet again. The King ſpoke to the Duke concerning his going to *Scotland:* And he anſwered, that there was no occaſion for it: Upon which the King replied, that either the Duke muſt go, or that he himſelf would go thither. 1685

The King was obſerved to be more than ordinarily penſive. And his fondneſs to Lady *Portſmouth* increaſed, and broke out in very indecent inſtances. The Grand Prior of *France*, the Duke of *Vendome*'s brother, had made ſome applications to that Lady, with which the King was highly offended. It was ſaid, the King came in on a ſudden, and ſaw that which provoked him: So he commanded him immediately to go out of *England*. Yet after that the King careſſed her in the view of all people, which he had never done on any occaſion or to any perſon formerly. The King was obſerved to be colder and more reſerved to the Duke than ordinary. But what was under all this was ſtill a deep ſecret. Lord *Halifax* was let into no part of it. He ſtill went on againſt Lord *Rocheſter*. He complained in Council, that there were many razures in the books of the Treaſury, and that ſeveral leaves were cut out of thoſe books: And he moved the King to go to the Treaſury chamber, that the books might be laid before him, and that he might judge of the matter upon ſight. So the King named the next *Monday*. And it was then expected, that the Earl of *Rocheſter* would have been turned out of all, if not ſent to the Tower. And a meſſage was ſent to Mr. *May*, then at *Windſor*, to deſire him to come to Court that day, which it was ex-

1685 pected would prove a critical day. And it proved to be ſo indeed, tho' in a different way.

The King's ſickneſs. All this winter the King looked better than he had done for many years. He had a humour in his leg, which looked like the beginning of the gout: So that for ſome weeks he could not walk, as he uſed to do generally three or four hours a day in the Park; which he did commonly ſo faſt, that as it was really an exerciſe to himſelf, ſo it was a trouble to all about him to hold up with him. In the ſtate the King was in, he not being able to walk, ſpent much of his time in his laboratory, and was running a proceſs for the fixing of *Mercury*. On the firſt of *February*, being a *Sunday*, he eat little all day, and came to Lady *Portſmouth* at night, and called for a porringer of ſpoon meat. It was made too ſtrong for his ſtomach. So he eat little of it: And he had an unquiet night. In the morning one Dr. *King*, a Phyſician, and a Chymiſt, came, as he had been ordered, to wait on him. All the King's diſcourſe to him was ſo broken, that he could not underſtand what he meant. And the Doctor concluded, he was under ſome great diſorder, either in his mind, or in his body. The Doctor amazed at this, went out, and meeting with Lord *Peterborough*, he ſaid, the King was in a ſtrange humour, for he did not ſpeak one word of ſenſe. Lord *Peterborough* deſired he would go in again to the bedchamber, which he did. And he was ſcarce come in, when the King, who ſeemed all the while to be in great confuſion, fell down all of a ſudden in a fit like an apoplexy: He looked black, and his eyes turned in his head. The phyſician, who had been formerly an eminent Surgeon, ſaid, it was impoſſible to ſave the King's life, if one minute was loſt: He would rather venture on the rigour of the law, than leave the King to periſh. And ſo he let him blood. The King came out of that fit: And the phyſicians approved what Dr. *King* had done: Upon which the Privy Council ordered him a thouſand pound, which yet was never paid him. Tho' the King came out of that fit, yet the effects of it hung ſtill upon him, ſo that he was much oppreſſed. And the phyſicians did very much apprehend the return of another fit, and that it would carry him off: So they looked on him as a dead man. The Biſhop of *London* ſpoke a little to him, to diſpoſe him to prepare for whatever might be before him; to which the King anſwered not a word. But that was imputed partly to the Biſhop's cold way of ſpeaking, and partly to the ill opinion they had of him at Court, as too

busy in opposition to Popery. *Sancroft* made a very weighty exhortation to him; in which he used a good degree of freedom, which he said was necessary, since he was going to be judged by one who was no respecter of persons. To him the King made no answer neither; nor yet to *Ken*, tho' the most in favour with him of all the Bishops. Some imputed this to an insensibility; of which too visible an instance appeared, since Lady *Portsmouth* sat in the bed taking care of him as a wife of a husband. Others guessed truer, that it would appear he was of another religion. On *Thursday* a second fit returned. And then the physicians told the Duke, that the King was not like to live a day to an end. 1685

He received the Sacraments from a Popish Priest.

The Duke immediately ordered *Hudleston*, the Priest that had a great hand in saving the King at *Worcester* fight, (for which he was excepted out of all severe acts that were made against Priests,) to be brought to the lodgings under the bedchamber. And when he was told what was to be done, he was in great confusion, for he had no hostie about him. But he went to another Priest, that lived in the Court, who gave him the pix with an hostie in it. But that poor Priest was so frighted, that he run out of *Whitehall* in such haste that he struck against a post, and seemed to be in a fit of madness with fear. As soon as *Hudleston* had prepared every thing that was necessary, the Duke whispered the King in the ear. Upon that the King ordered that all who were in the bedchamber should withdraw, except the Earls of *Bath*, and *Feversham:* And the door was double locked. The company was kept out half an hour: Only Lord *Feversham* opened the door once, and called for a glass of water. Cardinal *Howard* told me at *Rome*, that *Hudleston*, according to the relation that he sent thither, made the King go thro' some acts of contrition, and, after such a confession as he could then make, he gave him absolution and the other Sacraments. The hostie stuck in his throat: And that was the occasion of calling for a glass of water. He also gave him extream Unction. All must have been performed very superficially, since it was so soon ended. But the King seemed to be at great ease upon it. It was given out, that the King said to *Hudleston*, that he had saved him twice, first his body, and now his soul; and that he asked him, if he would have him declare himself to be of their Church. But it seems he was prepared for this, and so diverted the King from it; and said, he took it upon him to satisfy the world in that particular. But tho' by the principles of all religions whatsoever he ought to have obliged

1685 obliged him to make open profeſſion of his religion, yet, it ſeems, the conſequences of that were apprehended; for without doubt that poor Prieſt acted by the directions that were given him. The company was ſuffered to come in. And the King went thro' the agonies of death with a calm and a conſtancy, that amazed all who were about him, and knew how he had lived. This made ſome conclude, that he had made a will, and that his quiet was the effect of that. *Ken* applied himſelf much to the awaking the King's conſcience. He ſpoke with a great elevation, both of thought and expreſſion, like a man inſpired, as thoſe who were preſent told me. He reſumed the matter often, and pronounced many ſhort ejaculations and prayers, which affected all that were preſent, except him that was the moſt concerned, who ſeemed to take no notice of him, and made no anſwers to him. He preſſed the King ſix or ſeven times to receive the Sacrament. But the King always declined it, ſaying, he was very weak. A table with the elements upon it ready to be conſecrated was brought into the room; which occaſioned a report to be then ſpread about, that he had received it. *Ken* preſſed him to declare that he deſired it, and that he died in the Communion of the Church of *England*. To that he anſwered nothing. *Ken* aſked him, if he deſired abſolution of his ſins. It ſeems the King, if he then thought any thing at all, thought that would do him no hurt. So *Ken* pronounced it over him: For which he was blamed, ſince the King expreſſed no ſenſe or ſorrow for his paſt life, nor any purpoſe of amendment. It was thought to be a proſtitution of the peace of the Church, to give it to one, who, after a life led as the King's had been, ſeemed to harden himſelf againſt every thing that could be ſaid to him. *Ken* was alſo cenſured for another piece of indecency: He preſented the Duke of *Richmond*, Lady *Portſmouth*'s ſon, to be bleſſed by the King. Upon this ſome that were in the room cried out, the King was their common father. And upon that all kneeled down for his bleſſing, which he gave them. The King ſuffered much inwardly, and ſaid, he was burnt up within; of which he complained often, but with great decency. He ſaid once, he hoped he ſhould climb up to heaven's gates, which was the only word ſavouring of religion that he was heard to ſpeak.

He gathered all his ſtrength to ſpeak his laſt words to the Duke, to which every one hearkned with great attention. He expreſſed his kindneſs to him, and that he now delivered all over to him with great joy. He recommended Lady *Portſ-*

mouth over and over again to him. He ſaid, he had always loved her, and he loved her now to the laſt; and beſought the Duke, in as melting words as he could fetch out, to be very kind to her and to her ſon. He recommended his other children to him: And concluded, let not poor *Nelly* ſtarve; that was Mrs. *Gwyn*. But he ſaid nothing of the Queen, nor any one word of his people, or of his ſervants: Nor did he ſpeak one word of religion, or concerning the payment of his debts, tho' he left behind him about 90000 guineas, which he had gathered, either out of the privy purſe, or out of the money which was ſent him from *France*, or by other methods, and which he had kept ſo ſecretly that no perſon whatſoever knew any thing of it. 1685

He continued in the agony till *Friday* at eleven a clock, being the ſixth of *February* 168$\frac{4}{5}$; and then died in the fifty fourth year of his age, after he had reigned, if we reckon from his father's death, thirty ſix years, and eight days; or, if we reckon from his Reſtoration, twenty four years, eight months, and nine days. There were many very apparent ſuſpicions of his being poiſoned: For tho' the firſt acceſs looked like an apoplexy, yet it was plain in the progreſs of it that it was no apoplexy. When his body was opened, the phyſicians who viewed it were, as it were, led by thoſe who might ſuſpect the truth to look upon the parts that were certainly ſound. But both *Lower* and *Needham*, two famous phyſicians, told me, they plainly diſcerned two or three blew ſpots on the outſide of the ſtomach. *Needham* called twice to have it opened: But the ſurgeons ſeemed not to hear him. And when he moved it the ſecond time, he, as he told me, heard *Lower* ſay to one that ſtood next him, *Needham* will undo us, calling thus to have the ſtomach opened, for he may ſee they will not do it. They were diverted to look to ſomewhat elſe: And when they returned to look upon the ſtomach, it was carried away: So that it was never viewed. *Le Fevre*, a *French* phyſician, told me, he ſaw a blackneſs in the ſhoulder: Upon which he made an inciſion, and ſaw it was all mortified. *Short*, another phyſician, who was a Papiſt, but after a form of his own, did very much ſuſpect foul dealing: And he had talked more freely of it, than any of the Proteſtants durſt do at that time. But he was not long after taken ſuddenly ill, upon a large draught of wormwood wine which he had drunk in the houſe of a Popiſh patient, that lived near the Tower, who had ſent for him, of which he died. And, as he ſaid to *Lower*, *Millington*, and ſome other phyſicians, he believed that he himſelf was poiſoned for his having ſpoken ſo freely of

His death.

1685 the King's death. The King's body was indecently neglected. Some parts of his inwards, and ſome pieces of the fat, were left in the water in which they were waſhed: All which were ſo careleſſly looked after, that the water being poured out at a ſcullery hole that went to a drain, in the mouth of which a grate lay, theſe were ſeen lying on the grate many days after. His funeral was very mean. He did not lie in ſtate: No mournings were given: And the expence of it was not equal to what an ordinary Nobleman's funeral will riſe to. Many upon this ſaid, that he deſerved better from his brother, than to be thus ungratefully treated in ceremonies that are publick, and that make an impreſſion on thoſe who ſee them, and who will make ſevere obſervations and inferences upon ſuch omiſſions. But ſince I have mentioned the ſuſpicions of poiſon, as the cauſe of his death, I muſt add, that I never heard any lay thoſe ſuſpicions on his brother. But his dying ſo critically, as it were in the minute in which he ſeemed to begin a turn of affairs, made it to be generally the more believed, and that the Papiſts had done it, either by the means of ſome of Lady *Portſmouth*'s ſervants, or, as ſome fancied, by poiſoned ſnuff; for ſo many of the ſmall veins of the brain were burſt, that the brain was in great diſorder, and no judgment could be made concerning it. To this I ſhall add a very ſurpriſing ſtory, * that I had in *November* 1709 from Mr. *Henly* of *Hampſhire*. He told me, that, when the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth* came over to *England* in the year 1699, he heard, that ſhe had talked as if King *Charles* had been poiſoned; which he deſiring to have from her own mouth, ſhe gave him this account of it. She was always preſſing the King to make both himſelf and his people eaſy, and to come to a full agreement with his Parliament: And he was come to a final reſolution of ſending away his brother, and of calling a Parliament; which was to be executed the next day after he fell into that fit of which he died. She was put upon the ſecret, and ſpoke of it to no perſon alive, but toher Confeſſor: But the Confeſſor, ſhe believed, told it to ſome, who ſeeing what was to follow took that wicked courſe to prevent it. Having this from ſo worthy a perſon, as I have ſet it down without adding the leaſt circumſtance to it, I thought it too important not to be mentioned in this hiſtory. It diſcovers both the knavery of Confeſſors, and the practices of Papiſts, ſo evidently, that there is no need of making any further reflections on it.

* *N. B.* This is added to the original in a looſe ſheet.

Thus

Thus lived and died King *Charles* the ſecond. He was the greateſt inſtance in hiſtory of the various revolutions of which any one man ſeemed capable. He was bred up, the firſt twelve years of his life, with the ſplendor that became the heir of ſo great a Crown. After that he paſt thro' eighteen years in great inequalities, unhappy in the war, in the loſs of his Father, and of the Crown of *England*. *Scotland* did not only receive him, tho' upon terms hard of digeſtion, but made an attempt upon *England* for him, tho' a feeble one. He loſt the battle of *Worceſter* with too much indifference: And then he ſhewed more care of his perſon, than became one who had ſo much at ſtake. He wandered about *England* for ten weeks after that, hiding from place to place. But, under all the apprehenſions he had then upon him, he ſhewed a temper ſo careleſs, and ſo much turned to levity, that he was then diverting himſelf with little houſhold ſports, in as unconcerned a manner, as if he had made no loſs, and had been in no danger at all. He got at laſt out of *England*. But he had been obliged to ſo many, who had been faithful to him, and careful of him, that he ſeemed afterwards to reſolve to make an equal return to them all: And finding it not eaſy to reward them all as they deſerved, he forgot them all alike. Moſt Princes ſeem to have this pretty deep in them; and to think that they ought never to remember paſt ſervices, but that their acceptance of them is a full reward. He, of all in our age, exerted this piece of prerogative in the ampleſt manner: For he never ſeemed to charge his memory, or to trouble his thoughts, with the ſenſe of any of the ſervices that had been done him. While he was abroad at *Paris*, *Colen*, or *Bruſſells*, he never ſeemed to lay any thing to heart. He purſued all his diverſions, and irregular pleaſures, in a free carrier; and ſeemed to be as ſerene under the loſs of a Crown, as the greateſt Philoſopher could have been. Nor did he willingly hearken to any of thoſe projects, with which he often complained that his Chancellor perſecuted him. That in which he ſeemed moſt concerned was, to find money for ſupporting his expence. And it was often ſaid, that, if *Cromwell* would have compounded the matter, and have given him a good round penſion, that he might have been induced to reſign his title to him. During his exile he delivered himſelf ſo entirely to his pleaſures, that he became incapable of application. He ſpent little of his time in reading or ſtudy, and yet leſs in thinking. And, in the ſtate his affairs were then in, he accuſtomed himſelf to ſay to every perſon, and upon all

1685 His character.

1685 occaſions, that which he thought would pleaſe moſt: So that words or promiſes went very eaſily from him. And he had ſo ill an opinion of mankind, that he thought the great art of living and governing was, to manage all things and all perſons with a depth of craft and diſſimulation. And in that few men in the world could put on the appearances of ſincerity better than he could: Under which ſo much artifice was uſually hid, that in concluſion he could deceive none, for all were become miſtruſtful of him. He had great vices, but ſcarce any vertues to correct them: He had in him ſome vices that were leſs hurtful, which corrected his more hurtful ones. He was during the active part of life given up to ſloth and lewdneſs to ſuch a degree, that he hated buſineſs, and could not bear the engaging in any thing that gave him much trouble, or put him under any conſtraint. And, tho' he deſired to become abſolute, and to overturn both our religion and our laws, yet he would neither run the riſque, nor give himſelf the trouble, which ſo great a deſign required. He had an appearance of gentleneſs in his outward deportment: But he ſeemed to have no bowels nor tenderneſs in his nature: And in the end of his life he became cruel. He was apt to forgive all crimes, even blood it ſelf: Yet he never forgave any thing that was done againſt himſelf, after his firſt and general act of indemnity, which was to be reckoned as done rather upon maxims of ſtate than inclinations of mercy. He delivered himſelf up to a moſt enormous courſe of vice, without any ſort of reſtraint, even from the conſideration of the neareſt relations: The moſt ſtudied extravagancies that way ſeemed, to the very laſt, to be much delighted in, and purſued by him. He had the art of making all people grow fond of him at firſt, by a ſoftneſs in his whole way of converſation, as he was certainly the beſt bred man of the age. But when it appeared how little could be built on his promiſe, they were cured of the fondneſs that he was apt to raiſe in them. When he ſaw young men of quality, who had ſomething more than ordinary in them, he drew them about him, and ſet himſelf to corrupt them both in religion and morality; in which he proved ſo unhappily ſucceſsful, that he left *England* much changed at his death from what he had found it at his Reſtoration. He loved to talk over all the ſtories of his life to every new man that came about him. His ſtay in *Scotland*, and the ſhare he had in the war of *Paris*, in carrying meſſages from the one ſide to the other, were his common topicks. He went over theſe in a very graceful manner; but ſo often, and ſo copiouſly, that all

thoſe who had been long accuſtomed to them grew weary of them: And when he entred on thoſe ſtories they uſually withdrew: So that he often began them in a full audience, and before he had done there were not above four or five left about him: Which drew a ſevere jeſt from *Wilmot*, Earl of *Rocheſter*. He ſaid, he wondred to ſee a man have ſo good a memory as to repeat the ſame ſtory without loſing the leaſt circumſtance, and yet not remember that he had told it to the ſame perſons the very day before. This made him fond of ſtrangers; for they hearkned to all his often repeated ſtories, and went away as in a rapture at ſuch an uncommon condeſcenſion in a King. 1685

His perſon and temper, his vices as well as his fortunes, reſemble the character that we have given us of *Tiberius* ſo much, that it were eaſy to draw the parallel between them. *Tiberius*'s baniſhment, and his coming afterwards to reign, makes the compariſon in that reſpect come pretty near. His hating of buſineſs, and his love of pleaſures; his raiſing of favourites, and truſting them entirely; and his pulling them down, and hating them exceſſively; his art of covering deep deſigns, particularly of revenge, with an appearance of ſoftneſs, brings them ſo near a likeneſs, that I did not wonder much to obſerve the reſemblance of their face and perſon. At *Rome* I ſaw one of the laſt ſtatues made for *Tiberius*, after he had loſt his teeth. But, bating the alteration which that made, it was ſo like King *Charles*, that Prince *Borgheſe*, and *Signior Dominico* to whom it belonged, did agree with me in thinking that it looked like a ſtatue made for him.

Few things ever went near his heart. The Duke of *Gloceſter*'s death ſeemed to touch him much. But thoſe who knew him beſt thought it was, becauſe he had loſt him by whom only he could have balanced the ſurviving brother, whom he hated, and yet embroiled all his affairs to preſerve the ſucceſſion to him.

His ill conduct in the firſt *Dutch* war, and thoſe terrible calamities of the plague, and fire of *London*, with that loſs and reproach which he ſuffered by the inſult at *Chatham*, made all people conclude there was a curſe upon his government. His throwing the publick hatred at that time upon Lord *Clarendon* was both unjuſt and ungrateful. And when his people had brought him out of all his difficulties upon his entring into the triple alliance, his ſelling that to *France*, and his entring on the ſecond *Dutch* war with as little colour as he had for the firſt; his beginning it with the attempt on the *Dutch Smirna* fleet;

1685 the ſhutting up the Exchequer; and his declaration for toleration, which was a ſtep for the introduction of Popery; make ſuch a chain of black actions, flowing from blacker deſigns, that it amazed thoſe who had known all this to ſee with what impudent ſtrains of flattery addreſſes were penned during his life, and yet more groſſly after his death. His contributing ſo much to the raiſing the greatneſs of *France*, chiefly at ſea, was ſuch an error, that it could not flow from want of thought, or of true ſenſe. *Rouvigny* told me, he deſired that all the methods the *French* took in the increaſe and conduct of their naval force might be ſent him. And, he ſaid, he ſeemed to ſtudy them with concern and zeal. He ſhewed what errors they committed, and how they ought to be corrected, as if he had been a Viceroy to *France*, rather than a King that ought to have watched over and prevented the progreſs they made, as the greateſt of all the miſchiefs that could happen to him or to his people. They that judged the moſt favourably of this, thought it was done out of revenge to the *Dutch*, that, with the aſſiſtance of ſo great a fleet as *France* could join to his own, he might be able to deſtroy them. But others put a worſe conſtruction on it; and thought, that ſeeing he could not quite maſter or deceive his ſubjects by his own ſtrength and management, he was willing to help forward the greatneſs of the *French* at ſea, that by their aſſiſtance he might more certainly ſubdue his own people; according to what was generally believed to have fallen from Lord *Clifford*, that, if the King muſt be in a dependance, it was better to pay it to a great and generous King, than to five hundred of his own inſolent ſubjects.

No part of his character looked wickeder, as well as meaner, than that he, all the while that he was profeſſing to be of the Church of *England*, expreſſing both zeal and affection to it, was yet ſecretly reconciled to the Church of *Rome:* Thus, mocking God and deceiving the world with ſo groſs a prevarication. And his not having the honeſty or courage to own it at the laſt: His not ſhewing any ſign of the leaſt remorſe for his ill led life, or any tenderneſs either for his ſubjects in general, or for the Queen and his ſervants: And his recommending only his miſtreſſes and their children to his brother's care, would have been a ſtrange concluſion to any other's life, but was well enough ſuited to all the other parts of his.

The two papers found in his ſtrong box concerning religion, and afterwards publiſhed by his brother, looked like ſtudy and reaſoning. *Tenniſon* told me, he ſaw the original in *Pepy*'s hand, to whom King *James* truſted them for ſome time.

They were interlined in ſeveral places. And the interlinings ſeemed to be writ in a hand different from that in which the papers were writ. But he was not ſo well acquainted with the King's hand, as to make any judgment in the matter, whether they were writ by him or not. All that knew him, when they read them, did without any ſort of doubting conclude, that he never compoſed them: For he never read the Scriptures, nor laid things together, further than to turn them to a jeſt, or for ſome lively expreſſion. Theſe papers were probably writ either by Lord *Briſtol*, or by Lord *Aubigny*, who knew the ſecret of his religion, and gave him thoſe papers, as abſtracts of ſome diſcourſes they had with him on thoſe heads, to keep him fixed to them. And it is very probable that they, apprehending their danger if any ſuch papers had been found about him writ in their hand, might prevail with him to copy them out himſelf, tho' his lazineſs that way made it certainly no eaſy thing to bring him to give himſelf ſo much trouble. He had talked over a great part of them to my ſelf: So that, as ſoon as I ſaw them, I remembred his expreſſions, and perceived that he had made himſelf maſter of the argument, as far as thoſe papers could carry him. But the publiſhing them ſhewed a want of judgment, or of regard to his memory, in thoſe who did it: For the greateſt kindneſs, that could be ſhewn to his memory, would have been, to let both his papers and himſelf be forgotten. 1685

Which I ſhould certainly have done, if I had not thought that the laying open of what I knew concerning him and his affairs might be of ſome uſe to poſterity. And therefore, how ungrateful ſoever this labour has proved to my ſelf, and how unacceptable ſoever it may be to ſome, who are either obliged to remember him gratefully, or by the engagement of parties and intereſts are under other biaſſes, yet I have gone thro' all that I knew relating to his life and reign with that regard to truth, and what I think may be inſtructive to mankind, which became an impartial writer of hiſtory, and one who believes, that he muſt give an account to God of what he writes, as well as of what he ſays and does.

The END of King CHARLES *the ſecond's Reign.*

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

My Own Times.

BOOK IV.

Of the reign of King James II.

I AM now to proſecute this work, and to give the relation of an inglorious and unproſperous reign, that was begun with great advantages: But theſe were ſo poorly managed, and ſo ill improved, that bad deſigns were ill laid, and worſe conducted; and all came in concluſion under one of the ſtrangeſt cataſtrophe's that is in any hiſtory. A great King with ſtrong armies, and mighty fleets, a vaſt treaſure, and powerful allies, fell all at once: And his whole ſtrength, like a ſpider's web, was ſo irrecoverably broken with a touch, that he was never able to retrieve, what for want both of judgment and heart he

1685 A reign happily begun, but inglorious all over.

1685 threw up in a day. Such an unexpected revolution deserves to be well opened: I will do it as fully as I can. But, having been beyond sea almost all this reign, many small particulars, that may well deserve to be remembred, may have escaped me: Yet as I had good opportunities to be well informed, I will pass over nothing that seems of any importance to the opening such great and unusual transactions. I will endeavour to watch over my pen with more than ordinary caution, that I may let no sharpness, from any ill usage I my self met with, any way possess my thoughts, or biass my mind: On the contrary, the sad fate of this unfortunate Prince will make me the more tender in not aggravating the errors of his reign. As to my own particular, I will remember how much I was once in his favour, and how highly I was obliged to him. And as I must let his designs and miscarriages be seen, so I will open things as fully as I can, that it may appear on whom we ought to lay the chief load of them: Which indeed ought to be chiefly charged on his religion, and on those who had the management of his conscience, his Priests, and his *Italian* Queen; which last had hitherto acted a popular part with great artifice and skill, but came now to take off the mask, and to discover her self.

The King's first education.

This Prince was much neglected in his childhood, during the time he was under his Father's care. The Parliament, getting him into their hands, put him under the Earl of *Northumberland*'s government, who, as the Duke himself told me, treated him with great respect, and a very tender regard. When he escaped out of their hands, by the means of Coll. *Bamfield*, his Father writ to him a letter in cypher, concluding in these plain words, *Do this as you expect the blessing of your loving Father.* This was sent to *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, but came after he had made his escape: And so I found it among his papers: And I gave it to the Duke of *York* in the year 1674. He said to me, he believed he had his Father's cypher among his papers, and that he would try to decypher the letter: But I believe he never did it. I told him, I was confident, that as the letter was writ when his escape was under consideration, so it contained an order to go to the Queen, and to be obedient to her in all things, except in matters of religion. The King appointed Sir *John Berkeley*, afterwards Lord *Berkeley*, to be his Governor. It was a strange choice, if it was not that, in such a want of men who stuck to the King as was then, there were

were few capable in any ſort of ſuch a truſt. *Berkeley* was bold and inſolent, and ſeemed to lean to Popery: He was certainly very arbitrary, both in his temper and notions. The Queen took ſuch a particular care of this Prince, that he was ſoon obſerved to have more of her favour than either of his two brothers: And ſhe was ſo ſet on making proſelytes, hoping that *to ſave a ſoul would cover a multitude of ſins*, that it is not to be doubted but ſhe uſed more than ordinary arts to draw him over to her religion. Yet, as he himſelf told me, he ſtood out againſt her practices. 1685

He learned war under *Turenne.*

During his ſtay in *France* he made ſome campaigns under Mr. *de Turenne*, who took him ſo particularly under his care, that he inſtructed him in all that he undertook, and ſhewed him the reaſons of every thing he did ſo minutely, that he had great advantages by being formed under the greateſt General of the age. *Turenne* was ſo much taken with his application, and the heat that he ſhewed, that he recommended him out of meaſure. He ſaid often of him: There was the greateſt Prince, and like to be the beſt General of his time. This raiſed his character ſo much, that the King was not a little eclipſed by him. Yet he quickly ran into amours and vice. And that by degrees wore out any courage that had appeared in his youth. And in the end of his life he came to loſe the reputation of a brave man and a good Captain ſo entirely, that either he was never that which flatterers gave out concerning him, or his age and affairs wrought a very unuſual change on him.

He ſeemed to follow his mother's maxims all the while he was beyond ſea. He was the head of a party that was formed in the King's ſmall Court againſt Lord *Clarendon*. And it was believed that his applications to Lord *Clarendon*'s daughter were made at firſt on deſign to diſhonour his family, tho' ſhe had the addreſs to turn it another way.

He was Admiral of *England.*

After his brother's Reſtoration he applied himſelf much to the Marine, in which he arrived at great ſkill, and brought the fleet ſo entirely into his dependance, that even after he laid down the command he was ſtill the maſter of our whole ſea force. He had now for theſe laſt three years directed all our counſels with ſo abſolute an authority, that the King ſeemed to have left the government wholly in his hands: Only the unlooked for bringing in the Duke of *Monmouth* put him under no ſmall apprehenſions, that at ſome time or other the King might ſlip out of his hands: Now that fear was over.

1685 The King was dead: And ſo all the Court went immediately and paid their duty to him. Orders were preſently given for proclaiming him King. It was a heavy ſolemnity: Few tears were ſhed for the former, nor were there any ſhouts of joy for the preſent King. A dead ſilence, but without any diſorder or tumult, followed it thro' the ſtreets. When the Privy Counſellors came back from the proclamation, and waited on the new King, he made a ſhort ſpeech to them; which it ſeems was well conſidered, and much liked by him, for he repeated it to his Parliament, and upon ſeveral other occaſions.

He was proclaimed King.

His firſt ſpeech

He began with an expoſtulation for the ill character that had been entertained of him. He told them, in very poſitive words, that he would never depart from any branch of his prerogative: But with that he promiſed, that he would maintain the liberty and property of the ſubject. He expreſſed his good opinion of the Church of *England*, as a friend to monarchy. Therefore, he ſaid, he would defend and maintain the Church, and would preſerve the government in Church and State, as it was eſtabliſhed by law.

well received.

This ſpeech was ſoon printed, and gave great content to thoſe who believed that he would ſtick to the promiſes made in it. And thoſe few, who did not believe it, yet durſt not ſeem to doubt of it. The pulpits of *England* were full of it, and of thankſgivings for it. It was magnified as a ſecurity far greater than any that laws could give. The common phraſe was, We have now the *word of a King, and a word never yet broken.*

Addreſſes made to him.

Upon this a new ſet of addreſſes went round *England*, in which the higheſt commendations that flattery could invent were given to the late King; and aſſurances of loyalty and fidelity were renewed to the King, in terms that ſhewed there were no jealouſies nor fears left. The Univerſity of *Oxford* in their addreſs promiſed to obey the King *without limitations or reſtrictions.* The King's promiſe paſt for a thing ſo ſacred, that they were looked on as ill bred that put in their addreſs, *our Religion eſtabliſhed by law*; which looked like a tie on the King to maintain it: Whereas the ſtile of the more courtly was to put all our ſecurity upon the King's promiſe. The Clergy of *London* added a word to this in their addreſs, *our Religion eſtabliſhed by law, dearer to us than our lives.* This had ſuch an inſinuation in it, as made it very unacceptable. Some followed their pattern. But this was

marked to be remembred againſt thoſe that uſed ſo menacing a form. 1685

All employments were ended of courſe with the life of the former King. But the King continued all in their places: Only the poſts in the Houſhold were given to thoſe who had ſerved the King, while he was Duke of *York*. The Marquis of *Halifax* had reaſon to look on himſelf as in ill terms with the King: So in a private audience he made the beſt excuſes he could for his conduct of late. The King diverted the diſcourſe; and ſaid, he would forget every thing that was paſt, except his behaviour in the buſineſs of the Excluſion. The King alſo added, that he would expect no other ſervice of him than what was conſiſtent with law. He prepared him for the exaltation of the Earl of *Rocheſter*. He ſaid, he had ſerved him well, and had ſuffered on his account, and therefore he would now ſhew favour to him: And the next day he declared him Lord Treaſurer. His brother the Earl of *Clarendon* was made Lord Privy Seal: And the Marquis of *Halifax* was made Lord Preſident of the Council. The Earl of *Sunderland* was looked on as a man loſt at Court: And ſo was Lord *Godolphin*. But the former of theſe inſinuated himſelf ſo into the Queen's confidence, that he was, beyond all peoples expectation, not only maintained in his poſts, but grew into great degrees of favour.

The Earl of *Rocheſter* made Lord Treaſurer.

The Queen was made to conſider the Earl of *Rocheſter* as a perſon that would be in the intereſt of the King's daughters, and united to the Church party. So ſhe ſaw it was neceſſary to have one in a high poſt, who ſhould depend wholly on her, and be entirely hers. And the Earl of *Sunderland* was the only perſon capable of that. The Earl of *Rocheſter* did upon his advancement become ſo violent and boiſterous, that the whole Court joined to ſupport the Earl of *Sunderland*, as the proper balance to the other. Lord *Godolphin* was put in a great poſt in the Queen's Houſhold.

The Earl of *Sunderland* in favour.

But before the Earl of *Rocheſter* had the White Staff, the Court engaged the Lord *Godolphin*, and the other Lords of the Treaſury, to ſend orders to the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms to continue to levy the Cuſtoms, tho' the act that granted them to the late King was only for his life, and ſo was now determined with it. It is known, how much this matter was conteſted in King *Charles* the firſt's time, and what had paſt upon it. The legal method was to have made entries, and to have taken bonds for thoſe

Cuſtoms and Exciſe levied againſt law.

1685 duties, to be paid when the Parliament ſhould meet, and renew the grant. Yet the King declared, that he would levy the Cuſtoms, and not ſtay for the new grant. But, tho' this did not agree well with the King's promiſe of maintaining liberty and property, yet it was ſaid in excuſe for it, that, if the Cuſtoms ſhould not be levied in this interval, great importations would be made, and the markets would be ſo ſtocked, that this would very much ſpoil the King's Cuſtoms. But in anſwer to this it was ſaid again, entries were to be made, and bonds taken, to be ſued when the act granting them ſhould paſs. Endeavours were uſed with ſome of the merchants to refuſe to pay thoſe duties, and to diſpute the matter in *Weſtminſter-Hall:* But none would venture on ſo bold a thing. He who ſhould begin any ſuch oppoſition would probably be ruined by it: So none would run that hazard. The Earl of *Rocheſter* got this to be done before he came into the Treaſury: So he pretended, that he only held on in the courſe that was begun by others.

The additional Exciſe had been given to the late King only for life. But there was a clauſe in the act that empowered the Treaſury to make a farm of it for three years, without adding a limiting clauſe, in caſe it ſhould be ſo long due. And it was thought a great ſtretch of the clauſe, to make a fraudulent farm, by which it ſhould continue to be levied three years after it was determined according to the letter and intendment of the act. A farm was now brought out, as made during the King's life, tho' it was well known that no ſuch farm had been made; for it was made after his death, but a falſe date was put to it. This matter ſeemed doubtful. It was laid before the Judges. And they all, except two, were of opinion that it was good in law. So two Proclamations were ordered, the one for levying the Cuſtoms, and the other for the Exciſe.

Theſe came out in the firſt week of the reign, and gave a melancholy proſpect. Such beginnings did not promiſe well, and raiſed juſt fears in the minds of thoſe who conſidered the conſequences of ſuch proceedings. They ſaw, that by violence and fraud duties were now to be levied without law. But all people were under the power of fear or flattery to ſuch a degree, that none durſt complain, and few would venture to talk of thoſe matters.

The King's coldneſs to thoſe who had been for the Excluſion.

Perſons of all ranks went in ſuch crouds to pay their duty to the King, that it was not eaſy to admit them all. Moſt of the Whigs that were admitted were received coldly at beſt.

Some were ſharply reproached for their paſt behaviour. Others were denied acceſs. The King began likewiſe to ſay, that he would not be ſerved as his brother had been: He would have all abont him ſerve him without reſerve, and go thorough in his buſineſs. Many were amazed to ſee ſuch ſteps made at firſt. The ſecond *Sunday* after he came to the Throne, he, to the ſurprize of the whole Court, went openly to Maſs, and ſent *Caryl* to *Rome* with letters to the Pope, but without a character. 1685

He ſeemed to be on equal terms with the *French* King.

In one thing only the King ſeemed to comply with the genius of the Nation, tho' it proved in the end to be only a ſhew. He ſeemed reſolved not to be governed by *French* counſels, but to act in an equality with that haughty Monarch in all things. And, as he entertained all the other foreign Miniſters with aſſurances that he would maintain the balance of *Europe* with a more ſteady hand than had been done formerly; ſo when he ſent over the Lord *Churchil* to the Court of *France* with the notice of his brother's death, he ordered him to obſerve exactly the ceremony and ſtate with which he was received, that he might treat him, who ſhould be ſent over with the complement in return to that, in the ſame manner. And this he obſerved very punctually, when the Marſhal *de Lorge* came over. This was ſet about by the Courtiers as a ſign of another ſpirit, that might be looked for in a reign ſo begun. And this made ſome impreſſion on the Court of *France*, and put them to a ſtand. But, not long after this, the *French* King ſaid to the Duke of *Villeroy*, (who told it to young *Rouvigny*, now Earl of *Galloway*, from whom I had it,) that the King of *England*, after all the high things given out in his name, was willing to take his money, as well as his brother had done.

The King did alſo give out, that he would live in a particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*, and the States of *Holland*. And, becauſe *Chudleigh* the Envoy there had openly broken with the Prince, (for he not only waited no more on him, but acted openly againſt him; and once in the *Vorhaut* had affronted him, while he was driving the Princeſs upon the ſnow in a *Trainau*, according to the *German* manner, and pretending they were maſked, and that he did not know them, had ordered his coachman to keep his way, as they were coming towards the place where he drove;) the King recalled him, and ſent *Shelton* in his room, who was the haughtieſt, but withal the weakeſt man, that he could have found out. He talked out all ſecrets, and made him-

1685 himſelf the ſcorn of all *Holland*. The Courtiers now ſaid every where, that we had a martial Prince who loved glory, who would bring *France* into as humble a dependance on us, as we had been formerly on that Court.

The King's courſe of life.

The King did, ſome days after his coming to the Crown, promiſe the Queen and his Prieſts, that he would ſee Mrs. *Sidley* no more, by whom he had ſome children. And he ſpoke openly againſt leudneſs, and expreſſed a deteſtation of drunkenneſs. He ſate many hours a day about buſineſs with the Council, the Treaſury, and the Admiralty. It was upon this ſaid, that now we ſhould have a reign of action and buſineſs, and not of ſloth and luxury, as the laſt was. Mrs. *Sidley* had lodgings in *Whitehall:* Orders were ſent to her to leave them. This was done to mortify her; for ſhe pretended that ſhe ſhould now govern as abſolutely as the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth* had done: Yet the King ſtill continued a ſecret commerce with her. And thus he began his reign with ſome fair appearances. A long and great froſt had ſo ſhut up the *Dutch* ports, that for ſome weeks they had no letters from *England:* At laſt the news of the King's ſickneſs and death, and of the beginnings of the new reign, came to them all at once.

The Prince of *Orange* ſent away the Duke of *Monmouth*.

The firſt difficulty the Prince of *Orange* was in, was with relation to the Duke of *Monmouth*. He knew the King would immediately, after the firſt compliments were over, aſk him to diſmiſs him, if not to deliver him up. And as it was no way decent for him to break with the King upon ſuch a point, ſo he knew the States would never bear it. He thought it better to diſmiſs him immediately, as of himſelf. The Duke of *Monmouth* ſeemed ſurpriſed at this. Yet at parting he made great proteſtations both to the Prince and Princeſs of an inviolable fidelity to their intereſts. So he retired to *Bruſſels*, where he knew he could be ſuffered to ſtay no longer than till a return ſhould come from *Spain*, upon the notice of King *Charles*'s death, and the declarations that the King was making of maintaining the balance of *Europe*. The Duke was upon that thinking to go to *Vienna*, or to ſome Court in *Germany*. But thoſe about him ſtudied to inflame him both againſt the King and the Prince of *Orange*. They told him, the Prince by caſting him off had cancelled all former obligations, and ſet him free from them: He was now to look to himſelf: And inſtead of wandring about as a vagabond, he was to ſet himſelf to deliver his countrey, and to raiſe his party and his friends, who were now like

to be uſed very ill for their adhering to him and to his intereſt. 1685

They ſent one over to *England* to try mens pulſes, and to ſee if it was yet a proper time to make an attempt. *Wildman*, *Charlton*, and ſome others went about trying, if men were in a diſpoſition to encourage an invaſion. They talked of this in ſo remote a way of ſpeculation, that tho' one could not but ſee what lay at bottom, yet they did not run into treaſonable diſcourſe. I was in general ſounded by them: Yet nothing was propoſed that ran me into any danger from concealing it. I did not think fears and dangers, nor ſome illegal acts in the adminiſtration, could juſtify an inſurrection, as lawful in it ſelf: And I was confident an inſurrection undertaken on ſuch grounds would be ſo ill ſeconded, and ſo weakly ſupported, that it would not only come to nothing, but it would precipitate our ruin. Therefore I did all I could to divert all perſons with whom I had any credit from engaging in ſuch deſigns. Theſe were for ſome time carried on in the dark. The King, after he had put his affairs in a method, reſolved to haſten his Coronation, and to have it performed with great magnificence: And for ſome weeks he was ſo entirely poſſeſſed with the preparations for that ſolemnity, that all buſineſs was laid aſide, and nothing but ceremony was thought on.

Some in *England* began to move for him.

At the ſame time a Parliament was ſummoned: And all arts were uſed to manage elections ſo, that the King ſhould have a Parliament to his mind. Complaints came up from all the parts of *England* of the injuſtice and violence uſed in elections, beyond what had ever been practiſed in former times. And this was ſo univerſal over the whole Nation, that no corner of it was neglected. In the new Charters that had been granted, the election of the members was taken out of the hands of the inhabitants, and reſtrained to the Corporation-men, all thoſe being left out who were not acceptable at Court. In ſome Boroughs they could not find a number of men to be depended on: So the neighbouring Gentlemen were made the Corporation-men: And, in ſome of theſe, perſons of other Counties, not ſo much as known in the Borough, were named. This was practiſed in the moſt avowed manner in *Cornwall* by the Earl of *Bath*; who to ſecure himſelf the Groom of the Stole's place, which he held all King *Charles*'s time, put the officers of the guards names in almoſt all the Charters of that County; which ſending up

Strange practices in elections of Parliament men.

1685 forty four members, they were for moſt part ſo choſen, that the King was ſure of their votes on all occaſions.

Theſe methods were ſo ſucceſsful over *England*, that when the elections were all returned, the King ſaid, there were not above forty members, but ſuch as he himſelf wiſhed for. They were neither men of parts nor eſtates: So there was no hope left, either of working on their underſtandings, or of making them ſee their intereſt, in not giving the King all at once. Moſt of them were furious and violent, and ſeemed reſolved to recommend themſelves to the King by putting every thing in his power, and by ruining all thoſe who had been for the Excluſion. Some few had deſigned to give the King the revenue only from three years to three years. The Earl of *Rocheſter* told me, that was what he looked for, tho' the poſt he was in made it not ſo proper for him to move in it. But there was no proſpect of any ſtrength in oppoſing any thing that the King ſhould aſk of them.

Evil proſpect from a bad Parliament.

This gave all thinking men a melancholy proſpect. *England* now ſeemed loſt, unleſs ſome happy accident ſhould ſave it. All people ſaw the way for packing a Parliament now laid open. A new ſet of Charters and Corporation-men, if thoſe now named ſhould not continue to be ſtill as compliant as they were at preſent, was a certain remedy, to which recourſe might be eaſily had. The Boroughs of *England* ſaw their privileges now wreſted out of their hands, and that their elections, which had made them ſo conſiderable before, were hereafter to be made as the Court ſhould direct: So that from henceforth little regard would be had to them; and the uſual practices in courting, or rather in corrupting them, would be no longer purſued. Thus all people were alarmed: But few durſt ſpeak out, or complain openly. Only the Duke of *Monmouth*'s agents made great uſe of this to inflame their party. It was ſaid, here was a Parliament to meet, that was not the choice and repreſentative of the Nation, and therefore was no Parliament. So they upon this poſſeſſed all people with dreadful apprehenſions that a blow was now given to the conſtitution, which could not be remedied, but by an inſurrection. It was reſolved to bring up petitions againſt ſome elections, that were ſo indecently managed that it ſeemed ſcarce poſſible to excuſe them: But theſe were to be judged by a majority of men, who knew their own elections to be ſo faulty, that to ſecure themſelves they would juſtify the reſt: And

fair

fair dealing was not to be expected from thoſe, who were ſo deeply engaged in the like injuſtice. 1685

All that was offered on the other hand to lay thoſe fears, which ſo ill an appearance did raiſe, was, that it was probable the King would go into meaſures againſt *France*. All the offers of ſubmiſſion poſſible were made him by *Spain*, the Empire, and the States.

The Prince of *Orange* submits in every thing to the King.

The King had begun with the Prince of *Orange* upon a hard point. He was not ſatisfied with his diſmiſſing the Duke of *Monmouth*, but wrote to him to break all thoſe officers who had waited on him while he was in *Holland*. In this they had only followed the Prince's example: So it was hard to puniſh them for that, which he himſelf had encouraged. They had indeed ſhewed their affections to him ſo evidently, that the King wrote to the Prince, that he could not truſt to him, nor depend on his friendſhip, as long as ſuch men ſerved under him. This was of a hard digeſtion. Yet, ſince the breaking them could be eaſily made up by employing them afterwards, and by continuing their appointments to them, the Prince complied in this likewiſe. And the King was ſo well pleaſed with it, that when Biſhop *Turner* complained of ſome things relating to the Prince and Princeſs, and propoſed rougher methods, the King told him, it was abſolutely neceſſary that the Prince and he ſhould continue in good correſpondence. Of this *Turner* gave an account to the other Biſhops, and told them very ſolemnly, that the Church would be in no hazard during the preſent reign; but that they muſt take care to ſecure themſelves againſt the Prince of *Orange*, otherwiſe they would be in great danger.

The ſubmiſſion of the Prince and the States to the King made ſome fancy, that this would overcome him. All people concluded, that it would ſoon appear whether bigotry, or a deſire of glory was the prevailing paſſion; ſince if he did not ſtrike in with an alliance that was then projected againſt *France*, it might be concluded that he was reſolved to deliver himſelf up to his Prieſts, and to ſacrifice all to their ends. The ſeaſon of the year made it to be hoped, that the firſt ſeſſion of Parliament would be ſo ſhort that much could not be done in it, but that when the revenue ſhould be granted, other matters might be put off to a winter ſeſſion. So that, if the Parliament ſhould not deliver up the Nation in a heat all at once, but ſhould leave half their work to another ſeſſion, they might come under ſome management,

1685 nagement, and either ſee the intereſt of the Nation in general, or their own in particular; and ſo manage their favours to the Court in ſuch a manner as to make themſelves neceſſary, and not to give away too much at once, but be ſparing in their bounty; which they had learned ſo well in King *Charles*'s time, that it was to be hoped they would ſoon fall into it, if they made not too much haſte at their firſt ſetting out. So it was reſolved not to put them on too haſtily in their firſt ſeſſion to jndge of any election, but to keep that matter entire for ſome time, till they ſhould break into parties.

The King was crowned

The Coronation was ſet for St. *George*'s day. *Turner* was ordered to preach the ſermon: And both King and Queen reſolved to have all done in the Proteſtant form, and to aſſiſt in all the prayers: Only the King would not receive the Sacrament, which is always a part of the ceremony. In this certainly his Prieſts diſpenſed with him, and he had ſuch ſenſes given him of the oath, that he either took it as a ſin with a reſolution not to keep it, or he had a reſerved meaning in his own mind. The Crown was not well fitted for the King's head: It came down too far, and covered the upper part of his face. The canopy carried over him did alſo break. Some other ſmaller things happen'd that were looked on as ill omens: And his ſon by Mrs. *Sidley* died that day. The Queen with the Peereſſes made a more graceful figure. The beſt thing in *Turner*'s ſermon was, that he ſet forth that part of *Conſtantius Chlorus*'s hiſtory very handſomely, in which he tried who would be true to their religion, and reckoned that thoſe would be faithfulleſt to himſelf who were trueſt to their God.

I went out of *England*.

I muſt now ſay ſomewhat concerning my ſelf. At this time I went ont of *England*. Upon King *Charles*'s death, I had deſired leave to come and pay my duty to the King by the Marquis of *Halifax*. The King would not ſee me. So, ſince I was at that time in no ſort of employment, not ſo much as allowed to preach any where, I reſolved to go abroad. I ſaw we were like to fall into great confuſion; and were either to be reſcued, in a way that I could not approve of, by the Duke of *Monmouth*'s means, or to be delivered up by a meeting that had the face and name of a Parliament. I thought the beſt thing for me was to go out of the way. The King approved of this, and conſented to my going: But ſtill refuſed to ſee me. So I was to go beyond ſea, as to a voluntary Exile. This gave me great credit with all the

male-

male-contents: And I made the beſt uſe of it I could. I ſpoke very earneſtly to the Lord *de la Meer*, to Mrs. *Hambden*, and ſuch others as I could meet with, who I feared might be drawn in by the agents of the Duke of *Monmouth*. The King had not yet done that which would juſtify extream counſels. A raw rebellion would be ſoon cruſhed, and give a colour for keeping up a ſtanding army, or for bringing over a force from *France*. I perceived, many thought the conſtitution was ſo broken into by the elections of the Houſe of Commons, that they were diſpoſed to put all to hazard. Yet moſt people thought the criſis was not ſo near, as it proved to be. 1685

The deliberations in *Holland*, among the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* that fled thither, came to ripen faſter than was expected. Lord *Argile* had been quiet ever ſince the diſappointment in the year eighty three. He had lived for moſt part in *Frizeland*, but came oft to *Amſterdam*, and met with the reſt of his countrymen that lay concealed there: The chief of whom were the Lord *Melvill*, Sir *Patrick Hume*, and Sir *John Cochran*. With theſe Lord *Argile* communicated all the advices that were ſent him. He went on ſtill with his firſt project. He ſaid, he wanted only a ſum of money to buy arms, and reckoned, that as ſoon as he was furniſhed with theſe, he might venture on *Scotland*. He reſolved to go to his own country, where he hoped he could bring five thouſand men together. And he reckoned that the *Weſtern* and *Southern* Counties were under ſuch apprehenſions, that without laying of matters, or having correſpondence among them, they would all at once come about him, when he had gathered a good force together in his own country. There was a rich widow in *Amſterdam*, who was full of zeal: So ſhe, hearing at what his deſigns ſtuck, ſent to him, and furniſhed him with ten thouſand pounds. With this money he bought a ſtock of arms and ammunition, which was very dextrouſly managed by one that traded to *Venice*, as intended for the ſervice of that Republick. All was performed with great ſecrecy, and put on board. They had ſharp debates among them about the courſe they were to hold. He was for ſailing round *Scotland* to his own country. *Hume* was for the ſhorter paſſage: The other was a long navigation, and ſubject to great accidents. *Argile* ſaid, the faſtneſſes of his own country made that to be the ſafer place to gather men together. He preſumed ſo far on his own power, and on his management hitherto, that he took much

Argile deſigned to invade *Scotland*.

1685 upon him: So that the reſt were often on the point of breaking with him.

The Duke of *Monmouth* forced on an ill-timed invaſion.

The Duke of *Monmouth* came ſecretly to them, and made up all their quarrels. He would willingly have gone with them himſelf: But *Argile* did not offer him the command: On the contrary he preſſed him to make an impreſſion on *England* at the ſame time. This was not poſſible: For the Duke of *Monmouth* had yet made no preparations. So he was hurried into a fatal undertaking, before things were in any ſort ready for it. He had been indeed much preſſed to the ſame thing by *Wade*, *Ferguſon*, and ſome others about him, but chiefly by the Lord *Grey*, and the Lady *Wentworth*, who followed him to *Bruſſells* deſperately in love with him. And both he and ſhe came to fancy, that he being married to his Ducheſs while he was indeed of the age of conſent, but not capable of a free one, the marriage was null: So they lived together: And ſhe had heated both her ſelf and him with ſuch enthuſiaſtical conceits, that they fancied what they did was approved of God. With this ſmall council he took his meaſures. *Fletcher*, a *Scotch* Gentleman of great parts, and many vertues, but a moſt violent republican, and extravagantly paſſionate, did not like *Argile*'s ſcheme: So he reſolved to run fortunes with the Duke of *Monmouth*. He told me, that all the *Engliſh* among them were ſtill preſſing the Duke of *Monmouth* to venture. They ſaid, all the Weſt of *England* would come about him, as ſoon as he appeared, as they had done five or ſix years ago. They reckoned there would be no fighting, but that the guards, and others who adhered to the King, would melt to nothing before him. They fancied, the City of *London* would be in ſuch a diſpoſition to revolt, that if he ſhould land in the Weſt the King would be in great perplexity. He could not have two armies: And his fear of tumults near his perſon would oblige him to keep ſuch a force about him, that he would not be able to ſend any againſt him. So they reckoned he would have time to form an army, and in a little while be in a condition to ſeek out the King, and fight him on equal terms.

This appeared a mad and deſperate undertaking to the Duke of *Monmouth* himſelf. He knew what a weak body a rabble was, and how unable to deal with troops long trained. He had neither money nor officers, and no encouragement from the men of eſtates and intereſt in the country. It ſeemed too early yet to venture. It was the throwing away all

all his hopes in one day. *Fletcher*, how vehemently ſoever he was ſet on the deſign in general, yet ſaw nothing in this ſcheme that gave any hopes: So he argued much againſt it. And he ſaid to me, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was puſhed on to it againſt his own ſenſe and reaſon: But he could not refuſe to hazard his perſon, when others were ſo forward. Lord *Grey* ſaid, that *Henry* the ſeventh landed with a ſmaller number, and ſucceeded. *Fletcher* anſwered, he was ſure of ſeveral of the Nobility, who were little Princes in thoſe days. *Ferguſon* in his enthuſiaſtical way ſaid, it was a good cauſe, and that God would not leave them unleſs they left him. And tho' the Duke of *Monmouth*'s courſe of life gave him no great reaſon to hope that God would appear ſignally for him, yet even he came to talk enthuſiaſtically on the ſubject. But *Argile*'s going, and the promiſe he had made of coming to *England* with all poſſible haſte, had ſo fixed him, that, all further deliberations being laid aſide, he pawned a parcel of jewels, and bought up arms; and they were put aboard a ſhip freighted for *Spain*. 1685

King *James* was ſo intent upon the pomp of his Coronation, that for ſome weeks more important matters were not thought on. Both *Argile* and *Monmouth*'s people were ſo true to them, that nothing was diſcovered by any of them. Yet ſome days after *Argile* had ſailed, the King knew of it: For the night before I left *London*, the Earl of *Aran* came to me, and told me, the King had an advertiſement of it that very day. I ſaw, it was fit for me to make haſte: Otherwiſe I might have been ſeized on, if it had been only to put the affront on me, of being ſuſpected of holding correſpondence with traitors. *Theſe deſigns were carried on with great ſecrecy.*

Argile had a very proſperous voyage. He ſent out a boat at *Orkney* to get intelligence, and to take priſoners. This had no other effect, but that it gave intelligence where he was: And the wind chopping, he was obliged to ſail away, and leave his men to mercy. The winds were very favourable, and turned as his occaſions required: So that in a very few days he arrived in *Argileſhire*. The miſunderſtandings between him and *Hume* grew very high; for he carried all things with an air of authority, that was not eaſy to thoſe who were ſetting up for liberty. At his landing he found, that the early notice the Council had of his deſigns had ſpoiled his whole ſcheme; for they had brought in all the Gentlemen of his country to *Edenburgh*, which ſaved them, tho' it helped on his ruin. Yet he got above five and twen- *Argile* landed in *Scotland*.

1685 ty hundred men to come to him. If with theſe he had immediately gone over to the *Weſtern* counties of *Air* and *Renfrew*, he might have given the government much trouble. But he lingred too long, hoping ſtill to have brought more of his *Highlanders* together. He reckoned theſe were ſure to him, and would obey him blindfold: Whereas, if he had gone out of his own country with a ſmall force, thoſe who might have come in to his aſſiſtance might alſo have diſputed his authority: And he could not bear contradiction. Much time was by this means loſt: And all the country was ſummoned to come out againſt him. At laſt he croſſed an arm of the ſea, and landed in the iſle of *Bute*; where he ſpent twelve days more, till he had eat up that Iſland, pretending ſtill, that he hoped to be joined by more of his *Highlanders*.

But was defeated and taken.

He had left his arms in a caſtle, with ſuch a guard as he could ſpare: But they were routed by a party of the King's forces. And with this he loſt both heart and hope. And then, apprehending that all was gone, he put himſelf in a diſguiſe, and had almoſt eſcaped: But he was taken. A body of Gentlemen that had followed him ſtood better to it, and forced their way thro': So that the greater part of them eſcaped. Some of theſe were taken: The chief of them were Sir *John Cochran*, *Aiſloffe*, and *Rumbold*. Theſe two laſt were *Engliſhmen:* But I knew not upon what motive it was, that they choſe rather to run fortunes with *Argile*, than with the Duke of *Monmouth*. Thus was this rebellion brought to a ſpeedy end, with the effuſion of very little blood. Nor was there much ſhed in the way of juſtice; for it was conſidered, that the *Highlanders* were under ſuch ties by their tenures, that it was ſomewhat excuſable in them to follow their Lord. Moſt of the Gentlemen were brought in by order of Council to *Edenburgh*, which preſerved them. One of thoſe that were with *Argile*, by a great preſence of mind, got to *Carliſle*, where he called for poſt horſes; and ſaid, he was ſent by the General to carry the good news by word of mouth to the King. And ſo he got to *London:* And there he found a way to get beyond ſea.

Argile's execution.

Argile was brought in to *Edenburgh*. He expreſſed even a cheerful calm under all his misfortunes. He juſtified all he had done: For, he ſaid, he was unjuſtly attainted: That had diſſolved his allegiance: So it was juſtice to himſelf and his family, to endeavour to recover what was ſo wrongfully taken from him. He alſo thought, that no allegiance was due to the King, till he had taken the oath which the law

preſcribed to be taken by our Kings at their Coronation, or the receipt of their princely dignity. He deſired that Mr. *Charteris* might be ordered to attend upon him; which was granted. When he came to him, he told him he was ſatisfied in conſcience with the lawfulneſs of what he had done, and therefore deſired he would not diſturb him with any diſcourſe on that ſubject. The other, after he had told him his ſenſe of the matter, complied eaſily with this. So all that remained was to prepare him to die, in which he expreſſed an unſhaken firmneſs. The Duke of *Queensbury* examined him in private. He ſaid, he had not laid his buſineſs with any in *Scotland*. He had only found credit with a perſon that lent him money; upon which he had truſted, perhaps too much, to the diſpoſitions of the people, ſharpned by their adminiſtration. When the day of his execution came, Mr. *Charteris* happen'd to come to him as he was ending dinner: He ſaid to him pleaſantly, *ſerò venientibus oſſa*. He prayed often with him, and by himſelf, and went to the ſcaffold with great ſerenity. He had complained of the Duke of *Monmouth* much, for delaying his coming ſo long after him, and for aſſuming the name of King; both which, he ſaid, were contrary to their agreement at parting. Thus he died, pitied by all. His death, being purſuant to the ſentence paſt three years before, of which mention was made, was looked on as no better than murder. But his conduct in this matter was made up of ſo many errors, that it appeared he was not made for deſigns of this kind. 1685

Ailoffe had a mind to prevent the courſe of juſtice, and having got a penknife into his hands gave himſelf ſeveral ſtabbs. And thinking he was certainly a dead man, he cried out, and ſaid, now he defied his enemies. Yet he had not pierced his guts: So his wounds were not mortal. And, it being believed that he could make great diſcoveries, he was brought up to *London*.

Rumbold was he that dwelt in *Rye-Houſe*, where it was pretended the plot was laid for murdering the late and preſent King. He denied the truth of that conſpiracy. He owned, he thought the Prince was as much tied to the people, as the people were to the Prince; and that, when a King departed from the legal meaſures of government, the people had a right to aſſert their liberties, and to reſtrain him. He did not deny, but that he had heard many propoſitions at *Weſt*'s chambers about killing the two brothers; and upon that he had ſaid, it could have been eaſily executed near his houſe; *Rumbold* at his death denied the *Rye-Plot*.

1685 upon which ſome diſcourſe had followed, how it might have been managed. But, he ſaid, it was only talk, and that nothing was either laid, or ſo much as reſolved on. He ſaid, he was not for a Commonwealth, but for Kingly government according to the laws of *England:* But he did not think that the King had his authority by any divine right, which he expreſſed in rough, but ſignificant words. He ſaid, he did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with ſaddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and ſome few booted and ſpurred to ride the reſt.

Cochran had a rich father, the Earl of *Dundonald:* And he offered the Prieſts 5000 *l.* to ſave his ſon. They wanted a ſtock of money for managing their deſigns: So they interpoſed ſo effectually, that the bargain was made. But, to cover it, *Cochran* petitioned the Council that he might be ſent to the King; for he had ſome ſecrets of great importance, which were not fit to be communicated to any but to the King himſelf. He was upon that brought up to *London:* And, after he had been for ſome time in private with the King, the matters he had diſcovered were ſaid to be of ſuch importance, that in conſideration of that the King pardoned him. It was ſaid, he had diſcovered all their negotiations with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the Prince of *Orange*. But this was a pretence only given out to conceal the bargain; for the Prince told me, he had never once ſeen him. The ſecret of this came to be known ſoon after.

When *Ailoffe* was brought up to *London*, the King examined him, but could draw nothing from him, but one ſevere repartee. He being ſullen, and refuſing to diſcover any thing, the King ſaid to him; Mr. *Ailoffe*, you know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore ſay that which may deſerve it. It was ſaid that he anſwered, that tho' it was in his power, yet it was not in his nature to pardon. He was nephew to the old Earl of *Clarendon* by marriage; for *Ailoffe*'s aunt was his firſt wife, but ſhe had no children. It was thought, that the nearneſs of his relation to the King's children might have moved him to pardon him, which would have been the moſt effectual confutation of his bold repartee: But he ſuffered with the reſt.

A Parliament in *Scotland.*

Immediately after *Argile*'s execution, a Parliament was held in *Scotland*. Upon King *Charles*'s death, the Marquis of *Queensbury*, ſoon after made a Duke, and the Earl of *Perth*, came to Court. The Duke of *Queensbury* told

the King, that if he had any thoughts of changing the eſtabliſhed religion, he could not make any one ſtep with him in that matter. The King ſeemed to receive this very kindly from him; and aſſured him, he had no ſuch intention, but that he would have a Parliament called, to which he ſhould go his Commiſſioner, and give all poſſible aſſurances in the matter of religion, and get the revenue to be ſettled, and ſuch other laws to be paſt as might be neceſſary for the common ſafety. The Duke of *Queensbury* preſſed the Earl of *Perth* to ſpeak in the ſame ſtrain to the King. But, tho' he pretended to be ſtill a Proteſtant, yet he could not prevail on him to ſpeak in ſo poſitive a ſtile. I had not then left *London:* So the Duke ſent me word of this, and ſeemed ſo fully ſatisfied with it, that he thought all would be ſafe. So he prepared inſtructions by which both the revenue and the King's authority were to be carried very high. He has often ſince that time told me, that the King made thoſe promiſes to him in ſo frank and hearty a manner, that he concluded it was impoſſible for him to be acting a part. Therefore he always believed, that the Prieſts gave him leave to promiſe every thing, and that he did it very ſincerely; but that afterwards they pretended, they had a power to diſſolve the obligation of all oaths and promiſes; ſince nothing could be more open and free than his way of expreſſing himſelf was, tho' afterwards he had no ſort of regard to any of the promiſes he then made. The Teſt had been the King's own act while he was in *Scotland.* So he thought, the putting that on all perſons would be the moſt acceptable method, as well as the moſt effectual, for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion. Therefore he propoſed an inſtruction obliging all people to take the Teſt, not only to qualify them for publick employments, but that all thoſe to whom the Council ſhould tender it ſhould be bound to take it under the pain of treaſon: And this was granted. He alſo projected many other ſevere laws, that left an arbitrary power in the Privy Council. And, as he was naturally violent and imperious in his own temper, ſo he ſaw the King's inclinations to thoſe methods, and hoped to have recommended himſelf effectually by being inſtrumental in ſetting up an abſolute and deſpotick form of government. But he found afterwards how he had deceived himſelf, in thinking that any thing, but the delivering up his religion, could be acceptable long. And he ſaw, after he had prepared a cruel ſcheme of government, other men were truſted with the 1685

1685 the management of it: And it had almoſt proved fatal to himſelf.

Granted all that the King deſired.

The Parliament of *Scotland* ſat not long. No oppoſition was made. The Duke of *Queensbury* gave very full aſſurances in the point of religion, that the King would never alter it, but would maintain it, as it was eſtabliſhed by law. And in confirmation of them he propoſed that act enjoining the Teſt, which was paſt, and was looked on as a full ſecurity; tho' it was very probable, that all the uſe that the Council would make of this diſcretional power lodged with them, would be only to tender the Teſt to thoſe that might ſcruple it on other accounts, but that it would be offered to none of the Church of *Rome*. In return for this the Parliament gave the King for life all the revenue that had been given to his brother: And with that ſome additional taxes were given.

Severe laws were paſſed.

Other ſevere laws were alſo paſt. By one of theſe an Inquiſition was upon the matter ſet up. All perſons were required, under the pain of treaſon, to anſwer to all ſuch queſtions as ſhould be put to them by the Privy Council. This put all men under great apprehenſions, ſince upon this act an Inquiſition might have been grafted, as ſoon as the King pleaſed. Another act was only in one particular caſe: But it was a crying one, and ſo deſerves to be remembred.

When *Caſtairs* was put to the torture, and came to capitulate in order to the making a diſcovery, he got a promiſe from the Council, that no uſe ſhould be made of his depoſition againſt any perſon whatſoever. He in his depoſition ſaid ſomewhat that brought Sir *Hugh Cambell* and his ſon under the guilt of treaſon, who had been taken up in *London* two years before, and were kept in priſon all this while. The Earl of *Melfort* got the promiſe of his eſtate, which was about 1000 *l.* a year, as ſoon as he ſhould be convicted of high treaſon. So an act was brought in, which was to laſt only ſix weeks; and enacted, that if within that time any of the Privy Council would depoſe that any man was proved to be guilty of high treaſon, he ſhould upon ſuch a proof be attainted. Upon which, as ſoon as the act was paſt, four of the Privy Council ſtood up, and affirmed that the *Cambells* were proved by *Caſtairs*'s depoſition to be guilty. Upon this both father and ſon were brought to the bar, to ſee what they had to ſay, why the ſentence ſhould not be executed. The old Gentleman, then near eighty, ſeeing the ruin of his family was determined, and that he was con-

demned

demned in so unusual a manner, took courage, and said, the oppression they had been under had driven them to despair, and made them think how they might secure their lives and fortunes: Upon this he went to *London*, and had some meetings with *Baillie*, and others: That one was sent to *Scotland* to hinder all risings: That an oath of secrecy was indeed offered, but was never taken upon all this. So it was pretended, he had confessed the crime, and by a shew of mercy they were pardoned: But the Earl of *Melfort* possessed himself of their estate. The old Gentleman died soon after. And very probably his death was hastned by his long and rigorous imprisonment, and this unexampled conclusion of it; which was so universally condemned, that when the news of it was writ to foreign parts, it was not easy to make people believe it possible. 1685

Oates convicted of perjury,

But now the sitting of the Parliament of *England* came on. And, as a preparation to it, *Oates* was convicted of perjury, upon the evidence of the witnesses from St. *Omar*'s, who had been brought over before to discredit his testimony. Now Juries were so prepared, as to believe more easily than formerly. So he was condemned to have his Priestly habit taken from him, to be a prisoner for life, to be set on the pillory in all the publick places of the City, and ever after that to be set on the pillory four times a year, and to be whipt by the common hangman from *Aldgate* to *Newgate* one day, and the next from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; which was executed with so much rigour, that his back seemed to be all over flead. This was thought too little if he was guilty, and too much if innocent, and was illegal in all the parts of it: For as the secular Court could not order the Ecclesiastical habit to be taken from him, so to condemn a man to a perpetual imprisonment was not in the power of the Court: And the extream rigour of such whipping was without a precedent. Yet he, who was an original in all things, bore this with a constancy that amazed all those who saw it. So that this treatment did rather raise his reputation, than sink it.

and cruelly whipt.

Dangerfield killed.

And, that I may join things of the same sort together, tho' they were transacted at some distance of time, *Dangerfield*, another of the witnesses in the Popish plot, was also found guilty of perjury, and had the same punishment. But it had a more terrible conclusion; for a brutal student of the law, who had no private quarrel with him, but was only transported with the heat of that time, struck him over the

1685 head with his cane, as he got his laſt laſh. This hit him ſo fatally, that he died of it immediately. The perſon was apprehended. And the King left him to the law. And, tho' great interceſſion was made for him, the King would not interpoſe. So he was hanged for it.

A Parliament in *England.*

At laſt the Parliament met. The King in his ſpeech repeated that, which he had ſaid to the Council upon his firſt acceſſion to the Throne. He told them, ſome might think, the keeping him low would be the ſureſt way to have frequent Parliamens: But they ſhould find the contrary, that the uſing him well would be the beſt argument to perſuade him to meet them often. This was put in to prevent a motion, which was a little talked of abroad, but none would venture on it within doors, that it was ſafeſt to grant the revenue only for a term of years.

Grants the revenue for life.

The revenue was granted for life, and every thing elſe that was aſked, with ſuch a profuſion, that the Houſe was more forward to give, than the King was to aſk: To which the King thought fit to put a ſtop by a meſſage, intimating that he deſired no more money that ſeſſion. And yet this forwardneſs to give in ſuch a reign was ſet on by *Muſgrave* and others, who pretended afterwards, when money was aſked for juſt and neceſſary ends, to be frugal patriots, and to be careful managers of the publick treaſure.

And truſts to the King's promiſe.

As for religion, ſome began to propoſe a new and firmer ſecurity to it. But all the Courtiers run out into eloquent harangues on that ſubject: And preſſed a vote, that they took the King's word in that matter, and would truſt to it; and that this ſhould be ſignified in an addreſs to him. This would bind the King in point of honour, and gain his heart ſo entirely, that it would be a tie above all laws whatſoever. And the tide run ſo ſtrong that way, that the Houſe went into it without oppoſition.

The Lord *Preſton*, who had been for ſome years Envoy in *France*, was brought over, and ſet up to be a manager in the Houſe of Commons. He told them, the reputation of the Nation was beginning to riſe very high all *Europe* over, under a Prince whoſe name ſpread terror every where: And if this was confirmed by the entire confidence of his Parliament, even in the tendereſt matters, it would give ſuch a turn to the affairs of *Europe*, that *England* would again hold the balance, and their King would be the arbiter of *Europe*. This was ſeconded by all the Court flatterers. So in their

addreſs to the King, thanking him for his ſpeech, they told him, they truſted to him ſo entirely, that they relied on his word, and thought themſelves and their religion ſafe, ſince he had promiſed it to them. 1685

When this was ſettled, the petitions concerning the elections were preſented. Upon thoſe *Seimour* ſpoke very high, and with much weight. He ſaid, the complaints of the irregularities in elections were ſo great, that many doubted whether this was a true repreſentative of the Nation, or not. He ſaid, little equity was expected upon petitions, where ſo many were too guilty to judge juſtly and impartially. He ſaid, it concerned them to look to theſe: For if the Nation ſaw no juſtice was to be expected from them, other methods would be found, in which they might come to ſuffer that juſtice which they would not do. He was a haughty man, and would not communicate his deſign in making this motion to any: So all were ſurpriſed with it, but none ſeconded it. This had no effect, not ſo much as to draw on a debate.

The Parliament was violent.

The Courtiers were projecting many laws to ruin all who oppoſed their deſigns. The moſt important of theſe was an act declaring treaſons during that reign, by which words were to be made treaſon. And the clauſe was ſo drawn, that any thing ſaid to diſparage the King's perſon or government was made treaſon; within which every thing ſaid to the diſhonour of the King's religion would have been comprehended, as Judges and Juries were then modelled. This was chiefly oppoſed by Serjeant *Maynard*, who in a very grave ſpeech laid open the inconvenience of making words treaſon: They were often ill heard and ill underſtood, and were apt to be miſrecited by a very ſmall variation: Men in paſſion or in drink might ſay things they never intended: Therefore he hoped they would keep to the law of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the third, by which an overt-act was made the neceſſary proof of ill intentions. And when others inſiſted, that *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpake*, he brought the inſtance of our Saviour's words, *Deſtroy this Temple*; and ſhewed how near *the Temple* was to *this Temple*, pronouncing it in *Syriack*, ſo that the difference was almoſt imperceptible. There was nothing more innocent than theſe words, as our Saviour meant, and ſpoke them: But nothing was more criminal than the ſetting on a multitude to deſtroy the Temple. This made ſome impreſſion at that time. But if the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing had

1685 had not brought the ſeſſion to an early concluſion, that, and every thing elſe which the officious Courtiers were projecting, would have certainly paſt.

The Lords were more cautious.

The moſt important buſineſs that was before the Houſe of Lords was the reverſing the attainder of the Lord *Stafford*. It was ſaid for it, that the witneſſes were now convicted of perjury, and therefore the reſtoring the blood that was tainted by their evidence was a juſt reparation. The proceedings in the matter of the Popiſh plot were chiefly founded on *Oates*'s diſcovery, which was now judged to be a thread of perjury. This ſtuck with the Lords, and would not go down. Yet they did juſtice both to the Popiſh Lords then in the Tower, and to the Earl of *Danby*, who moved the Houſe of Lords, that they might either be brought to their trial, or be ſet at liberty. This was ſent by the Lords to the Houſe of Commons, who returned anſwer, that they did not think fit to inſiſt on the impeachments. So upon that they were diſcharged of them, and ſet at liberty. Yet, tho' both Houſes agreed in this of proſecuting the Popiſh plot no further, the Lords had no mind to reverſe and condemn paſt proceedings.

The Duke of *Monmouth* landed at *Lime*.

But while all theſe things were in agitation, the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing brought the ſeſſion to a concluſion. As ſoon as Lord *Argile* ſailed for *Scotland*, he ſet about his deſign with as much haſte as was poſſible. Arms were bought, and a ſhip was freighted for *Bilbao* in *Spain*. The Duke of *Monmouth* pawned all his jewels: But theſe could not raiſe much: And no money was ſent him out of *England*. So he was hurried into an ill deſigned invaſion. The whole company conſiſted but of eighty two perſons. They were all faithful to one another. But ſome ſpies, whom *Shelton* the new Envoy ſet on work, ſent him the notice of a ſuſpected ſhip ſailing out of *Amſterdam* with arms. *Shelton* neither underſtood the laws of *Holland*, nor adviſed with thoſe who did: Otherwiſe he would have carried with him an order from the Admiralty of *Holland*, that ſat at the *Hague*, to be made uſe of as the occaſion ſhould require. When he came to *Amſterdam*, and applied himſelf to the Magiſtrates there, deſiring them to ſtop and ſearch the ſhip that he named, they found the ſhip was already ſailed out of their port, and their juriſdiction went no further. So he was forced to ſend to the Admiralty at the *Hague*. But thoſe on board, hearing what he was come for, made all poſſible haſte. And, the wind favour-

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ing them, they got out of the *Texel*, before the order desired could be brought from the *Hague*. 1685

After a proſperous courſe, the Duke landed at *Lime* in *Dorſetſhire:* And he with his ſmall company came aſhore with ſome order, but with too much day light, which diſcovered how few they were.

An act of Attainder paſſed againſt him.

The alarm was bronght hot to *London:* Where, upon the general report and belief of the thing an act of Attainder paſt both Houſes in one day; ſome ſmall oppoſition being made by the Earl of *Angleſey*, becauſe the evidence did not ſeem clear enough for ſo ſevere a ſentence, which was grounded on the notoriety of the thing. The ſum of 5000 *l.* was ſet on his head. And with that the ſeſſion of Parliament ended; which was no ſmall happineſs to the Nation, ſuch a body of men being diſmiſſed with doing ſo little hurt. The Duke of *Monmouth*'s *Manifeſto* was long, and ill penned: Full of much black and dull malice. It was plainly *Ferguſon*'s ſtile, which was both tedious and fulſome. It charged the King with the burning of *London*, the Popiſh plot, *Godfrey*'s murder, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s death: And to crown all, it was pretended, that the late King was poiſoned by his orders: It was ſet forth, that the King's religion made him incapable of the Crown; that three ſubſequent Houſes of Commons had voted his Excluſion: The taking away the old Charters, and all the hard things done in the laſt reign, were laid to his charge: The elections of the preſent Parliament were alſo ſet forth very odiouſly, with great indecency of ſtile: The Nation was alſo appealed to, when met in a free Parliament, to judge of the Duke's own pretenſions: And all ſort of liberty, both in temporals and ſpirituals, was promiſed to perſons of all perſuaſions.

A rabble came and joined him.

Upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing, many of the country people came in to join him, but very few of the Gentry. He had quickly men enough about him to uſe all his arms. The Duke of *Albermale*, as Lord Lieutenant of *Devonſhire*, was ſent down to raiſe the Militia, and with them to make head againſt him. But their ill affection appeared very evidently: Many deſerted, and all were cold in the ſervice. The Duke of *Monmouth* had the whole country open to him for almoſt a fortnight, during which time he was very diligent in training and animating his men. His own behaviour was ſo gentle and obliging, that he was maſter of all their hearts, as much as was poſſible. But he quickly found, what it was to be at the head of undiſciplined men, that knew nothing

1685 of war, and that were not to be uſed with rigour. Soon after their landing, Lord *Grey* was ſent out with a ſmall party. He ſaw a few of the Militia, and he ran for it: But his men ſtood, and the Militia ran from them. Lord *Grey* brought a falſe alarm, that was ſoon found to be ſo: For the men whom their leader had abandoned came back in good order. The Duke of *Monmouth* was ſtruck with this, when he found that the perſon on whom he depended moſt, and for whom he deſigned the command of the horſe, had already made himſelf infamous by his cowardiſe. He intended to join *Fletcher* with him in that command. But an unhappy accident made it not convenient to keep him longer about him. He ſent him out on another party: And he, not being yet furniſhed with a horſe, took the horſe of one who had brought in a great body of men from *Taunton*. He was not in the way: So *Fletcher*, not ſeeing him to aſk his leave, thought that all things were to be in common among them, that could advance the ſervice. After *Fletcher* had rid about, as he was ordered, as he returned, the owner of the horſe he rode on, who was a rough and ill-bred man, reproached him in very injurious terms, for taking out his horſe without his leave. *Fletcher* bore this longer than could have been expected from one of his impetuous temper. But the other perſiſted in giving him foul language, and offered a ſwitch or a cane: Upon which he diſcharged his piſtol at him, and fatally ſhot him dead. He went and gave the Duke of *Monmouth* an account of this, who ſaw it was impoſſible to keep him longer about him, without diſguſting and loſing the country people, who were coming in a body to demand juſtice. So he adviſed him to go aboard the ſhip, and to ſail on to *Spain*, whither ſhe was bound. By this means he was preſerved for that time.

Lord *Grey*'s cowardiſe.

Ferguſon ran among the people with all the fury of an enraged man, that affected to paſs for an enthuſiaſt, tho' all his performances that way were forced and dry. The Duke of *Monmouth*'s great error was, that he did not in the firſt heat venture on ſome hardy action, and then march either to *Exeter* or *Briſtol*; where, as he would have found much wealth, ſo he would have gained ſome reputation by it. But he lingred in exerciſing his men, and ſtaid too long in the neighbourhood of *Lime*.

By this means the King had time both to bring troops out of *Scotland*, after *Argile* was taken, and to ſend to *Holland* for the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in the

ſervice of the States; which the Prince ſent over very readily, and offered his own perſon, and a greater force, if it was neceſſary. The King received this with great expreſſions of acknowledgment and kindneſs. It was very viſible, that he was much diſtracted in his thoughts, and that what appearance of courage ſoever he might put on, he was inwardly full of apprehenſions and fears. He durſt not accept of the offer of aſſiſtance, that the *French* made him: For by that he would have loſt the hearts of the *Engliſh* Nation. And he had no mind to be much obliged to the Prince of *Orange*, or to let him into his counſels or affairs. *Prince George* committed a great error in not aſking the command of the Army: For the command, how much ſoever he might have been bound to the counſels of others, would have given him ſome luſtre; whereas his ſtaying at home in ſuch time of danger brought him under much neglect. 1685

The King could not chooſe worſe than he did, when he gave the command to the Earl of *Feverſham*, who was a *Frenchman* by birth, and nephew to Mr. *de Turenne*. Both his brothers changing religion, tho' he continued ſtill a Proteſtant, made that his religion was not much truſted to. He was an honeſt, brave, and good natured man, but weak to a degree not eaſy to be conceived. And he conducted matters ſo ill, that every ſtep he made was like to prove fatal to the King's ſervice. He had no parties abroad. He got no intelligence: And was almoſt ſurpriſed, and like to be defeated, when he ſeemed to be under no apprehenſion, but was abed without any care or order. So that, if the Duke of *Monmouth* had got but a very ſmall number of good ſoldiers about him, the King's affairs would have fallen into great diſorder. The Earl of *Feverſham* commanded the King's army.

The Duke of *Monmouth* had almoſt ſurpriſed Lord *Feverſham*, and all about him, while they were abed. He got in between two bodies, into which the Army lay divided. He now ſaw his error in lingring ſo long. He began to want bread, and to be ſo ſtraitned, that there was a neceſſity of puſhing for a ſpeedy deciſion. He was ſo miſled in his march, that he loſt an hour's time: And when he came near the Army, there was an inconſiderable ditch, in the paſſing which he loſt ſo much more time, that the officers had leiſure to riſe and be dreſſed, now they had the alarm. And they put themſelves in order. Yet the Duke of *Monmouth*'s foot ſtood longer, and fought better than could have been expected; eſpecially, when the ſmall body of horſe they had ran upon the firſt charge,

1685 charge, the blame of which was caſt on the Lord *Grey*. The foot being thus forſaken, and galled by the cannon, did run at laſt. About a thouſand of them were killed on the ſpot: And fifteen hundred were taken priſoners. Their numbers when fulleſt were between five and ſix thouſand. The Duke of *Monmouth* left the field too ſoon for a man of courage, who had ſuch high pretenſions: For a few days before he had ſuffered himſelf to be called King, which did him no ſervice, even among thoſe that followed him. He rode towards *Dorſetſhire:* And when his horſe could carry him no further, he changed clothes with a ſhepherd, and went as far as his legs could carry him, being accompanied only with a *German*, whom he had brought over with him. At laſt, when he could go no further, he lay down in a field where there was hay and ſtraw, with which they covered themſelves, ſo that they hoped to lie there unſeen till night. Parties went out on all hands to take priſoners. The ſhepherd was found by the Lord *Lumley* in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s clothes. So this put them on his track, and having ſome dogs with them they followed the ſcent, and came to the place where the *German* was firſt diſcovered. And he immediately pointed to the place where the Duke of *Monmouth* lay. So he was taken in a very indecent dreſs and poſture.

The Duke of *Monmouth* defeated.

And taken.

His body was quite ſunk with fatigue: And his mind was now ſo low, that he begged his life in a manner that agreed ill with the courage of the former parts of it. He called for pen, ink, and paper; and wrote to the Earl of *Feverſham*, and both to the Queen, and the Queen *Dowager*, to intercede with the King for his life. The King's temper, as well as his intereſt, made it ſo impoſſible to hope for that, that it ſhewed a great meanneſs in him to aſk it in ſuch terms as he uſed in his letters. He was carried up to *Whitehall*; where the King examined him in perſon, which was thought very indecent, ſince he was reſolved not to pardon him. He made new and unbecoming ſubmiſſions, and inſinuated a readineſs to change his religion: For he ſaid, the King knew what his firſt education was in religion. There were no diſcoveries to be got from him; for the attempt was too raſh to be well concerted, or to be ſo deep laid that many were involved in the guilt of it. He was examined on *Monday*, and orders were given for his execution on *Wedneſday*.

Turner and *Ken*, the Biſhops of *Ely* and of *Bath* and *Wells*, were ordered to wait on him. But he called for Dr. *Tenniſon*. The Biſhops ſtudied to convince him of the ſin of rebellion. He anſwered, he was ſorry for the blood that was ſhed in it: But he did not ſeem to repent of the deſign. Yet he confeſſed that his Father had often told him, that there was no truth in the reports of his having married his Mother. This he ſet under his hand, probably for his childrens ſake, who were then priſoners in the Tower, that ſo they might not be ill uſed on his account. He ſhewed a great neglect of his Ducheſs. And her reſentments for his courſe of life with the Lady *Wentworth* wrought ſo much on her, that, tho' he deſired to ſpeak privately with her, ſhe would have witneſſes to hear all that paſt, to juſtify her ſelf, and to preſerve her family. They parted very coldly. He only recommended to her the breeding their children in the Proteſtant Religion. The Biſhops continued ſtill to preſs on him a deep ſenſe of the ſin of rebellion; at which he grew ſo uneaſy, that he deſired them to ſpeak to him of other matters. They next charged him with the ſin of living with the Lady *Wentworth* as he had done. In that he juſtified himſelf: He had married his Ducheſs too young to give a true conſent: He ſaid, that Lady was a pious worthy woman, and that he had never lived ſo well in all reſpects, as ſince his engagements with her. All the pains they took to convince him of the unlawfulneſs of that courſe of life had no effect. They did certainly very well in diſcharging their conſciences, and ſpeaking ſo plainly to him. But they did very ill to talk ſo much of this matter, and to make it ſo publick as they did; for divines ought not to repeat what they ſay to dying penitents, no more than what the penitents ſay to them. By this means the Duke of *Monmouth* had little ſatisfaction in them, and they had as little in him. 1685 Soon after executed.

He was much better pleaſed with Dr. *Tenniſon*, who did very plainly ſpeak to him, with relation to his publick actings, and to his courſe of life: But he did it in a ſofter and leſs peremptory manner. And having ſaid all that he thought proper, he left thoſe points, in which he ſaw he could not convince him, to his own conſcience, and turned to other things fit to be laid before a dying man. The Duke begged one day more of life with ſuch repeated earneſtneſs, that as the King was much blamed for denying ſo ſmall a favour, ſo it gave occaſion to others to believe, that he had ſome hope from aſtrologers, that, if he out-lived that day,

1685 he might have a better fate. As long as he fancied there was any hope, he was too much unſettled in his mind to be capable of any thing.

He died with great calmneſs.

But when he ſaw all was to no purpoſe, and that he muſt die, he complained a little that his death was hurried on ſo faſt. But all on the ſudden he came into a compoſure of mind, that ſurpriſed thoſe that ſaw it. There was no affectation in it. His whole behaviour was eaſy and calm, not without a decent cheerfulneſs. He prayed God to forgive all his ſins, unknown as well as known. He ſeemed confident of the mercies of God, and that he was going to be happy with him. And he went to the place of execution on Tower Hill with an air of undiſturbed courage, that was grave and compoſed. He ſaid little there, only that he was ſorry for the blood that was ſhed: But he had ever meant well to the Nation. When he ſaw the axe, he touched it, and ſaid, it was not ſharp enough. He gave the hangman but half the reward he intended; and ſaid, if he cut off his head cleaverly, and not ſo butcherly as he did the Lord *Ruſſel's*, his man would give him the reſt. The executioner was in great diſorder, trembling all over: So he gave him two or three ſtrokes without being able to finiſh the matter, and then flung the axe out of his hand. But the Sheriff forced him to take it up: And at three or four more ſtrokes he ſevered his head from his body: And both were preſently buried in the Chapel of the Tower. Thus lived and died this unfortunate young man. He had ſeveral good qualities in him, and ſome that were as bad. He was ſoft and gentle even to exceſs, and too eaſy to thoſe who had credit with him. He was both ſincere and good natured, and underſtood war well. But he was too much given to pleaſure and to favourites.

Lord *Grey* pardoned.

The Lord *Grey* it was thought would go next. But he had a great eſtate that by his death was to go over to his brother. So the Court reſolved to preſerve him, till he ſhould be brought to compound for his life. The Earl of *Rocheſter* had 16000 *l.* of him. Others had ſmaller ſhares. He was likewiſe obliged to tell all he knew, and to be a witneſs in order to the conviction of others, but with this aſſurance, that no body ſhould die upon his evidence. So the Lord *Brandon*, ſon to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, was convicted by his and ſome other evidence. Mr. *Hambden* was alſo brought on his trial. And he was told, that he muſt expect no favour unleſs he would plead guilty. And he, knowing that

that legal evidence would be brought againſt him, ſubmitted to this; and begged his life with a meanneſs, of which he himſelf was ſo aſhamed afterwards, that it gave his ſpirits a depreſſion and diſorder that he could never quite maſter. And that had a terrible concluſion; for about ten years after he cut his own throat. 1685

The King was now as ſucceſsful as his own heart could wiſh. He had held a ſeſſion of Parliament in both Kingdoms, that had ſettled his revenue: And now two ill prepared and ill managed rebellions had ſo broken all the party that was againſt him, that he ſeemed ſecure in his Throne, and above the power of all his enemies. And certainly a reign that was now ſo beyond expectation ſucceſsful in its firſt ſix months ſeemed ſo well ſettled, that no ordinary miſmanagement could have ſpoiled ſuch beginnings. If the King had ordered a ſpeedy execution of ſuch perſons, as were fit to be made publick examples, and had upon that granted a general indemnity, and if he had but covered his intentions till he had got thro' another ſeſſion of Parliament, it is not eaſy to imagine with what advantage he might then have opened and purſued his deſigns. The King was lifted up with his ſucceſſes.

But his own temper, and the fury of ſome of his Miniſters, and the maxims of his Prieſts, who were become enthuſiaſtical upon this ſucceſs, and fancied that nothing could now ſtand before him: All theſe concurred to make him loſe advantages that were never to be recovered: For the ſhews of mercy, that were afterwards put on, were looked on as an after-game, to retrieve that which was now loſt. The Army was kept for ſome time in the *Weſtern* Counties, where both officers and ſoldiers lived as in an enemy's country, and treated all that were believed to be ill affected to the King with great rudeneſs and violence. But it had an ill effect on his affairs.

Kirk, who had commanded long in *Tangier*, was become ſo ſavage by the neighbourhood of the *Moors* there, that ſome days after the battle he ordered ſeveral of the priſoners to be hanged up at *Taunton*, without ſo much as the form of law, he and his company looking on from an entertainment they were at. At every new health another priſoner was hanged up. And they were ſo brutal, that obſerving the ſhaking of the legs of thoſe whom they hanged, it was ſaid among them, they were dancing; and upon that muſick was called for. This was both ſo illegal, and ſo inhuman, that it might have been expected that ſome notice would have been taken of it. But *Kirk* was only chid for it. And it was ſaid, that Great cruelties committed by his ſoldiers.

1685 that he had a particular order for ſome military executions: So that he could only be chid for the manner of it.

And much greater by *Jefferies.*

But, as if this had been nothing, *Jefferies* was ſent the *Weſtern* Circuit to try the priſoners. His behaviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized Nation. He was perpetually either drunk, or in a rage, liker a fury than the zeal of a Judge. He required the priſoners to plead guilty. And in that caſe he gave them ſome hope of favour, if they gave him no trouble: Otherwiſe he told them he would execute the letter of the law upon them in its utmoſt ſeverity. This made many plead guilty, who had a great defence in law. But he ſhewed no mercy. He ordered a great many to be hanged up immediately, without allowing them a minute's time to ſay their prayers. He hanged, in ſeveral places, about ſix hundred perſons. The greateſt part of theſe were of the meaneſt ſort, and of no diſtinction. The impieties with which he treated them, and his behaviour towards ſome of the Nobility and Gentry that were well affected, but came and pleaded in favour of ſome priſoners, would have amazed one, if done by a *Baſhaw* in *Turkey*. *England* had never known any thing like it. The inſtances are too many to be reckoned up.

With which the King was well pleaſed.

But that which brought all his exceſſes to be imputed to the King himſelf, and to the orders given by him, was, that the King had a particular account of all his proceedings writ to him every day. And he took pleaſure to relate them in the drawing room to foreign Miniſters, and at his table, calling it *Jefferies*'s campaign: Speaking of all he had done in a ſtile, that neither became the Majeſty, nor the mercifulneſs, of a great Prince. *Dykfield* was at that time in *England*, one of the Embaſſadors whom the States had ſent over to congratulate the King's coming to the Crown. He told me, that the King talked ſo often of theſe things in his hearing, that he wondered to ſee him break out into thoſe indecencies. And upon *Jefferies*'s coming back, he was created a Baron, and Peer of *England:* A dignity which, tho' anciently ſome Judges were raiſed to it, yet in theſe later ages, as there was no example of it, ſo it was thought inconſiſtent with the character of a Judge.

The executions of two women.

Two executions were of ſuch an extraordinary nature, that they deſerve a more particular recital. The King apprehended that many of the priſoners had got into *London*, and were concealed there. So he ſaid, thoſe who concealed them were the worſt ſort of traitors, who endeavoured to preſerve

ſuch perſons to a better time. He had likewiſe a great mind to find out any among the rich merchants, who might afford great compoſitions to ſave their lives: For tho' there was much blood ſhed, there was little booty got to reward thoſe who had ſerved. Upon this the King declared, he would ſooner pardon the rebels, than thoſe who harboured them. 1685

There was in *London* one *Gaunt*, a woman that was an Anabaptiſt, who ſpent a great part of her life in acts of charity, viſiting the jayles, and looking after the poor of what perſuaſion ſoever they were. One of the rebels found her out, and ſhe harboured him in her houſe; and was looking for an occaſion of ſending him out of the Kingdom. He went about in the night, and came to hear what the King had ſaid. So he, by an unheard of baſeneſs, went and delivered himſelf, and accuſed her that harboured him. She was ſeized on, and tried. There was no witneſs to prove that ſhe knew that the perſon ſhe harboured was a rebel, but he himſelf: Her maid witneſſed only, that he was entertained at her houſe. But tho' the crime was her harbouring a traitor, and was proved only by this infamous witneſs, yet the Judge charged the Jury to bring her in guilty, pretending that the maid was a ſecond witneſs, tho' ſhe knew nothing of that which was the criminal part. She was condemned, and burnt, as the law directs in the caſe of women convict of treaſon. She died with a conſtancy, even to a cheerfulneſs, that ſtruck all that ſaw it. She ſaid, charity was a part of her religion, as well as faith: This at worſt was the feeding an enemy: So ſhe hoped, ſhe had her reward with him, for whoſe ſake ſhe did this ſervice, how unworthy ſoever the perſon was, that made ſo ill a return for it: She rejoyced, that God had honoured her to be the firſt that ſuffered by fire in this reign; and that her ſuffering was a martyrdom for that religion which was all love. *Pen* the Quaker told me, he ſaw her die. She laid the ſtraw about her for burning her ſpeedily; and behaved her ſelf in ſuch a manner, that all the ſpectators melted in tears.

The other execution was of a woman of greater quality: The Lady *Liſle*. Her huſband had been a Regicide, and was one of *Cromwell*'s Lords, and was called the Lord *Liſle*. He went at the time of the Reſtoration beyond ſea, and lived at *Lauſanne*. But three deſperate *Iriſhmen*, hoping by ſuch a ſervice to make their fortunes, went thither, and killed him as he was going to Church; and being well mounted, and ill purſued, got into *France*. His Lady was known

1685 to be much affected with the King's death, and not eaſily reconciled to her huſband for the ſhare he had in it. She was a woman of great piety and charity. The night after the action, *Hicks*, a violent preacher among the Diſſenters, and *Neltharp*, came to her houſe. She knew *Hicks*, and treated him civilly, not aſking from whence they came. But *Hicks* told what brought them thither; for they had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. Upon which ſhe went out of the room immediately, and ordered her chief ſervant to ſend an information concerning them to the next Juſtice of Peace, and in the mean while to ſuffer them to make their eſcape. But, before this could be done, a party came about the houſe, and took both them, and her for harbouring them. *Jefferies* reſolved to make a ſacrifice of her; and obtained of the King a promiſe that he would not pardon her. Which the King owned to the Earl of *Feverſham*, when he, upon the offer of a 1000 *l.* if he could obtain her pardon, went and begged it. So ſhe was brought to her trial. No legal proof was brought, that ſhe knew that they were rebels: The names of the perſons found in her houſe were in no Proclamation: So there was no notice given to beware of them. *Jefferies* affirmed to the Jury upon his honour, that the perſons had confeſſed that they had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. This was the turning a witneſs againſt her, after which he ought not to have judged in the matter. And, tho' it was inſiſted on, as a point of law, that till the perſons found in her houſe were convicted, ſhe could not be found guilty, yet *Jefferies* charged the Jury in a moſt violent manner to bring her in guilty. All the audience was ſtrangely affected with ſo unuſual a behaviour in a Judge. Only the perſon moſt concerned, the Lady herſelf, who was then paſt ſeventy, was ſo little moved at it, that ſhe fell aſleep. The Jury brought her in not guilty. But the Judge in great fury ſent them out again. Yet they brought her in a ſecond time not guilty. Then he ſeemed as in a tranſport of rage. He upon that threatned them with an attaint of Jury. And they, overcome with fear, brought her in the third time guilty. The King would ſhew no other favour, but that he changed the ſentence from burning to beheading. She died with great conſtancy of mind; and expreſſed a joy, that ſhe thus ſuffered for an act of charity and piety.

The behaviour of thoſe who ſuffered.

Moſt of thoſe that had ſuffered expreſſed at their death ſuch a calm firmneſs, and ſuch a zeal for their religion, which they believed was then in danger, that it made great impreſ-

ſions on the ſpectators. Some baſe men among them tried to ſave themſelves by accuſing others. *Goodenough*, who had been Under-Sheriff of *London* when *Corniſh* was Sheriff, offered to ſwear againſt *Corniſh*; and alſo ſaid, that *Rumſey* had not diſcovered all he knew. So *Rumſey* to ſave himſelf joined with *Goodenough*, to ſwear *Corniſh* guilty of that for which the Lord *Ruſſel* had ſuffered. And this was driven on ſo faſt, that *Corniſh* was ſeized on, tried, and executed within the week. If he had got a little time, the falſhood of the evidence would have been proved from *Rumſey*'s former depoſition, which appeared ſo clearly ſoon after his death, that his eſtate was reſtored to his family, and the witneſſes were lodged in remote priſons for their lives. *Corniſh* at his death aſſerted his innocence with great vehemence; and with ſome acrimony complained of the methods taken to deſtroy him. And ſo they gave it out, that he died in a fit of fury. But *Pen*, who ſaw the execution, ſaid to me, there appeared nothing but a juſt indignation that innocence might very naturally give. *Pen* might be well relied on in ſuch matters, he being ſo entirely in the King's intereſts. He ſaid to me, the King was much to be pitied, who was hurried into all this effuſion of blood by *Jefferies*'s impetuous and cruel temper. But, if his own inclinations had not been biaſſed that way, and if his Prieſts had not thought it the intereſt of their party to let that butcher looſe, by which ſo many men that were like to oppoſe them were put out of the way, it is not to be imagined, that there would have been ſuch a run of barbarous cruelty, and that in ſo many inſtances. 1685

It gave a general horror to the body of the Nation: And it let all people ſee, what might be expected from a reign that ſeemed to delight in blood. Even ſome of the faireſt of Tories began to relent a little, and to think they had truſted too much, and gone too far. The King had raiſed new regiments, and had given commiſſions to Papiſts. This was over-looked during the time of danger, in which all men's ſervice was to be made uſe of: And by law they might ſerve three months. But now, as that time was near lapſing, the King began to ſay, the laws for the two Teſts were made on deſign againſt himſelf: The firſt was made to turn him out of the Admiralty, and the ſecond to make way for the Excluſion: And, he added, that it was an affront to him to inſiſt on the obſervance of thoſe laws. So theſe perſons notwithſtanding that act were continued in commiſſion: And the

The Nation was much changed by this management.

1685 the King declared openly, that he muſt look on all thoſe, who would not conſent to the repeal of thoſe laws, in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, as his enemies.

Great diſputes for and againſt the Teſts.

The Courtiers began every where to declaim againſt them. It was ſaid to be againſt the rights of the Crown to deny the King the ſervice of all his ſubjects, to be contrary to the dignity of Peerage to ſubject Peers to any other Teſts than their allegiance, and that it was an inſufferable affront done the King, to oblige all thoſe, whom he ſhould employ, to ſwear that his religion was idolatrous. On the other hand all the people ſaw, that, if thoſe acts were not maintained, no employment would be given to any but Papiſts, or to thoſe who gave hopes that they would change: And, if the Parliament Teſt was taken off, then the way was opened to draw over ſo many members of both Houſes, as would be in time a majority, to bring on an entire change of the laws with relation to religion. As long as the Nation reckoned their Kings were true and ſure to their religion, there was no ſuch need of thoſe Teſts, while the giving employments was left free, and our Princes were like to give them only to thoſe of their own religion. But, ſince we had a Prince profeſſing another religion, it ſeemed the only ſecurity that was left to the Nation, and that the Teſts ſtood as a barrier to defend us from Popery. It was alſo ſaid, that thoſe Teſts had really quieted the minds of the greater part of the Nation, and had united them againſt the Excluſion; ſince they reckoned their religion was ſafe by reaſon of them. The military men went in zealouſly into thoſe notions; for they ſaw, that, as ſoon as the King ſhould get rid of the Teſts, they muſt either change their religion, or loſe their employments. The Clergy, who for moſt part had hitherto run in with fury to all the King's intereſts, began now to open their eyes. Thus all on a ſudden the temper of the Nation was much altered. The Marquis of *Halifax* did move in Council, that an order ſhould be given to examine, whether all the officers in commiſſion had taken the Teſt, or not. But none ſeconded him: So the motion fell. And now all endeavours were uſed, to fix the repeal of the Teſts in the ſeſſion that was coming on.

Some change their religion.

Some few converts were made at this time. The chief of theſe were the Earl of *Perth*, and his brother the Earl of *Melford*. Some differences fell in between the Duke of *Queensborough* and the Earl of *Perth*. The latter thought the former was haughty and violent, and that he uſed him in too

impe-

rious a manner. So they broke. At that time the King 1685
publiſhed the two papers found in his brother's ſtrong box. So the Earl of *Perth* was either overcome with the reaſons in them, or he thought it would look well at Court, if he put his converſion upon theſe. He came up to complain of the Duke of *Queensborough*. And his brother going to meet him at *Ware*, he diſcovered his deſign to him, who ſeemed at firſt much troubled at it: But he plied him ſo, that he prevailed on him to join with him in his pretended converſion, which he did with great ſhews of devotion and zeal. But when his objections to the Duke of *Queensborough*'s adminiſtration were heard, they were ſo ſlight, that the King was aſhamed of them; and all the Court juſtified the Duke of *Queensborough*. A repartee of the Marquis of *Halifax* was much talked of on this occaſion. The Earl of *Perth* was taking pains to convince him, that he had juſt grounds of complaint, and ſeemed little concerned in the ill effect this might have on himſelf. The Marquis anſwered him, he needed fear nothing, *His faith would make him whole:* And it proved ſo.

The Duke of *Queensborough* diſgraced.

Before he declared his change, the King ſeemed ſo well ſatisfied with the Duke of *Queensborough*, that he was reſolved to bring the Earl of *Perth* to a ſubmiſſion, otherwiſe to diſmiſs him. But ſuch converts were to be encouraged. So the King, having declared himſelf too openly to recal that ſo ſoon, ordered them both to go back to *Scotland*; and ſaid, he would ſignify his pleaſure to them when they ſhould be there. It followed them down very quickly. The Duke of *Queensborough* was turned out of the Treaſury, and it was put in Commiſſion: And he, not to be too much irritated at once, was put firſt in the Commiſſion. And now it became ſoon very viſible, that he had the ſecret no more; but that it was lodged between the two brothers, the Earls of *Perth*, and *Melford*. Soon after that, the Duke of *Queensborough* was not only turned out of all his employments, but a deſign was laid to ruin him. All perſons were encouraged to bring accuſations againſt him, either with relation to the adminiſtration of the government, or of the Treaſury. And, if any colourable matter could have been found againſt him, it was reſolved to have made him a ſacrifice. This ſudden hatred, after ſo entire a confidence, was imputed to the ſuggeſtions the Earl of *Perth* had made of his zeal againſt Popery, and of his having engaged all his friends to ſtick firm in oppoſition to it. It was ſaid, there was no need of mak-

1685 ing ſuch promiſes, as he had engaged the King to make to the Parliament of *Scotland:* No body deſired or expected them: He only drove that matter on his own account: So it was fit to let all about the King ſee, what was to be looked for, if they preſſed any thing too ſeverely with relation to religion.

The King declared againſt the Teſts.

But to leave *Scotland*, and return to *England:* The King, after he had declared that he would be ſerved by none but thoſe who would vote for the repeal of the Teſts, called for the Marquis of *Halifax*, and aſked him, how he would vote in that matter. He very frankly anſwered, he would never conſent to it: He thought, the keeping up thoſe laws was neceſſary, even for the King's ſervice, ſince the Nation truſted ſo much to them, that the publick quiet was chiefly preſerved by that means. Upon this the King told him, that tho' he would never forget paſt ſervices, yet ſince he could not be prevailed on in that particular, he was reſolved to have all of a piece. So he was turned out. And the Earl of *Sunderland* was made Lord Preſident, and continued ſtill Secretary of State. More were not queſtioned at that time, nor turned out: For it was hoped, that, ſince all men ſaw what was to be expected if they ſhould not comply with the King's intentions, this would have its full effect upon thoſe, who had no mind to part with their places.

Proceedings in *Ireland.*

The King reſolved alſo to model *Ireland*, ſo as to make that Kingdom a nurſery for his army in *England*, and to be ſure at leaſt of an army there, while his deſigns were to go on more ſlowly in the iſle of *Britain*. The *Iriſh* bore an inveterate hatred to the Duke of *Ormond:* So he was recalled. But, to diſmiſs him with ſome ſhew of reſpect, he was ſtill continued Lord Steward of the houſhold. The Earl of *Clarendon* was declared Lord Lieutenant. But the Army was put under the command of *Talbot*, who was made Earl of *Tirconnell*. And he began very ſoon to model it anew. The Archbiſhop of *Armagh* had continued Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and was in all points ſo compliant to the Court, that even his religion came to be ſuſpected on that account. Yet, it ſeemed, he was not thonght thorough paced. So Sir *Charles Porter*, who was a zealous promoter of every thing that the King propoſed, and was a man of ready wit, and being poor was thought a perſon fit to be made a Tool of, was declared Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*. To theſe the King ſaid, he was reſolved to maintain the ſettlement of

Ireland. They had authority to promiſe this, and to act pur- 1685
ſuant to it. But, as both the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Porter* were poor, it was hoped, that they would underſtand the King's intentions, and ſee thro' thoſe promiſes, that were made only to lay men aſleep; and that therefore they would not inſiſt too much on them, nor purſue them too far.

The perſecution in *France.*

But now, before I come to relate the ſhort ſeſſion of Parliament that was abruptly broken off, I muſt mention one great tranſaction that went before it, and had no ſmall influence on all men's minds. And ſince I ſaw that diſmal tragedy, which was at this time acted in *France*, I muſt now change the ſcene, and give ſome account of my ſelf. When I reſolved to go beyond ſea, there was no choice to be made. So many exiles and outlawed perſons were ſcattered up and down the Towns of *Holland*, and other Provinces, that I ſaw the danger of going where I was ſure many of them would come about me, and try to have involved me in guilt by coming into my company, that ſo they might engage me into their deſigns. So I reſolved to go to *France*: And, if I found it not convenient to ſtay there, I intended to go on to *Geneva* or *Switzerland*. I aſked the *French* Embaſſador, if I might be ſafe there. He after ſome days, I ſuppoſe after he had writ to the Court upon it, aſſured me, I ſhould be ſafe there; and that, if the King ſhould aſk after me, timely notice ſhould be given me, that I might go out of the way. So I went to *Paris*. And, there being many there whom I had reaſon to look on as ſpies, I took a little houſe, and lived by my ſelf as privately as I could. I continued there till the beginning of *Auguſt*, that I went to *Italy*. I found the Earl of *Mountague* at *Paris*, with whom I converſed much, and got from him moſt of the ſecrets of the Court, and of the negotiations he was engaged in. The King of *France* had been for many years weakning the whole Proteſtant intereſt there, and was then upon the laſt reſolution of recalling the edict of *Nantes*. And, as far as I could judge, the affairs of *England* gave the laſt ſtroke to that matter.

A fatal year to the Proteſtant Religion.

This year, of which I am now writing, muſt ever be remembred, as the moſt fatal to the Proteſtant Religion. In *February*, a King of *England* declared himſelf a Papiſt. In *June*, *Charles* the Elector *Palatine* dying without iſſue, the Electoral dignity went to the Houſe of *Newburgh*, a moſt bigotted Popiſh family. In *October*, the King of *France* recalled and vacated the edict of *Nantes*. And in *December*, the

1685 the Duke of *Savoy* being brought to it, not only by the perſuaſions, but even by the threatnings of the Court of *France*, recalled the edict that his father had granted to the *Vaudois*. So it muſt be confeſſed, that this was a very critical year. And I have ever reckoned this the fifth great criſis of the Proteſtant Religion.

For ſome years the Prieſts were every where making converſions in *France*. The hopes of penſions and preferment wrought on many. The plauſible colours, that the Biſhop of *Meaux*, then Biſhop of *Condom*, put on all the errors of the Church of *Rome*, furniſhed others with excuſes for changing. Many thought, they muſt change at laſt, or be quite undone: For the King ſeemed to be engaged to go thro' with the matter, both in compliance with the ſhadow of conſcience that he ſeemed to have, which was to follow implicitly the conduct of his Confeſſor, and of the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, he himſelf being ignorant in thoſe matters beyond what can be well imagined; and becauſe his glory ſeemed alſo concerned to go thro' with every thing that he had once begun.

Rouvigny's behaviour.

Old *Rouvigny*, who was the Deputy General of the Churches, told me, that he was long deceived in his opinion of the King. He knew he was not naturally bloody. He ſaw his groſs ignorance in thoſe matters. His bigottry could not riſe from any inward principle. So for many years he flattered himſelf with the hopes, that the deſign would go on ſo ſlowly, that ſome unlooked for accident might defeat it. But after the peace of *Nimeguen* he ſaw ſuch ſteps made with ſo much precipitation, that he told the King he muſt beg a full audience of him upon that ſubject. He gave him one that laſted ſome hours. He came well prepared. He told him, what the State of *France* was during the wars in his Father's reign; how happy *France* had been now for fifty years, occaſioned chiefly by the quiet it was in with relation to thoſe matters. He gave him an account of their numbers, their induſtry and wealth, their conſtant readineſs to advance the revenue, and that all the quiet he had with the Court of *Rome* was chiefly owning to them: If they were rooted out, the Court of *Rome* would govern as abſolutely in *France*, as it did in *Spain*. He deſired leave to undeceive him, if he was made believe they would all change, as ſoon as he engaged his authority in the matter: Many would go out of the Kingdom, and carry their wealth and induſtry into other countries. And by a ſcheme of particu-

lars he reckoned how far that would go. In fine, he ſaid, it would come to the ſhedding of much blood: Many would ſuffer, and others would be precipitated into deſperate courſes. So that the moſt glorious of all reigns would be in concluſion disfigured and defaced, and become a ſcene of blood and horror. He told me, as he went thro' theſe matters the King ſeemed to hearken to him very attentively. But he perceived they made no impreſſion: For the King never aſked any particulars, or any explanation, but let him go on. And, when he had ended, the King ſaid, he took his freedom well, ſince it flowed from his zeal to his ſervice. He believed all that he had told him, of the prejudice it might do him in his affairs: Only he thought, it would not go to the ſhedding of blood. But he ſaid, he conſidered himſelf as ſo indiſpenſably bound to endeavour the converſion of all his ſubjects, and the extirpation of hereſy, that if the doing it ſhould require that with one hand he ſhould cut off the other, he would ſubmit to that. After this *Rouvigny* gave all his friends hints of what they were to look for. Some were for flying out into a new civil war. But, their chief confidence being in the aſſiſtance they expected from *England*, he, who knew what our Princes were, and had reaſon to believe that King *Charles* was at leaſt a cold Proteſtant, if not a ſecret Papiſt, and knew that the States would not embroil their affairs in aſſiſting them, their maxims rather leading them to connive at any thing that would bring great numbers and much wealth into their Country than to oppoſe it, was againſt all motions of that kind. He reckoned, thoſe riſings would be ſoon cruſht, and ſo would precipitate their ruin with ſome colour of juſtice. He was much cenſured for this by ſome hot men among them, as having betrayed them to the Court. But he was very unjuſtly blamed, as appeared both by his own conduct, and by his ſons; who was received at firſt into the ſurvivance of being Deputy General for the Churches, and afterwards, at his Father's deſire, had that melancholy poſt given him, in which he daily ſaw new injuſtices done, and was only ſuffered, for form's ſake, to inform againſt them, but with no hope of ſucceſs. 1685

The Father did, upon King *Charles*'s death, write a letter of congratulation to the King, who wrote him ſuch an obliging anſwer, that upon it he wrote to his niece the Lady *Ruſſel*, that, having ſuch aſſurances given him by the King of a high ſenſe of his former ſervices, he reſolved to come

He came over to *England*.

1685 come over, and beg the reſtoring her ſon's honour. The Marquis of *Haliſax* did preſently apprehend, that this was a blind, and that the King of *France* was ſending him over to penetrate into the King's deſigns; ſince from all hands intimations were bronght of the promiſes that he made to the Miniſters of the other Princes of *Europe*. So I was ordered to uſe all endeavours to divert him from coming over: His niece had indeed begged that journey of him, when ſhe hoped it might have ſaved her huſband's life, but ſhe would not venture to deſire the journey on any other conſideration, conſidering his great age, and that her ſon was then but five years old. I preſſed this ſo much on him, that, finding him fixed in his reſolution, I could not hinder my ſelf from ſuſpecting, that ſuch a high act of friendſhip, in a man ſome years paſt fourſcore, had ſomewhat under it: And it was ſaid, that, when he took leave of the King of *France*, he had an audience of two hours of him. But this was a falſe ſuggeſtion: And I was aſſured afterwards that he came over only in friendſhip to his niece, and that he had no directions nor meſſages from the Court of *France*.

He came over, and had ſeveral audiences of the King, who uſed him with great kindneſs, but did not grant him that which he ſaid he came for: Only he gave him a general promiſe of doing it in a proper time.

But whether the Court of *France* was ſatisfied, by the converſation that *Rouvigny* had with the King, that they needed apprehend nothing from *England*; or whether the King's being now ſo ſettled on the Throne made them conclude, that the time was come of repealing the edicts, is not certain: Mr. *de Louvoy*, ſeeing the King ſo ſet on the matter, propoſed to him a method, which he believed would ſhorten the work, and do it effectually: Which was, to let looſe ſome bodies of Dragoons to live upon the Proteſtants on diſcretion. They were put under no reſtraint, but only to avoid rapes, and the killing them. This was begun in *Bearn*. And the people were ſo ſtruck with it, that, ſeeing they were to be eat up firſt, and, if that prevailed not, to be caſt in priſon, when all was taken from them, till they ſhould change, and being required only to promiſe to reunite themſelves to the Church, they, overcome with fear, and having no time for conſulting together, did univerſally comply. This did ſo animate the Court, that, upon it the ſame methods were taken in moſt places of *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphinè*, where the greateſt numbers of the Proteſtants were. A diſmal conſternation

Dragoons ſent to live on diſcretion upon the Proteſtants.

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on and feebleneſs ran thro' moſt of them, ſo that great numbers yielded. Upon which the King, now reſolved to go thro' with what had been long projected, publiſhed the edict repealing the edict of *Nantes*, in which (tho' that edict was declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law) he ſet forth, that it was only intended to quiet matters by it, till more effectual ways ſhould be taken for the converſion of Hereticks. He alſo promiſed in it, that, tho' all the publick exerciſes of that religion were now ſuppreſſed, yet thoſe of that perſuaſion who lived quietly ſhould not be diſturbed on that account, while at the ſame time not only the Dragoons, but all the Clergy, and the bigots of *France*, broke out into all the inſtances of rage and fury againſt ſuch as did not change upon their being required in the King's name to be of his religion; for that was the ſtile every where. 1685 Many of them yielded thro' fear.

Men and women of all ages, who would not yield, were not only ſtript of all they had, but kept long from ſleep, driven about from place to place, and hunted out of their retirements. The women were carried into Nunneries, in many of which they were almoſt ſtarved, whipt, and barbarouſly treated. Some few of the Biſhops, and of the ſecular Clergy, to make the matter eaſier, drew formularies, importing that they were reſolved to reunite themſelves to the Catholick Church, and that they renounced the errors of *Luther* and *Calvin*. People in ſuch extremities are eaſy to put a ſtretched ſenſe on any words, that may give them preſent relief. So it was ſaid, what harm was it to promiſe to be united to the Catholick Church: And the renouncing thoſe men's errors did not renounce their good and ſound doctrine. But it was very viſible, with what intent thoſe ſubſcriptions or promiſes were aſked of them: So their compliance in that matter was a plain equivocation. But, how weak and faulty ſoever they might be in this, it muſt be acknowledged, here was one of the moſt violent perſecutions that is to be found in hiſtory. In many reſpects it exceeded them all, both in the ſeveral inventions of cruelty, and in its long continuance. I went over the greateſt part of *France* while it was in its hotteſt rage, from *Marſeilles* to *Montpelier*, and from thence to *Lions*, and ſo to *Geneva*, I ſaw and knew ſo many inſtances of their injuſtice and violence, that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined; for all men ſet their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the Towns thro' which I paſt, I heard the moſt diſmal accounts of thoſe things poſſible; Great cruelty every where.

1685 ſible; but chiefly at *Valence*, where one *Dherapine* ſeemed to exceed even the furies of Inquiſitors. One in the ſtreets could have known the new converts, as they were paſſing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavoured to make their eſcape, and were ſeized, (for guards and ſecret agents were ſpread along the whole roads and frontier of *France*,) were, if men, condemned to the gallies, and, if women, to monaſteries. To compleat this cruelty, orders were given that ſuch of the new converts, as did not at their death receive the Sacrament, ſhould be denied burial, and that their bodies ſhould be left where other dead carcaſes were caſt out, to be devoured by wolves or dogs. This was executed in ſeveral places with the utmoſt barbarity: And it gave all people ſo much horror, that, finding the ill effect of it, it was let fall. This hurt none, but ſtruck all that ſaw it, even with more horror than thoſe ſufferings that were more felt. The fury that appeared on this occaſion did ſpread it ſelf with a ſort of contagion: For the Intendants and other officers, that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their life, ſeemed now to have laid aſide the compaſſion of Chriſtians, the breeding of Gentlemen, and the common impreſſions of humanity. The greateſt part of the Clergy, the Regulars eſpecially, were ſo tranſported with the zeal that their King ſhewed on this occaſion, that their ſermons were full of the moſt inflamed eloquence that they could invent, magnifying their King in ſtrains too indecent and blaſphemous to be mentioned by me.

I went into *Italy*.

I ſtaid at *Paris* till the beginning of *Auguſt*. *Barrillon* ſent to me to look to my ſelf; for the King had let ſome words fall importing his ſuſpicion of me, as concerned in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s buſineſs. Whether this was done on deſign, to ſee if ſuch an inſinuation could fright me away, and ſo bring me under ſome appearance of guilt, I cannot tell: For in that time every thing was deceitfully managed. But I, who knew that I was not ſo much as guilty of concealment, reſolved not to ſtir from *Paris* till the rebellion was over, and that the priſoners were examined, and tried. When that was done, *Stouppe*, a Brigadier General, told me, that Mr. *de Louvoy* had ſaid to him that the King was reſolved to put an end to the buſineſs of the *Huguenots* that ſeaſon: And, ſince he was reſolved not to change, he adviſed him to make a *Tour* into *Italy*, that he might not ſeem to do any thing that oppoſed the King's ſervice. *Stouppe* told me this in confidence. So we reſolved to make that

journey together. Some thonght it was too bold an adventure in me, after what I had written and acted in the matters of religion, to go to *Rome*. But others, who judged better, thought I ran no hazard in going thirher: For, beſides the high civility with which all ſtrangers are treated there, they were at that time in ſuch hopes of gaining *England*, that it was not reaſonable to think, that they would raiſe the apprehenſions of the Nation, by uſing any that belonged to it ill: And the deſtroying me would not do them the ſervice, that could in any ſort balance the prejudice that might ariſe from the noiſe it would make. And indeed I met with ſo high a civility at *Rome*, that it fully juſtified this opinion. 1685

And was well received at *Rome*.

Pope *Innocent* the eleventh, *Odeſcalchi*, knew who I was the day after I came to *Rome*. And he ordered the Captain of the *Swiſs* guards to tell *Stouppe*, that he had heard of me, and would give me a private audience abed, to ſave me from the ceremony of the *Pantouſle*. But I knew the noiſe that this would make: So I reſolved to avoid it, and excuſed it upon my ſpeaking *Italian* ſo ill as I did. But Cardinal *Howard* and the Cardinal *d'Eſtrees* treated me with great freedom. The latter talked much with me concerning the orders in our Church, to know whether they had been brought down to us by men truly ordained, or not: For, he ſaid, they apprehended things would be much more eaſily brought about, if our orders could be eſteemed valid, tho' given in hereſy and ſchiſm. I told him, I was glad they were poſſeſſed with any opinion that made the reconciliation more difficult; but, as for the matter of fact, nothing was more certain, than that the ordinations in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign were canonical and regular. He ſeemed to be perſuaded of the truth of this, but lamented that it was impoſſible to bring the *Romans* to think ſo.

Cardinal *Howard*'s freedom with me.

Cardinal *Howard* ſhewed me all his letters from *England*, by which I ſaw, that thoſe who wrote to him reckoned, that their deſigns were ſo well laid, that they could not miſcarry. They thought, they ſhould certainly carry every thing in the next ſeſſion of Parliament. There was a high ſtrain of inſolence in their letters: And they reckoned, they were ſo ſure of the King, that they ſeemed to have no doubt left of their ſucceeding in the reduction of *England*. The *Romans* and *Italians* were much troubled at all this: For they were under ſuch apprehenſions of the growth of the *French* power, and had conceived ſuch hopes of the King of *England*'s putting a ſtop to it, that they were ſorry

1685 to ſee the King engage himſelf ſo in the deſign of changing the religion of his ſubjects, which they thought would create him ſo much trouble at home, that he would neither have leiſure nor ſtrength to look after the common concerns of *Europe*. The Cardinal told me, that all the advices writ over from thence to *England* were for ſlow, calm, and moderate courſes. He ſaid, he wiſhed he was at liberty to ſhew me the copies of them: But he ſaw violent courſes were more acceptable, and would probably be followed. And he added, that theſe were the production of *England*, far different from the counſels of *Rome*.

He alſo told me, that they had not inſtruments enough to work with: For, tho' they were ſending over all that were capable of the Miſſion, yet he expected no great matters from them. Few of them ſpoke true *Engliſh*. They came over young, and retained all the *Engliſh* that they brought over with them, which was only the language of boys: But, their education being among ſtrangers, they had formed themſelves ſo upon that model, that really they preached as *Frenchmen* or *Italians* in *Engliſh* words; of which he was every day warning them, for he knew this could have no good effect in *England*. He alſo ſpoke with great ſenſe of the proceedings in *France*, which he apprehended would have very ill conſequences in *England*. I ſhall only add one other particular, which will ſhew the ſoft temper of that good natured man.

He uſed me in ſuch a manner, that it was much obſerved by many others. So two *French* Gentlemen deſired a note from me to introdnce them to him. Their deſign was to be furniſhed with Reliques; for he was then the Cardinal that looked after that matter. One evening I came in to him as he was very buſy in giving them ſome Reliques. So I was called in to ſee them: And I whiſpered to him in *Engliſh*, that it was ſomewhat odd, that a Prieſt of the Church of *England* ſhould be at *Rome* helping them off with the ware of *Babylon*. He was ſo pleaſed with this, that he repeated it to the others in *French*; and told the *Frenchmen*, that they ſhould tell their countrymen, how bold the hereticks, and how mild the Cardinals were at *Rome*.

I ſtaid in *Rome*, till Prince *Borgheſe* came to me, and told me it was time for me to go. I had got great acquaintance there. And, tho' I did not provoke any to diſcourſe of points of controverſy, yet I defended my ſelf againſt all thoſe who attacked me, with the ſame freedom that I had done in other

other places. This began to be taken notice of. So upon the first intimation I came away, and returned by *Marseilles*. And then I went thro' those *Southern* Provinces of *France*, that were at that time a scene of barbarity and cruelty. 1685

I intended to have gone to *Orange:* But *Tessè* with a body of Dragoons was then quartered over that small Principality, and was treating the Protestants there in the same manner that the *French* subjects were treated in other parts. So I went not in, but past near it, and had this account of that matter from some that were the most considerable men of the Principality. Many of the neighbouring places fled thither from the persecution: Upon which a letter was writ to the government there, in the name of the King of *France*, requiring them to put all his subjects out of their territory. This was hard. Yet they were too naked and exposed to dispute any thing with those who could command every thing. So they ordered all the *French* to withdraw: Upon which *Tessè*, who commanded in those parts, wrote to them, that the King would be well satisfied with the obedience they had given his orders. They upon this were quiet, and thought there was no danger. But the next morning *Tessè* marched his Dragoons into the Town, and let them loose upon them, as he had done upon the subjects of *France*. And they plied as feebly as most of the *French* had done. This was done while that Principality was in the possession of the Prince of *Orange*, pursuant to an article of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, of which the King of *England* was the guarantee. Whether the *French* had the King's consent to this, or if they presumed upon it, was not known. It is certain, he ordered two memorials to be given in at that Court, complaining of it in very high terms. But nothing followed on it. And, some months after, the King of *France* did unite *Orange* to the rest of *Provence*, and suppressed all the rights it had, as a distinct Principality. The King writ upon it to the Princess of *Orange*, that he could do no more in that matter, unless he should declare war upon it; which he could not think fit for a thing of such small importance. Cruelties in *Orange*.

But now the session of Parliament drew on. And there was a great expectation of the issue of it. For some weeks before it met there was such a number of Refugees coming over every day, who set about a most dismal recital of the persecution in *France*, and that in so many instances that were crying and odious, that, tho' all endeavours were used Another session of Parliament.

1685 to leſſen the clamour this had raiſed, yet the King did not ſtick openly to condemn it, as both unchriſtian and unpolitick. He took pains to clear the *Jeſuits* of it, and laid the blame of it chiefly on the King, on *Madame de Maintenon*, and the Archbiſhop of *Paris*. He ſpoke often of it with ſuch vehemence, that there ſeemed to be an affectation in it. He did more. He was very kind to the Refugees. He was liberal to many of them. He ordered a brief for a charitable collection over the Nation for them all: Upon which great ſums were ſent in. They were depoſited in good hands, and well diſtributed. The King alſo ordered them to be deniſed without paying fees, and gave them great immunities. So that in all there came over firſt and laſt between forty and fifty thouſand of that Nation. Here was ſuch a real argument of the cruel and perſecuting ſpirit of Popery, whereſoever it prevailed, that few could reſiſt this conviction. So that all men confeſſed, that the *French* perſecution came very ſeaſonably to awaken the Nation, and open mens eyes in ſo critical a conjuncture: For upon this ſeſſion of Parliament all did depend.

The King's ſpeech againſt the Teſt.

When it was opened, the King told them how happy his forces had been in reducing a dangerous rebellion, in which it had appeared, how weak and inſignificant the Militia was: And therefore he ſaw the neceſſity of keeping up an Army for all their ſecurity. He had put ſome in commiſſion, of whoſe loyalty he was well aſſured: And they had ſerved him ſo well, that he would not put that affront on them, and on himſelf, to turn them out. He told them, all the world ſaw, and they had felt the happineſs of a good underſtanding between him and his Parliament: So he hoped, nothing ſhould be done on their part to interrupt that; as he, on his own part, would obſerve all that he had promiſed.

Thus he fell upon the two moſt unacceptable points that he could have found out; which were, a ſtanding Army, and a violation of the Act of the Teſt. There were ſome debates in the Houſe of Lords about thanking the King for his ſpeech. It was preſſed by the Courtiers, as a piece of reſpect that was always paid. To this ſome anſwered, that was done when there were gracious aſſurances given. Only the Earl of *Devonſhire* ſaid, he was for giving thanks, becauſe the King had ſpoken out ſo plainly, and warned them of what they might look for. It was carried in the Houſe to make an addreſs of thanks for the ſpeech. The Lord

Guilford, North, was now dead. He was a crafty and designing man. He had no mind to part with the great Seal: And yet he ſaw, he could not hold it without an entire compliance with the pleaſure of the Court. An appeal againſt a decree of his had been brought before the Lords in the former ſeſſion: And it was not only reverſed with many ſevere reflections on him that made it, but the Earl of *Nottingham*, who hated him becauſe he had endeavoured to detract from his father's memory, had got together ſo many inſtances of his ill adminiſtration of juſtice, that he expoſed him ſeverely for it. And, it was believed, that gave the criſis to the uneaſineſs and diſtraction of mind he was labouring under. He languiſhed for ſome time; and died deſpiſed, and ill thought of by the whole Nation. 1685

Nothing but his ſucceſſor made him be remembred with regret: For *Jefferies* had the Seals. He had been made a Peer while he was Chief Juſtice, which had not been done for ſome ages: But he affected to be an original in every thing. A day or two after the ſeſſion was opened, the Lords went upon the conſideration of the King's ſpeech: And, when ſome began to make remarks upon it, they were told, that by giving thanks for the ſpeech they had precluded themſelves from finding fault with any part of it. This was rejected with indignation, and put an end to that complement of giving thanks for a ſpeech when there was no ſpecial reaſon for it. The Lords *Halifax*, *Nottingham*, and *Mordaunt*, were the chief arguers among the temporal Lords. The Biſhop of *London* ſpoke often likewiſe: And twice or thrice he ſaid, he ſpoke not only his own ſenſe, but the ſenſe of that whole Bench. They ſaid, the Teſt was now the beſt fence they had for their religion: If they gave up ſo great a point, all the reſt would ſoon follow: And if the King might by his authority ſuperſede ſuch a law, fortified with ſo many clauſes, and above all with that of an incapacity, it was in vain to think of law any more: The government would become arbitrary and abſolute. *Jefferies* began to argue in his rough manner: But he was ſoon taken down; it appearing, that how furiouſly ſoever he raved on the Bench, where he played the tyrant, yet where others might ſpeak with him on equal terms, he was a very contemptible man: And he received as great a mortification, as ſuch a brutal man as he was capable of. *Jefferies* made Lord Chancellor.

But as the ſcene lay in the Houſe of Commons, ſo the debates there were more important. A project was offered

1685 for making the Militia more uſeful in order to the diſbanding the Army. But, to oppoſe that, the Court ſhewed, how great a danger we had lately eſcaped, and how much of an ill leaven yet remained in the Nation, ſo that it was neceſſary a force ſhould be kept up. The Court moved for a ſubſidy, the King having been at much extraordinary charge in reducing the late rebellion. Many, that were reſolved to aſſert the buſineſs of the Teſt with great firmneſs, thought, the voting of money firſt was the decenteſt way of managing the oppoſition to the Court: Whereas others oppoſed this, having often obſerved, that the voting of money was the giving up the whole ſeſſion to the Court. The Court wrought on many weak men with this topick, that the only way to gain the King, and to diſpoſe him to agree to them in the buſineſs of the Teſt, was to begin with the ſupply. This had ſo great an effect, that it was carried only by one vote to conſider the King's ſpeech, before they ſhould proceed to the ſupply. It was underſtood, that when they received ſatisfaction in other things, they were reſolved to give 500000 *l.*

The Houſe of Commons addreſs the King for obſerving the law.

They went next to conſider the Act about the Teſt, and the violations of it, with the King's ſpeech upon that head. The reaſoning was clear and full on the one hand. The Court offered nothing on the other hand in the way of argument, but the danger of offending the King, and of raiſing a miſunderſtanding between him and them. So the whole Houſe went in unanimouſly into a vote for an addreſs to the King, that he would maintain the laws, in particular that concerning the Teſt. But with that they offered to paſs a bill for indemnifying thoſe who had broken that law; and were ready to have conſidered them in the ſupply that they intended to give.

The King was much offended with it.

The King expreſſed his reſentments of this with much vehemence, when the addreſs was brought to him. He ſaid, ſome men intended to diſturb the good correſpondence that was between him and them, which would be a great prejudice to the Nation: He had declared his mind ſo poſitively in that matter, that he hoped, they would not have medled with it: Yet, he ſaid, he would ſtill obſerve all the promiſes that he had made. This made ſome reflect on the violations of the edict of *Nantes* by many of the late edicts that were ſet out in *France* before the laſt that repealed it, in which the King of *France* had always declared, that he would maintain that edict, even when the breaches made upon

upon it were the moſt viſible and notorious. The Houſe, upon this rough anſwer, was in a high fermentation. Yet, when one *Cook* ſaid, that they were *Engliſhmen*, and were not to be threatned, becauſe this ſeemed to be a want of reſpect, they ſent him to the Tower; and obliged him to aſk pardon for thoſe indecent words. But they reſolved to inſiſt on their addreſs, and then to proceed upon the petitions concerning elections. And now thoſe, that durſt not open their mouth before, ſpoke with much force upon this head. They ſaid, it was a point upon which the Nation expected juſtice, and they had a right to claim it. And it was probable, they would have condemned a great many elections: For an intimation was ſet round, that all thoſe who had ſtuck to the intereſt of the Nation, in the main points then before them, ſhould be choſen over again, tho' it ſhould be found that their election was void, and that a new writ ſhould go out. By this means thoſe petitions were now encouraged, and were like to have a fair hearing, and a juſt deciſion: And it was believed, that the abject Courtiers would have been voted out. 1685

The King ſaw, that both Houſes were now ſo fixed, that he could carry nothing in either of them, unleſs he would depart from his ſpeech, and let the Act of the Teſt take place. So he prorogued the Parliament, and kept it by repeated prorogations ſtill on foot for about a year and a half, but without holding a ſeſſion. All thoſe, who had either ſpoken or voted for the Teſt, were ſoon after this diſgraced, and turned out of their places, tho' many of theſe had ſerved the King hitherto with great obſequiouſneſs and much zeal. He called for many of them, and ſpoke to them very earneſtly upon that ſubject in his cloſet: Upon which the term of cloſeting was much toſſed about. Many of theſe gave him very flat and hardy denials: Others, tho' more ſilent, yet were no leſs ſteady. So that, when, after a long practice both of threatning and ill uſage on the one hand, and of promiſes and corruption on the other, the King ſaw he could not bring them into a compliance with him, he at laſt diſſolved the Parliament: By which he threw off a body of men that were in all other reſpects ſure to him, and that would have accepted a very moderate ſatisfaction from him at any time. And indeed in all *England* it would not have been eaſy to have found five hundred men, ſo weak, ſo poor, and ſo devoted to the Court, as theſe were. So happily was

The Parliament was prorogued.

1685 the Nation taken out of their hands, by the precipitated violence of a bigotted Court.

The Lord *de la Meer* tried, and acquitted.

Soon after the prorogation, the Lord *de la Meer* was brought to his trial. Some witneſſes ſwore high treaſon againſt him only upon report, that he had deſigned to make a rebellion in *Cheſhire*, and to join with the Duke of *Monmouth*. But, ſince thoſe ſwore only upon hear-ſay, that was no evidence in law. One witneſs ſwore home againſt him, and againſt two other Gentlemen, who, as he ſaid, were in company with him; and that treaſonable meſſages were then given to him by them all to carry to ſome others. That which gave the greateſt credit to the evidence was, that this Lord had gone from *London* ſecretly to *Cheſhire* at the time of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing, and that after he had ſtaid a day or two in that Country, he had come up as ſecretly to *London*. This looked ſuſpicious, and made it to be believed, that he went to try what could be done. The credit of that ſingle witneſs was overthrown by many unqueſtionable proofs, by which it appeared that the two Gentlemen, who he ſaid met with that Lord in *Cheſhire*, were all that while ſtill in *London*. The witneſs, to gain the more credit, had brought others into the plot, by the common fate of falſe ſwearers, who bring in ſuch circumſtances to ſupport their evidence, as they think will make it more credible, but, being ill laid, give a handle to thoſe concerned to find out their falſhood. And that was the caſe of this witneſs: For, tho' little doubt was made of the truth of that which he ſwore againſt this Lord, as to the main of his evidence, yet he had added ſuch a mixture of falſhood to it, as being fully proved deſtroyed the evidence. As for the ſecret journey to and again between *London* and *Cheſhire*, that Lord ſaid, he had been long a priſoner in the Tower upon bare ſuſpicion: He had no mind to be lodged again there: So he reſolved in that time of jealouſy to go out of the way: And hearing that a child, of which he was very fond, was ſick in *Cheſhire*, he went thither: And hearing from his Lady that his eldeſt ſon was very ill at *London*, he made haſte back again. This was well proved by his phyſicians and domeſticks, tho' it was a thing of very ill appearance, that he made ſuch journies ſo quick and ſo ſecretly at ſuch a time. The Solicitor General, *Finch*, purſuant to the doctrine he had maintained in former trials, and perhaps to atone for the zeal he had ſhewed in the Houſe of Commons for maintaining the Act of the Teſt, made a violent

declamation, to prove that one witneſs with preſumptions was ſufficient to convict one of high treaſon. The Peers did unanimouſly acquit the Lord. So that trial ended to the great joy of the whole Town; which was now turned to be as much againſt the Court, as it had been of late years for it. *Finch* had been continued in his employment only to lay the load of this judgment upon him: And he acted his part in it with his uſual vehemence. He was preſently after turned out. And *Powis* ſucceeded him, who was a compliant young aſpiring Lawyer, tho' in himſelf he was no ill natured man. Now the poſts in the law began to be again taken care of: For it was reſolved to act a piece of pageantry in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with which the next year began. 1685

Sir *Edward Hales*, a Gentleman of a noble family in *Kent*, declared himſelf a Papiſt, tho' he had long diſguiſed it; and had once to my ſelf ſo ſolemnly denied it, that I was led from thence to ſee, there was no credit to be given to that ſort of men, where their Church or religion was concerned. He had an employment: And not taking the Teſt his coachman was ſet up to inform againſt him, and to claim the 500 *l.* that the law gave to the informer. When this was to be brought to trial, the Judges were ſecretly aſked their opinions: And ſuch as were not clear to judge as the Court did direct were turned out: And upon two or three canvaſſings the half of them were diſmiſſed, and others of more pliable and obedient underſtandings were put in their places. Some of theſe were weak and ignorant to a ſcandal. The ſuit went on in a feeble proſecution: And in Trinity Term judgment was given. 1686

A trial upon the Act for the Teſt.

Many Judges turned out.

There was a new Chief Juſtice found out, very different indeed from *Jefferies*, Sir *Edward Herbert*. He was a well bred and a vertuous man, generous, and good natured. He was but an indifferent Lawyer; and had gone to *Ireland* to find practice and preferment there. He unhappily got into a ſet of very high notions with relation to the King's prerogative. His gravity and vertues gave him great advantages, chiefly his ſucceeding ſuch a monſter as had gone before him. So he, being found to be a fit tool, was, without any application of his own, raiſed up all at once to this high poſt. After the coachman's cauſe had been argued with a moſt indecent coldneſs, by thoſe who were made uſe of on deſign to expoſe and betray it, it was ſaid, in favour of the prerogative, that the government of *England* was entirely

Herbert, Chief juſtice, gives Judgment for the King's diſpenſing power.

1686 tirely in the King: That the Crown was an Imperial Crown, the importance of which was, that it was abſolute: All penal laws were powers lodged in the Crown to enable the King to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to limit or bind up the King's power: The King could pardon all offences againſt the law, and forgive the penalties: And why could not he as well diſpenſe with them? Acts of Parliament had been oft ſuperſeded: The Judges had ſome times given directions in their charges at Circuits to enquire after ſome Acts of Parliament no more: Of which one late inſtance happen'd during the former reign: An Act paſſed concerning the ſize of carts and waggons, with many penalties upon the tranſgreſſors: And yet, when it appeared that the model preſcribed in the Act was not practicable, the Judges gave direction not to execute the Act.

Theſe were the arguments brought to ſupport the King's diſpenſing power. In oppoſition to this it was ſaid, tho' not at the bar, yet in the common diſcourſe of the Town, that if penalties did ariſe only by vertue of the King's Proclamation, it was reaſonable that the power of diſpenſing ſhould be only in the King: But ſince the prerogative was both conſtituted and limited by law, and ſince penalties were impoſed to force the obſervation of laws that were neceſſary for the publick ſafety, it was an overturning the whole government, and the changing it from a legal into a deſpotick form, to ſay that laws, made and declared not to be capable of being diſpenſed with, where one of the penalties was an incapacity, which by a maxim of law cannot be taken away even by a pardon, ſhould at the pleaſure of the Prince be diſpenſed with: A fine was alſo ſet by the Act on offenders, but not given to the King, but to the informer, which thereby became his. So that the King could no more pardon that, than he could diſcharge the debts of the ſubjects, and take away property: Laws of ſmall conſequence, when a viſible error not obſerved in making them was afterwards found out, like that of the ſize of carts, might well be ſuperſeded: For the intention of the Legiſlature being the good of the ſubject, that is always to be preſumed for the repeal of an impracticable law. But it was not reaſonable to infer from thence, that a law made for the ſecurity of the government, with the moſt effectual clauſes that could be contrived, on deſign to force the execution of it, even in bar to the power of the prerogative, ſhould be made ſo precarious a thing, eſpecially when it was ſo late-

ly aſſerted with ſo much vigour by the repreſentatives of the Nation. It was ſaid, that, tho' this was now only applied to one ſtatute, yet the ſame force of reaſon would hold to annul all our laws: And the penalty being that which is the life of the law, the diſpenſing with penalties might ſoon be carried ſo far as to diſſolve the whole government: And the ſecurity that the ſubjects had were only from the laws, or rather from the penalties, ſince laws without theſe were feeble things, which tied men only according to their own diſcretion. 1686

Thus was this matter toſſed about in the arguments, with which all peoples mouths were now filled. But Judges, who are beforehand determined how to give their opinions, will not be much moved even by the ſtrongeſt arguments. The ludicrous ones uſed on this occaſion at the bar were rather a farce, fitter for a mock trial in a play, than ſuch as became men of learning in ſo important a matter. Great expectations were raiſed, to hear with what arguments the Judges would maintain the judgment that they ſhould give. But they made nothing of it; and without any arguing gave judgment for the defendant, as if it had been in a cauſe of courſe.

Admiral *Herbert's* firmneſs.

Now the matter was as much ſettled, as a deciſion in the King's Bench could ſettle it. Yet ſo little regard had the Chief Juſtice's neareſt friends to his opinion in this particular, that his brother, Admiral *Herbert*, being preſſed by the King to promiſe that he would vote the repeal of the Teſt, anſwered the King very plainly, that he could not do it either in honour nor conſcience. The King ſaid, he knew he was a man of honour, but the reſt of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conſcience. He anſwered boldly, he had his faults, but they were ſuch, that other people, who talked more of conſcience, were guilty of the like. He was indeed a man abandoned to luxury and vice. But, tho' he was poor, and had much to loſe, having places to the value of 4000 *l.* a year, he choſe to loſe them all rather than comply. This made much noiſe: For as he had a great reputation for his conduct in ſea affairs, ſo he had been moſt paſſionately zealous in the King's ſervice from his firſt ſetting out to that day. It appeared by this, that no paſt ſervices would be conſidered, if men were not reſolved to comply in every thing. The door was now opened. So all regard to the Teſt was laid aſide. And all men that intended to recommend themſelves took employments,

1686 ployments, and accepted of this dispensing power. This was done even by some of those who continued still Protestants, tho' the far greater number of them continued to qualify themselves according to law.

Father *Peter* a Jesuit in high favour.

Many of the Papists, that were men of quiet or of fearful tempers, did not like these methods. They thought the Priests went too fast, and the King was too eager in pursuing every thing that was suggested by them. One *Peter*, descended from a noble family, a man of no learning, nor any way famed for his vertue, but who made all up in boldness and zeal, was the *Jesuit* of them all that seemed animated with the most courage. He had, during the Popish plot, been introduced to the King, and had suggested things, that shewed him a resolute and undertaking man. Upon that the King looked on him as the fittest man to be set at the head of his counsels. So he was now considered, as the person who of all others had the greatest credit. He applied himself most to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and was for some time chiefly directed by him.

The King declared for a toleration.

The maxim that the King set up, and about which he entertained all that were about him, was, the great happiness of an universal toleration. On this the King used to enlarge in a great variety of topicks. He said, nothing was more reasonable, more christian, and more politick: And he reflected much on the Church of *England* for the severities with which Dissenters had been treated. This, how true or just soever it might be, yet was strange doctrine in the mouth of a professed Papist, and of a Prince on whose account, and by whose direction, the Church party had been, indeed but too obsequiously, pushed on to that rigour. But, since the Church party could not be brought to comply with the design of the Court, applications were now made to the Dissenters: And all on a sudden the Churchmen were disgraced, and the Dissenters were in high favour. Chief Justice *Herbert* went the Western Circuit after *Jefferies*'s bloody one. And now all was grace and favour to them. Their former sufferings were much reflected on, and pitied. Every thing was offered that could alleviate their sufferings. Their teachers were now encouraged to set up their Conventicles again, which had been discontinued, or held very secretly, for four or five years. Intimations were every where given, that the King would not have them, or their meetings, to be disturbed. Some of them began to grow insolent upon this shew of favour. But wiser men among them saw thro'

all this, and perceived the design of the Papists was now, to set on the Dissenters against the Church, as much as they had formerly set the Church against them: And therefore, tho' they returned to their Conventicles, yet they had a just jealousy of the ill designs that lay hid under all this sudden and unexpected shew of grace and kindness: And they took care not to provoke the Church party. 1686

The Clergy managed the points of controversy with great zeal and success.

Many of the Clergy acted now a part that made good amends for past errors. They began to preach generally against Popery, which the Dissenters did not. They set themselves to study the points of controversy. And upon that there followed a great variety of small books, that were easily purchased and soon read. They examined all the points of Popery with a solidity of judgment, a clearness of arguing, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any thing that had before that time appeared in our language. The truth is, they were very unequally yoked: For, if they are justly to be reckoned among the best writers that have yet appeared on the Protestant side, those they wrote against were certainly among the weakest that had ever appeared on the Popish side. Their books were poorly but insolently writ; and had no other learning in them, but what was taken out of some *French* writers, which they put into very bad *English:* So that a victory over them need have been but a mean performance.

This had a mighty effect on the whole Nation: Even those who could not search things to the bottom, yet were amazed at the great inequality that appeared in this engagement. The Papists, who knew what service the Bishop of *Meaux*'s book had done in *France*, resolved to pursue the same method here in several treatises, which they entitled *Papists represented and misrepresented*; to which such clear answers were writ, that what effect soever that artifice might have, where it was supported by the authority of a great King, and the terror of ill usage, and a dragoonade in conclusion, yet it succeeded so ill in *England*, that it gave occasion to enquire into the true opinions of that Church, not as some artful writers had disguised them, but as they were laid down in the books that are of authority among them, such as the decisions of Councils received among them, and their established Offices, and as they are held at *Rome*, and in all those countries where Popery prevails without any intermixture with hereticks, or apprehension of them, as in *Spain* and *Portugal*. This was done in so authentical

1686 a manner, that Popery it ſelf was never ſo well underſtood by the Nation, as it came to be upon this occaſion.

The perſons who were chiefly engaged in this.

The perſons, who both managed and directed this controverſial war, were chiefly *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Tenniſon*, and *Patrick*. Next them were *Sherlock*, *Williams*, *Claget*, *Gee*, *Aldrich*, *Atterbury*, *Whitby*, *Hooper*, and above all theſe *Wake*, who having been long in *France*, Chaplain to the Lord *Preſton*, brought over with him many curious diſcoveries that were both uſeful and ſurpriſing. Beſides the chief writers of thoſe books of controverſy, there were many ſermons preached and printed on thoſe heads, that did very much edify the whole Nation. And this matter was managed with that concert, that for the moſt part once a week ſome new book or ſermon came out, which both inſtructed and animated thoſe who read them. There were but very few proſelytes gained to Popery: And theſe were ſo inconſiderable, that they were rather a reproach than an honour to them. *Walker*, the head of *Univerſity* College, and five or ſix more at *Oxford*, declared themſelves to be of that religion; but with this branch of infamy, that they had continued for ſeveral years complying with the doctrine and worſhip of the Church of *England* after they were reconciled to the Church of *Rome*. The Popiſh Prieſts were enraged at this oppoſition made by the Clergy, when they ſaw their religion ſo expoſed, and themſelves ſo much deſpiſed. They ſaid, it was ill manners and want of duty to treat the King's religion with ſo much contempt.

Dr. *Sharp* in trouble.

It was reſolved to proceed ſeverely againſt ſome of the preachers, and to try if by that means they might intimidate the reſt. Dr. *Sharp* was the Rector of St. *Giles*'s, and was both a very pious man, and one of the moſt popular preachers of the age, who had a peculiar talent of reading his ſermons with much life and zeal. He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper ſent him, as he believed, by a Prieſt, containing a ſort of challenge upon ſome points of controverſy touched by him in ſome of his ſermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to whom he ſhould ſend an anſwer, preached a ſermon in anſwer to it: And, after he had confuted it, he concluded ſhewing how unreaſonable it was for Proteſtants to change their religion on ſuch grounds. This was carried to Court, and repreſented there, as a reflection on the King for changing on thoſe grounds.

The information, as to the words pretended to be ſpoken by *Sharp*, was falſe, as he himſelf aſſured me. But, without enquiring into that, the Earl of *Sunderland* ſent an order to the Biſhop of *London*, in the King's name, requiring him to ſuſpend *Sharp* immediately, and then to examine the matter. The Biſhop anſwered, that he had no power to proceed in ſuch a ſummary way: But, if an accuſation were brought into his Court in a regular way, he would proceed to ſuch a cenſure as could be warranted by the Eccleſiaſtical law: Yet, he ſaid, he would do that which was in his power, and ſhould be upon the matter a ſuſpenſion; for he deſired *Sharp* to abſtain from officiating, till the matter ſhould be better underſtood. But to lay ſuch a cenſure on a Clergyman, as a ſuſpenſion, without proof, in a judiciary proceeding, was contrary both to law and juſtice. *Sharp* went to Court to ſhew the notes of his ſermon, which he was ready to ſwear were thoſe from which he had read it, by which the falſhood of the information would appear. But, ſince he was not ſuſpended, he was not admitted. Yet he was let alone. And it was reſolved to proceed againſt the Biſhop of *London* for contempt.

1689

The Biſhop of *London* required to ſuſpend him.

Which he could not obey.

Jefferies was much ſunk at Court, and *Herbert* was the moſt in favour. But now *Jefferies*, to recommend himſelf, offered a bold and illegal advice, for ſetting up an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, without calling it the High Commiſſion, pretending it was only a ſtanding Court of Delegates. The Act that put down the High Commiſſion in the year 1640 had provided by a clauſe, as full as could be conceived, that no Court ſhould be ever ſet up for thoſe matters, beſides the ordinary Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Yet in contempt of that a Court was erected, with full power to proceed in a ſummary and arbitrary way in all Eccleſiaſtical matters, without limitations to any rule of law in their proceedings. This ſtretch of the ſupremacy, ſo contrary to law, was aſſumed by a King, whoſe religion made him condemn all that ſupremacy that the law had veſted in the Crown.

An Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſet up.

The perſons with whom this power was lodged were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, and Lord Chief Juſtice, the Lord Chancellor being made Preſident in the Court *ſine quo non*; for they would truſt this to no other management. The Biſhop of *London* was marked out to be the firſt ſacrifice. *Sancroft* lay ſilent at *Lambeth*. He ſeemed zealous againſt Popery in private diſcourſe: But he was of ſuch a timorous temper, and ſo ſet on the enriching

1686 riching his nephew, that he ſhewed no ſort of courage. He would not go to this Court, when it was firſt opened, and declare againſt it, and give his reaſons why he could not ſit and act in it, judging it to be againſt law: But he contented himſelf with his not going to it. The other two Biſhops were more compliant. *Dureſme* was lifted up with it, and ſaid, now his name would be recorded in hiſtory: And, when ſome of his friends repreſented to him the danger of acting in a Court ſo illegally conſtituted, he ſaid, he could not live if he ſhould loſe the King's gracious ſmiles: So low, and ſo fawning was he. *Dolben*, Archbiſhop of *York*, died this year. So, as *Sprat* had ſucceeded him in *Rocheſter*, he had ſome hopes let fall of ſucceeding likewiſe in *York*. But the Court had laid it down for a maxim to keep all the great Sees, that ſhould become vacant, ſtill empty, till they might fill them to their own mind: So he was miſtaken in his expectations, if he ever had them.

The Biſhop of *London* brought before it.

The Biſhop of *London* was the firſt perſon, that was ſummoned to appear before this new Court. He was attended on by many perſons of great Quality, which gave a new offence: And the Lord Chancellor treated him in that brutal way, that was now become as it were natural to him. The Biſhop ſaid, here was a new Court of which he knew nothing: So he deſired a copy of the commiſſion that authoriſed them. And, after he had drawn out the matters by delays for ſome time, hoping that the King might accept of ſome general and reſpectful ſubmiſſion, and ſo let the matter fall, at laſt he came to make his defence, all ſecret methods to divert the ſtorm proving ineffectual. The firſt part of it was an exception to the authority of the Court, as being not only founded on no law, but contrary to the expreſs words of the Act of Parliament that put down the High Commiſſion. Yet this point was rather inſinuated, than urged with the force that might have been uſed: For it was ſaid, that, if the Biſhop ſhould inſiſt too much on that, it would draw a much heavier meaſure of indignation on him; therefore it was rather opened, and modeſtly repreſented to the Court, than ſtrongly argued. But it may be eaſily believed, that thoſe who ſate by virtue of this illegal Commiſſion would maintain their own authority. The other part of the Biſhop of *London*'s plea was, that he had obeyed the King's orders, as far as he legally could do; for he had obliged Dr. *Sharp* to act as a man that was ſuſpended; but that he could not lay an Eccleſiaſtical cenſure

on any of his Clergy without a proceſs, and articles, and ſome proof brought. This was juſtified by the conſtant practice of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and by the judgment of all lawyers. But arguments, how ſtrong ſoever, are feeble things, when a ſentence is reſolved on before the cauſe is heard. So it was propoſed, that he ſhould be ſuſpended during the King's pleaſure. The Lord Chancellor and the poor-ſpirited Biſhop of *Dureſme* were for this: But the Earl, and Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, were for acquitting him. There was not ſo much as a colour of law to ſupport the ſentence: So none could be given. 1686

But the King was reſolved to carry this point, and ſpoke roundly about it to the Earl of *Rocheſter*. He ſaw he muſt either concur in the ſentence, or part with the White Staff. So he yielded. And the Biſhop was ſuſpended *ab officio*. They did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the lawyers had ſettled that point, that benefices were of the nature of freeholds. So, if the ſentence had gone to the temporalties, the Biſhop would have had the matter tried over again in the King's Bench, where he was like to find good juſtice, *Herbert* not being ſatisfied with the legality and juſtice of the ſentence. While this matter was in dependance, the Princeſs of *Orange* thought it became her to interpoſe a little in the Biſhop's favour. He had confirmed, and married her. So ſhe wrote to the King, earneſtly begging him to be gentle to the Biſhop, who ſhe could not think would offend willingly. She alſo wrote to the Biſhop, expreſſing the great ſhare ſhe took in the trouble he was fallen into. The Prince wrote to him to the ſame purpoſe. The King wrote an anſwer to the Princeſs, reflecting ſeverely on the Biſhop, not without ſome ſharpneſs on her for meddling in ſuch matters. Yet the Court ſeemed uneaſy, when they ſaw they had gained ſo poor a victory: For now the Biſhop was more conſidered than ever. His Clergy, for all the ſuſpenſion, were really more governed by the ſecret intimations of his pleaſure, than they had been by his authority before. So they reſolved to come off as well as they could. Dr. *Sharp* was admitted to offer a general petition, importing how ſorry he was to find himſelf under the King's diſpleaſure: Upon which he was diſmiſſed with a gentle reprimand, and ſuffered to return to the exerciſe of his function. According to the form of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, a perſon under ſuch a ſuſpenſion muſt make a ſubmiſſion within ſix months: And was ſuſpended by it.

1686 Otherwiſe he may be proceeded againſt as obſtinate. So, ſix months after the ſentence, the Biſhop ſent a petition to the King, deſiring to be reſtored to the exerciſe of his Epiſcopal function. But he made no acknowledgment of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it ſtopt all further proceedings: Only the ſuſpenſion lay ſtill on him. I have laid all this matter together, tho' the progreſs of it ran into the year eighty ſeven.

Affairs in *Scotland.*

Affairs in *Scotland* went on much at the ſame rate as they did in *England.* Some few proſelytes were gained. But as they were very few, ſo they could do little ſervice to the ſide to which they joined themſelves. The Earl of *Perth* prevailed with his Lady, as ſhe was dying, to change her religion. And in a very few weeks after her death he married very indecently a ſiſter of the Duke of *Gordon's.* They were firſt couſins: And yet without ſtaying for a diſpenſation from *Rome* they ventured on a marriage, upon the aſſurances that they ſaid their Confeſſor gave them that it would be eaſily obtained. But Pope *Innocent* was a ſtiff man, and did not grant thoſe things eaſily: So that Cardinal *Howard* could not at firſt obtain it. The Pope ſaid, theſe were ſtrange converts, that would venture on ſuch a thing without firſt obtaining a diſpenſation. The Cardinal pretended, that new converts did not ſo ſoon underſtand the laws of the Church: But he laid before the Pope the ill conſequences of offending converts of ſuch importance. So he prevailed at laſt, not without great difficulty. The Earl of *Perth* ſet up a private Chapel in the Court for Maſs, which was not kept ſo private, but that many frequented it.

A tumult at *Edenburgh.*

The Town of *Edenburgh* was much alarmed at this. And the rabble broke in with ſuch fury, that they defaced every thing in the Chapel. And if the Earl of *Perth* had not been conveyed away in diſguiſe, he had very probably fallen a ſacrifice to popular rage. The guards upon the alarm came, and diſperſed the rabble. Some were taken: And one that was a ringleader in the tumult was executed for it. When he was at the place of execution, he told one of the Miniſters of the Town, that was with him aſſiſting him with his prayers, that he was offered his life, if he would accuſe the Duke of *Queensborough*, as the perſon that had ſet on the tumult, but he would not ſave his life by ſo falſe a calumny. Mr. *Macom*, the Miniſter, was an honeſt but weak man. So, when the criminal charged him to make this diſcovery, he did

did not call any of thoſe who were preſent to hear witneſs of it: But in the ſimplicity of his heart he went from the execution to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and told him what had paſt. The Archbiſhop acquainted the Duke of *Queensborough* with it. And he writ to Court, and complained of it. The King ordered the matter to be examined. So the poor Miniſter, having no witneſs to atteſt what the criminal had ſaid to him, was declared the forger of that calumny. And upon that he was turned out. But how ſeverely ſoever thoſe in authority may handle a poor incautious man, yet the publick is apt to judge true. And, in this caſe, as the Miniſter's weakneſs and misfortune was pitied, ſo the Earl of *Perth*'s malice and treachery was as much deteſted. 1686

A Parliament held there.

In ſummer this year, the Earl of *Murray*, another new convert, was ſent the King's Commiſſioner to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, and to try if it would be more compliant than the *Engliſh* Parliament had been. The King did by his letter recommend to them in very earneſt words the taking off all penal laws and teſts relating to religion. And all poſſible methods were uſed to prevail on a majority. But two accidents happen'd before the opening the Parliament, which made great impreſſion on the minds of many.

Whitford, ſon to one of their Biſhops before the wars, had turned a Papiſt. He was the perſon that killed *Dariſlaus* in *Holland*. And, that he might get out of *Cromwell*'s reach, he had gone into the Duke of *Savoy*'s ſervice; and was there when the laſt maſſacre was committed on the *Vaudois*. He had committed many barbarous murders with his own hands, and had a ſmall penſion given him after the Reſtoration. He died a few days before the Parliament met; and called for ſome Miniſters, and to them declared his forſaking of Popery, and his abhorrence of it for its cruelty. He ſaid, he had been guilty of ſome execrable murders in *Piedmont*, both of women and children, which had purſued him with an intolerable horror of mind ever after that. He had gone to Prieſts of all ſorts, the ſtricteſt as well as the eaſieſt: And they had juſtified him in what he had done, and had given him abſolution. But his conſcience purſued him ſo, that he died as in deſpair, crying out againſt that bloody religion.

The other was more ſolemn. Sir *Robert Sibbald*, a Doctor of phyſick, and the moſt learned antiquary in *Scotland*, who had

1686 had lived in a courſe of philoſophical vertue, but in great doubts as to revealed religion, was prevailed on by the Earl of *Perth* to turn Papiſt, in hopes to find that certainty among them, which he could not arrive at upon his own principles. But he had no ſooner done this, than he began to be aſhamed that he had made ſuch a ſtep upon ſo little enquiry. So he went to *London*, and retired for ſome months from all company, and went into a deep courſe of ſtudy, by which he came to ſee into the errors of Popery, with ſo full a conviction that he came down to *Scotland* ſome weeks before the Parliament, and could not be at quiet till he had publiſhed his recantation openly in a Church. The Biſhop of *Edenburgh* was ſo much a Courtier, that, apprehending many might go to hear it, and that it might give offence at Court, he ſent him to do it in a Church in the Country. But the recantation of ſo learned a man, upon ſo much ſtudy, had a great effect upon many.

Roſſe and *Paterſon*, the two governing Biſhops, reſolved to let the King ſee how compliant they would be. And they procured an addreſs to be ſigned by ſeveral of their Bench, offering to concur with the King in all that he deſired with relation to thoſe of his own religion, (for the courtly ſtile now was not to name Popery any other way than by calling it the King's religion,) providing the laws might ſtill continue in force and be executed againſt the Preſbyterians. With this *Paterſon* was ſent up. He communicated the matter to the Earl of *Middleton*, who adviſed him never to ſhew that paper: It would be made uſe of againſt them, and render them odious: And the King and all his Prieſts were ſo ſenſible that it was an indecent thing for them to pretend to any ſpecial favour, that they were reſolved to move for nothing but a general toleration. And ſo he perſuaded him to go back without preſenting it. This was told me by one who had it from the Earl himſelf.

Which refuſed to comply with the King's deſires.

When the ſeſſion of Parliament was opened, Duke *Hamilton* was ſilent in the debate. He promiſed, he would not oppoſe the motion: But he would not be active to promote it. The Duke of *Queensborough* was alſo ſilent: But the King was made believe that he managed the oppoſition under hand. *Roſſe* and *Paterſon* did ſo entirely forget what became their characters, that they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Parliament to comply with the King's deſire. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* oppoſed it, but fear-

fully. The Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *Bruce*, did it openly and reſolutely: And ſo did the Biſhop of *Galloway*. The reſt were ſilent, but were reſolved to vote for the continuance of the laws. Such was the meanneſs of moſt of the Nobility, and of the other members, that few did hope that a reſiſtance to the Court could be maintained. Yet the Parliament would conſent to nothing, further than to a ſuſpenſion of thoſe laws during the King's life. The King deſpiſed this. So the ſeſſion was put off, and the Parliament was quickly diſſolved. And, ſoon after that, both the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* and the Biſhop of *Dunkeld* were turned out by an expreſs command from the King. And *Paterſon* was made Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*. And one *Hamilton*, noted for profaneneſs and impiety, that ſometimes broke out into blaſphemy, was made Biſhop of *Dunkeld*. No reaſon was aſſigned for turning out thoſe Biſhops, but the King's pleaſure. 1686

The Nation, which was become very corrupt, and both ignorant and inſenſible in the matters of religion, began now to return to its old zeal againſt Popery. Few proſelytes were made after this. The Epiſcopal Clergy were in many places ſo ſunk into ſloth and ignorance, that they were not capable of conducting this zeal. Some of them about *Edenburgh*, and in divers other places, began to mind thoſe matters, and recovered ſome degrees of credit by the oppoſition they made to Popery. But the Preſbyterians, tho' they were now freed from the great ſeverities they had long ſmarted under, yet expreſſed on all occaſions their unconquerable averſion to Popery. So the Court was ſoon convinced, that they were not to be depended on. A zeal appeared there againſt Popery.

But, what oppoſition ſoever the King met with in the iſle of *Britain*, things went on more to his mind in *Ireland*. The Earl of *Clarendon* upon his firſt coming over gave publick and poſitive aſſurances, that the King would maintain their Act of Settlement. This he did very often, and very ſolemnly; and proceeded accordingly. In the mean while the Earl of *Tirconnel* went on more roundly. He not only put *Iriſh* Papiſts in ſuch poſts in the Army as became void, but upon the ſlighteſt pretences he broke the *Engliſh* Proteſtant officers to make room for the others: And in concluſion, without ſo much as pretending a colour for it, he turned them all out. And now an Army, paid by vertue of the Act of Settlement to ſecure it, was wreſted out of legal hands, and put in the hands of thoſe who were Affairs in *Ireland*.

1686 engaged both in religion and intereſt to deſtroy the Settlement, and thoſe concerned in it; which was too groſs a violation of law to be in any ſort palliated. So the *Engliſh* Proteſtants of *Ireland* looked on themſelves as at mercy, ſince the Army was now made up of their enemies. And all that the Lord Lieutenant, or the Lord Chancellor, could ſay did not quiet their fears: Good words could not give ſecurity againſt ſuch deeds as they ſaw every day. Upon this the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Earl of *Tirconnell* fell into perpetual jarrings, and were making ſuch complaints one of another, that the King reſolved to put an end to thoſe diſorders by recalling both the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Porter*. He made the Earl of *Tirconnell* Lord Lieutenant, and *Fitton* Lord Chancellor, who were both not only profeſſed but zealous Papiſts. *Fitton* knew no other law but the King's pleaſure.

This ſtruck all people there with great terror, when a man of *Tirconnell*'s temper, ſo entirely truſted and depended on by the *Iriſh*, capable of the boldeſt undertakings, and of the crueleſt execution, had now the government put ſo entirely in his hands. The Papiſts of *England* either diſſembled very artificiouſly, or they were much troubled at this, which gave ſo great an alarm every where. It was viſible, that Father *Peter* and the Jeſuits were reſolved to engage the King ſo far, that matters ſhould be put paſt all retreating and compounding; that ſo the King might think no more of governing by Parliament, but by a military force; and, if that ſhould not ſtick firm to him, by aſſiſtance from *France*, and by an *Iriſh* Army.

The King made his miſtreſs Counteſs of *Dorcheſter*.

An accident happen'd at this time, that gave the Queen great offence, and put the Prieſts much out of countenance. The King continued to go ſtill to Mrs. *Sidley*. And ſhe gained ſo much on him, that at laſt ſhe prevailed to be made Counteſs of *Dorcheſter*. As ſoon as the Queen heard of this, ſhe gave order to bring all the Prieſts, that were admitted to a particular confidence, into her cloſet. And, when ſhe had them about her, ſhe ſent to deſire the King to come and ſpeak to her. When he came, he was ſurpriſed to ſee ſuch a company about her, but much more when they fell all on their knees before him. And the Queen broke out into a bitter mourning for this new honour, which they expected would be followed with the ſetting her up openly as miſtreſs. The Queen was then in an ill habit of body; and had an illneſs that, as was thought, would end in a conſumption;

ſumption. And it was believed that her ſickneſs was of ſuch a nature, that it gave a very melancholy preſage, that, if ſhe ſhould live, ſhe could have no children. The Prieſts ſaid to the King, that a blemiſh in his life blaſted their deſigns: And the more it appeared, and the longer it was continued, the more ineffectual all their endeavours would prove. The King was much moved with this, and was out of countenance for what he had done. But, to quiet them all, he promiſed them, that he would ſee the Lady no more; and pretended, that he gave her this title in order to the breaking with her the more decently. And, when the Queen did not ſeem to believe this, he promiſed that he would ſend her to *Ireland*, which was done accordingly. But, after a ſtay there for ſome months, ſhe came over again: And that ill commerce was ſtill continued. The Prieſts were no doubt the more apprehenſive of this, becauſe ſhe was bold and lively, and was always treating them and their proceedings with great contempt. 1686

The Court was now much ſet on making of converts; which failed in moſt inſtances, and produced repartees, that, whether true or falſe, were much repeated, and were heard with great ſatisfaction.

Attempts made on many to change their religion.

The Earl of *Mulgrave* was Lord Chamberlain. He was apt to comply in every thing that he thought might be acceptable; for he went with the King to Maſs, and kneeled at it. And, being looked on as indifferent to all religions, the Prieſts made an attack on him. He heard them gravely arguing for tranſubſtantiation. He told them, he was willing to receive inſtruction: He had taken much pains to bring himſelf to believe in God, who made the world and all men in it: But it muſt not be an ordinary force of argument, that could make him believe, that man was quits with God, and made God again.

The Earl of *Middleton* had married into a Popiſh family, and was a man of great parts and a generous temper, but of looſe principles in religion. So a Prieſt was ſent to inſtruct him. He began with tranſubſtantiation, of which he ſaid he would convince him immediately: And began thus, You believe the Trinity. *Middleton* ſtopt him, and ſaid, Who told you ſo? At which he ſeemed amazed. So the Earl ſaid, he expected he ſhould convince him of his belief, but not queſtion him of his own. With this the Prieſt was ſo diſordered, that he could proceed no further. One day the King gave the Duke of *Norfolk* the ſword of State to carry

1686 before him to the Chapel: And he ſtood at the door. Upon which the King ſaid to him, My Lord, your father would have gone further: To which the Duke anſwered, Your Majeſty's father was the better man, and he would not have gone ſo far. *Kirk* was alſo ſpoken to, to change his religion; and replied briſkly, that he was already pre-engaged, for he had promiſed the King of *Morocco*, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

Particularly on the Earl of *Rocheſter*.

But the perſon that was the moſt conſidered, was the Earl of *Rocheſter*. He told me, that upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s defeat the King did ſo immediately turn to other meaſures, that, tho' before that the King talked to him of all his affairs with great freedom, and commonly every morning of the buſineſs that was to be done that day, yet the very day after his execution the King changed his method, and never talked more to him of any buſineſs, but what concerned the Treaſury: So that, he ſaw, he had now no more the root he formerly had. He was looked on, as ſo much united to the Clergy, that the Papiſts were all ſet againſt him. He had, in a want of money, procured a conſiderable loan, by which he was kept in his poſt longer than was intended. At laſt, as he related the matter to me, the King ſpoke to him, and deſired he would ſuffer himſelf to be inſtructed in religion. He anſwered, he was fully ſatisfied about his religion. But upon the King's preſſing it, that he would hear his Prieſts, he ſaid, he deſired then to have ſome of the *Engliſh* Clergy preſent, to which the King conſented: Only he excepted to *Tillotſon*, and *Stillingfleet*. Lord *Rocheſter* ſaid, he would take thoſe who ſhould happen to be in waiting; for the forms of the Chapel were ſtill kept up. And Doctor *Patrick* and *Jane* were the men. Upon this a day was ſet for the conference.

But his enemies had another ſtory. He had notice given him, that he would ſhortly loſe the White Staff: Upon which his Lady, who was then ſick, wrote to the Queen, and begged ſhe would honour her ſo far as to come, and let her have ſome diſcourſe with her. The Queen came, and ſtaid above two hours with her. She complained of the ill offices that were done them. The Queen ſaid, all the Proteſtants were now turning againſt them, ſo that they knew not how they could truſt any of them. Upon which that Lady ſaid, her Lord was not ſo wedded to any opinion, as not to be ready to be better inſtructed. And it was ſaid, that this gave the riſe to the King's propoſing a conference: For

it has been obſerved to be a common method of making proſelytes with the more pomp, to propoſe a conference: But this was generally done, after they were well aſſured, that, let the conference go which way it might, the perſon's deciſion for whom it was appointed ſhould be on their ſide. The Earl denied, he knew any thing of all this to me: And his Lady died not long after. It was further ſaid by his enemies, that the day before the conference he had an advertiſement from a ſure hand, that nothing he could do would maintain him in his poſt, and that the King had engaged himſelf to put the Treaſury in commiſſion, and to bring ſome of the Popiſh Lords into it. *Patrick* told me, that at the conference there was no occaſion for them to ſay much. 1686

The Prieſts began the attack. And, when they had done, the Earl ſaid, if they had nothing ſtronger to urge, he would not trouble thoſe learned Gentlemen to ſay any thing: For he was ſure he could anſwer all that he had heard. And ſo anſwered it all with much heat and ſpirit, not without ſome ſcorn, ſaying, were theſe grounds to perſuade men to change their religion? This he urged over and over again with great vehemence. The King, ſeeing in what temper he was, broke off the conference, charging all that were preſent to ſay nothing of it.

Soon after that he loſt his White Staff; but had a penſion of 4000 *l.* a year for his own life and his ſon's, beſides his grant upon the Lord *Grey*, and another valued at 20000 *l.* So here were great regards had to him: No place having ever been ſold, even by a perſon in favour, to ſuch advantage. The ſum that he had procured to be lent the King being 400000 *l*, and it being all ordered to go towards the repair of the Fleet, this began to be much talked of. The ſtores were very ill furniſhed: And the veſſels themſelves were in decay. But now orders were given, with great diſpatch to put the whole Fleet in condition to go to ſea, tho' the King was then in full peace with all his neighbours. Such preparations ſeemed to be made upon ſome great deſign. He was turned out.

The Prieſts ſaid every where, but chiefly at *Rome*, that the deſign was againſt the States; and that both *France* and *England* would make war on them all of the ſudden; for it was generally known that the *Dutch* fleet was in no good condition. The intereſts of *France* and of the Prieſts made this to be the more eaſily believed. The embroiling the King with the Prince of *Orange* was that which the *French* deſired above all other things, hoping that ſuch a war, being Deſigns talked of againſt *Holland*.

1686 ſucceſsful, might put the King on excluding the Prince from the ſucceſſion to the Crown in the right of his wife, which was the thing that both the *French* and the Prieſts deſired moſt: For they ſaw that, unleſs the Queen had a ſon, all their deſigns muſt ſtand ſtill at preſent, and turn abortive in concluſion, as long as the Nation had ſuch a ſucceſſor in view.

This carries me now to open the ſtate of affairs in *Holland*, and at the Prince of *Orange*'s Court. I muſt firſt ſay ſomewhat of my ſelf: For this ſummer, after I had rambled above a year, I came into *Holland*. I ſtaid three or four months in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, after I came out of *Italy*. I ſtaid alſo ſome time among the *Lutherans* at *Strasbourg* and *Francfort*, and among the *Calviniſts* at *Heidleberg*, beſides the further opportunities I had to know their way in *Holland*. I made it my buſineſs to obſerve all their methods, and to know all the eminent men among them. I ſaw the Churches of *France* in their beſt ſtate, while they were every day looking when this dreadful ſtorm ſhould break out, which has ſcattered them up and down the world. I was all the winter at *Geneva*, where we had conſtantly freſh ſtories brought us of the miſeries of thoſe who were ſuffering in *France*. Refugees were coming over every day poor, and naked, and half ſtarved before they got thither. And that ſmall State was under great apprehenſions of being ſwallowed up, having no ſtrength of their own, and being juſtly afraid that thoſe at *Bern* would grow weary of defending them, if they ſhould be vigorouſly attacked. The reſt of *Switzerland* was not in ſuch imminent danger. But, as they were full of Refugees, and all ſermons and diſcourſes were much upon the perſecution in *France*, ſo *Baſile* was expoſed in ſuch manner, that the *French* could poſſeſs themſelves of it when they pleaſed, without the leaſt reſiſtance. Thoſe of *Strasbourg*, as they have already loſt their liberty, ſo they were every day looking for ſome fatal edict, like that which the *French* had fallen under. The Churches of the *Palatinate*, as they are now the frontier of the Empire, expoſed to be deſtroyed by every new war, ſo they are fallen into the hands of a bigotted family. All the other Churches on the *Rhine* ſee how near they are to ruine. And as the United Provinces were a few years before this very near being ſwallowed up, ſo they were now well aſſured that two great Kings deſigned to ruin them.

I ſtaid ſome time in *Geneva*.

Under

Under ſo cloudy a proſpect it ſhould be expected, that a ſpirit of true devotion and of a real reformation ſhould appear more, both among the Clergy and Laity; that they ſhould all apprehend that God was highly offended with them, and was therefore puniſhing ſome, and threatning others, in a moſt unuſual manner. It might have been expected, that thoſe unhappy conteſts between *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, *Arminians* and *Anti-Arminians*, with ſome minuter diſputes that have enflamed *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, ſhould have been at leaſt ſuſpended while they had a common enemy to deal with, againſt whom their whole force united was ſcarce able to ſtand. But theſe things were carried on rather with more eagerneſs and ſharpneſs than ever. It is true, there has appeared much of a primitive charity towards the *French* Refugees: They have been in all places well received, kindly treated, and bountifully ſupplied. Yet even among them there did not appear a ſpirit of piety and devotion ſuitable to their condition: Tho' perſons who have willingly ſuffered the loſs of all things, and have forſaken their country, their houſes, eſtates, and their friends, and ſome of them their neareſt relations, rather than ſin againſt their conſciences, muſt be believed to have a deeper principle in them, than can well be obſerved by others. 1686 The ſtate and temper I obſerved among the Reformed.

I was indeed amazed at the labours and learning of the Miniſters among the Reformed. They underſtood the Scriptures well in the original tongues: They had all the points of controverſy very ready, and did thoroughly underſtand the whole body of divinity. In many places they preached every day, and were almoſt conſtantly employed in viſiting their flock. But they performed their devotions but ſlightly, and read their prayers, which were too long, with great precipitation and little zeal. Their ſermons were too long and too dry. And they were ſo ſtrict, even to jealouſy, in the ſmalleſt points in which they put orthodoxy, that one who could not go into all their notions, but was reſolved not to quarrel with them, could not converſe much with them with any freedom. I have, upon all the obſervation that I have made, often conſidered the inward ſtate of the Reformation, and the decay of the vitals of Chriſtianity in it, as that which gives more melancholy impreſſions, than all the outward dangers that ſurround it.

In *England* things were much changed, with relation to the Court, in the compaſs of a year. The terror all people were under from an ill choſen and an ill conſtituted

1686 Parliament was now almoſt over: And the Clergy were come to their wits, and were beginning to recover their reputation. The Nation was like to prove much firmer than could have been expected, eſpecially in ſo ſhort a time. Yet after all, tho' many were like to prove themſelves better Proteſtants than was looked for, they were not become much better Chriſtians: And few were turning to a ſtricter courſe of life: Nor were the Clergy more diligent in their labours among their people, in which reſpect it muſt be confeſſed that the *Engliſh* Clergy are the moſt remiſs of any. The Curates in Popery, beſides their ſaying Maſs every day, their exactneſs to their breviary, their attending on confeſſions and the multiplicity of offices to which they are obliged, do ſo labour in inſtructing the youth and viſiting the ſick, that, in all the places in which I could obſerve them, it ſeemed to be the conſtant employment of their lives: And in the foreign Churches, tho' the labonrs of the Miniſters may ſeem mean, yet they are perpetually in them. All theſe things lay ſo much on my thoughts, that I was reſolved to retire into ſome private place, and to ſpend the reſt of my life in a courſe of ſtricter piety and devotion, and in writing ſuch books, as the ſtate of matters with relation to religion ſhould call for, whether in points of ſpeculation or practice. All my friends adviſed my coming near *England*, that I might be eaſier ſent to, and informed of all our affairs, and might accordingly employ my thoughts and time. So I came down the *Rhine* this ſummer; and was reſolved to have ſettled in *Groning* or *Frizeland*.

I was invited by the Prince of *Orange* to come to the *Hague*.

When I came to *Utrecht*, I found letters writ to me by ſome of the Prince of *Orange*'s Court, deſiring me to come firſt to the *Hague*, and wait on the Prince and Princeſs, before I ſhould ſettle any where. Upon my coming to the *Hague*, I was admitted to wait on them. I found they had received ſuch characters of me from *England*, that they reſolved to treat me with great confidence: For, at my firſt being with them, they entred into much free diſcourſe with me concerning the affairs of *England*. The Prince, tho' naturally cold and reſerved, yet laid aſide a great deal of that with me. He ſeemed highly diſſatisfied with the King's conduct. He apprehended that he would give ſuch jealouſies of himſelf, and come under ſuch jealouſies from his people, that theſe would throw him into a *French* management, and engage him into ſuch deſperate deſigns as would force violent remedies. There was a gravity in his whole deportment that ſtruck me. He

ſeemed very regardleſs of himſelf, and not apt to ſuſpect deſigns upon his perſon. But I had learned ſomewhat of the deſign of a brutal *Savoyard*, who was capable of the blackeſt things, and who for a foul murder had fled into the territory of *Geneva*, where he lay hid in a very worthy family, to whom he had done ſome ſervices before. He had formed a ſcheme of ſeizing on the Prince, who uſed to go in his chariot often on the ſands near *Schevling* with but one perſon with him, and a page or two on the chariot. So he offered to go in a ſmall veſſel of twenty guns, that ſhould lie at ſome diſtance at ſea, and to land in a boat with ſeven perſons beſides himſelf, and to ſeize on the Prince, and bring him aboard, and ſo to *France*. This he wrote to Mr. *de Louvoy*, who upon that wrote to him to come to *Paris*, and ordered money for his journey. He, being a talking man, ſpoke of this, and ſhewed Mr. *de Louvoy*'s letter, and the copy of his own: And he went preſently to *Paris*. This was brought me by Mr. *Fatio*, the celebrated mathematician, in whoſe father's houſe that perſon had lodged. When I told the Prince this, and had Mr. *Fatio* at the *Hague* to atteſt it, he was not much moved at it. The Princeſs was more apprehenſive. And by her direction I acqnainted Mr. *Fagell*, and ſome others of the States, with it, who were convinced that the thing was practicable. And ſo the States deſired the Prince to ſuffer himſelf to be conſtantly attended on by a guard when he went abroad, with which he was not without ſome difficulty brought to comply. I fancied his belief of predeſtination made him more adventurous than was neceſſary. Bnt he ſaid as to that, he firmly believed a providence: For if he ſhould let that go, all his religion wonld be much ſhaken: And he did not ſee, how providence could be certain, if all things did not ariſe out of the abſolute will of God. I found thoſe who had the charge of his education had taken more care to poſſeſs him with the Calviniſtical notions of abſolute decrees, than to guard him againſt the ill effects of thoſe opinions in practice: For in *Holland* the main thing the Miniſters infuſe into their people is an abhorrence of the *Arminian* doctrine, which ſpreads ſo much there, that their jealouſies of it make them look after that, more than after the moſt important matters. 1686

A character of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*.

The Prince had been much neglected in his education: For all his life long he hated conſtraint. He ſpoke little. He put on ſome appearance of application: But he hated buſineſs of all ſorts. Yet he hated talking, and all honſe games, more. This put him on a perpetual courſe of hunting, to which he ſeemed to give himſelf up, beyond any man I ever knew: But I looked on that always, as a flying from company and buſineſs. The

1686 depreſſion of *France* was the governing paſſion of his whole life. He had no vice, but of one ſort, in which he was very cautious and ſecret. He had a way that was affable and obliging to the *Dutch*. But he could not bring himſelf to comply enough with the temper of the *Engliſh*, his coldneſs and ſlowneſs being very contrary to the genius of the Nation.

The Princeſs poſſeſſed all that converſed with her with admiration. Her perſon was majeſtick and created reſpect. She had great knowledge, with a true underſtanding, and a noble expreſſion. There was a ſweetneſs in her deportment that charmed, and an exactneſs in piety and of vertue that made her a pattern to all that ſaw her. The King gave her no appointments to ſupport the dignity of a King's daughter. Nor did he ſend her any preſents or jewels, which was thought a very indecent, and certainly was a very ill adviſed thing. For the ſettling an allowance for her and the Prince, would have given ſuch a jealouſy of them, that the *Engliſh* would have apprehended a ſecret correſpondence and confidence between them: And the not doing it ſhewed the contrary very evidently. But, tho' the Prince did not increaſe her Court and State upon this additional dignity, ſhe managed her Privy Purſe ſo well, that ſhe became eminent in her charities: And the good grace with which ſhe beſtowed favours did always encreaſe their valne. She had read much, both in hiſtory and divinity. And when a courſe of humours in her eyes forced her from that, ſhe ſet her ſelf to work with uch a conſtant diligence, that ſhe made the Ladies about her aſhamed to be idle. She knew little of our affairs, till I was admitted to wait on her. And I began to lay before her the ſtate of our Court, and the intrigues in it, ever ſince the Reſtoration; which ſhe received with great ſatisfaction, and ſhewed true judgment, and a good mind, in all the reflections that ſhe made. I will only mention one in this place: She aſked me, what had ſharpned the King ſo much againſt Mr. *Jurieu*, the copiouſeſt and the moſt zealous writer of the age, who wrote with great vivacity as well as learning. I told her, he mixed all his books with a moſt virulent acrimony of ſtile, and among other things he had writ with great indecency of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, which caſt reflections on them that were deſcended from her; and was not very decent in one that deſired to be conſidered as zealous for the Prince and herſelf. She ſaid, *Jurieu* was to ſupport the canſe that he defended, and to expoſe thoſe that perſecuted it, in the beſt way he could. And, if what he ſaid of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was true, he was not to be blamed, who made that uſe of it: And, ſhe added, that if Princes would do ill things, they muſt expect that the world will take revenges on their memory, ſince

they cannot reach their perſons: That was but a ſmall ſuffering, far ſhort of what others ſuffered at their hands. So far I have given the character of thoſe perſons, as it appeared to me upon my firſt admittance to them. I ſhall have occaſion to ſay much more of them in the ſequel of this work. 1686

I found the Prince was reſolved to make uſe of me. He told me, it would not be convenient for me to live any where but at the *Hague:* For none of the outlawed perſons came thither. So I would keep my ſelf by ſtaying there out of the danger that I might legally incur by converſing with them, which would be unavoidable if I lived any where elſe. He alſo recommended me both to *Fagell*, *Dykvelt*, and *Halewyn*'s confidence, with whom he chiefly conſulted. I had a mind to ſee a little into the Prince's notions, before I ſhould engage my ſelf deeper into his ſervice. I was afraid leſt his ſtruggle with the *Louveſtein* party, as they were called, might have given him a jealouſy of liberty and of a free government. He aſſured me, it was quite the contrary: Nothing but ſuch a conſtitution could reſiſt a powerful aggreſſor long, or have the credit that was neceſſary to raiſe ſuch ſums, as a great war might require. He condemned all the late proceedings in *England* with relation to the Charters, and expreſſed his ſenſe of a legal and limited authority very fully. I told him, I was ſuch a friend to liberty, that I could not be ſatisfied with the point of religion alone, unleſs it was accompanied with the ſecurities of law. I aſked his ſenſe of the Church of *England.* He ſaid, he liked our worſhip well, and our government in the Church, as much better than parity: But he blamed our condemning the foreign Churches, as he had obſerved ſome of our Divines did. I told him, whatever ſome hotter men might ſay, all were not of that mind. When he found I was in my opinion for toleration, he ſaid, that was all he would ever deſire to bring us to, for quieting our contentions at home. He alſo promiſed to me, that he ſhould never be prevailed with to ſet up the Calviniſtical notions of the decrees of God, to which I did imagine ſome might drive him. He wiſhed, ſome of our ceremonies, ſuch as the Surplice, and the Croſs in Baptiſm, with our bowing to the Altar, might be laid aſide. I thought it neceſſary to enter with him into all theſe particulars, that ſo I might be furniſhed from his own mouth to give a full account of his ſenſe to ſome in *England*, who would expect it of me, and were diſpoſed to believe what I ſhould aſſure them of. This diſcourſe was of ſome hours continuance: And it paſt in the Princeſs's preſence. Great notice came to be taken of the free acceſs and long conferences I had with them both. I told him, it was neceſſary for his ſervice to put the fleet of *Holland* in a good condition.

I was much truſted by them.

The Prince's ſenſe of our affairs.

And

1686 And this he propoſed ſoon after to the States, who gave the hundredth penny for a fund to perfect that. I moved to them both, the writing to the Biſhop of *London*, and to the King concerning him. And, tho' the Princeſs feared it might irritate the King too much, in concluſion I perſuaded them to it.

The King, hearing of this admiſſion I had, began in two or three letters to reflect on me, as a dangerous man, whom they ought to avoid and beware of. To this no anſwer was made. Upon the ſetting up the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, ſome from *England* preſſed them to write over againſt it, and to begin a breach upon that. I told them, I thought that was no way adviſable: They could not be ſuppoſed to underſtand our laws ſo well, as to oppoſe thoſe things on their own knowledge: So that, I thought, this could not be expected by them, till ſome reſolute perſon would diſpute the authority of the Court, and bring it to an argument, and ſo to a ſolemn deciſion. I likewiſe ſaid, that I did not think every error in government would warrant a breach: If the foundations were ſtruck at, that would vary the caſe: But illegal acts in particular inſtances could not juſtify ſuch a concluſion. The Prince ſeemed ſurprized at this: For the King made me paſs for a rebel in my heart. And he now ſaw, how far I was from it. I continued on this ground to the laſt.

The Princeſs's reſolution with reſpect to the Prince.

That which fixed me in their confidence was, the liberty I took, in a private converſation with the Princeſs, to aſk her, what ſhe intended the Prince ſhould be, if ſhe came to the Crown. She, who was new to all matters of that kind, did not underſtand my meaning, but fancied that whatever accrewed to her would likewiſe accrue to him in the right of marriage. I told her, it was not ſo: And I explained King *Henry* the ſeventh's title to her, and what had paſt when Queen *Mary* married *Philip* of *Spain*. I told her, a titular Kingſhip was no acceptable thing to a man, eſpecially if it was to depend on another's life: And ſuch a nominal dignity might endanger the real one that the Prince had in *Holland*. She deſired me to propoſe a remedy. I told her, the remedy, if ſhe could bring her mind to it, was to be contented to be his wife, and to engage herſelf to him, that ſhe would give him the real authority as ſoon as it came into her hands, and endeavour effectually to get it to be legally veſted in him during life: This would lay the greateſt obligation on him poſſible, and lay the foundation of a perfect union betwen them, which had been of late a little embroiled: This would alſo give him another ſenſe of all our affairs: I aſked pardon for the preſumption of moving her in ſuch a tender point: But I ſolemnly proteſted, that no perſon living had moved me in it, or ſo much

as knew of it, or ſhould ever know of it, but as ſhe ſhould order it. I hoped, ſhe would conſider well of it: For, if ſhe once declared her mind, I hoped ſhe would never go back or retract it. I deſired her therefore to take time to think of it. She preſently anſwered me, ſhe would take no time to conſider of any thing by which ſhe could expreſs her regard and affection to the Prince; and ordered me to give him an account of all that I had laid before her, and to bring him to her, and I ſhould hear what ſhe would ſay upon it. He was that day a hunting: And next day I acquainted him with all that had paſt, and carried him to her; where ſhe in a very frank manner told him, that ſhe did not know that the laws of *England* were ſo contrary to the laws of God, as I had informed her: She did not think that the huſband was ever to be obedient to the wife: She promiſed him, he ſhould always bear rule: And ſhe aſked only, that he would obey the command of *husbands love your wives*, as ſhe ſhould do that, *wives be obedient to your husbands in all things*. From this lively introduction we engaged into a long diſcourſe of the affairs of *England*. Both ſeemed well pleaſed with me, and with all that I had ſuggeſted. But ſuch was the Prince's cold way, that he ſaid not one word to me upon it, that looked like acknowledgment. Yet he ſpoke of it to ſome about him in another ſtrain. He ſaid, he had been nine years married, and had never the confidence to preſs this matter on the Queen, which I had now brought about eaſily in a day. Ever after that he ſeemed to truſt me entirely. 1686

Complaints came daily over from *England* of all the high things that the Prieſts were every where throwing out. *Pen* the Quaker came over to *Holland*. He was a talking vain man, who had been long in the King's favour, he being the Vice-Admiral's ſon. He had ſuch an opinion of his own faculty of perſuading, that he thought none could ſtand before it: Tho' he was ſingular in that opinion: For he had a tedious luſcious way, that was not apt to overcome a man's reaſon, tho' it might tire his patience. He undertook to perſuade the Prince to come into the King's meaſures, and had two or three long audiences of him upon the ſubject: And he and I ſpent ſome hours together on it. The Prince readily conſented to a toleration of Popery, as well as of the Diſſenters, provided it were propoſed and paſſed in Parliament: And he promiſed his aſſiſtance, if there was need of it, to get it to paſs. But for the Teſts he would enter into no treaty about them. He ſaid, it was a plain betraying the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, to give them up. Nothing was left unſaid, that might move him to agree to this in the way of intereſt: The King would enter into an entire confidence with *Pen* ſent over to treat with the Prince.

1686 him, and would put his beſt friends in the chief truſts. *Pen* undertook for this ſo poſitively, that he ſeemed to believe it himſelf, or he was a great proficient in the art of diſſimulation. Many ſuſpected that he was a concealed Papiſt. It is certain, he was much with Father *Peter*, and was particularly truſted by the Earl of *Sunderland*. So, tho' he did not pretend any commiſſion for what he promiſed, yet we looked on him as a man employed. To all this the Prince anſwered, that no man was more for toleration in principle, than he was: He thought the conſcience was only ſubject to God: And as far as a general toleration, even of Papiſts, would content the King, he would concur in it heartily: But he looked on the Teſts as ſuch a real ſecurity, and indeed the only one, when the King was of another Religion, that he would join in no counſels with thoſe that intended to repeal thoſe laws that enacted them. *Pen* ſaid, the King would have all or nothing: But that, if this was once done, the King would ſecure the toleration by a ſolemn and unalterable law. To this the late repeal of the edict of *Nantes*, that was declared perpetual and irrevocable, furniſhed an anſwer that admitted of no reply. So *Pen*'s negotiation with the Prince had no effect.

He preſſed me to go over to *England*, ſince I was in principle for toleration: And he aſſured me the King would prefer me highly. I told him, ſince the Teſts muſt go with this toleration, I could never be for it. Among other diſcourſes he told me one thing, that was not accompliſhed in the way in which he had a mind I ſhould believe it would be, but had a more ſurpriſing accompliſhment. He told me a long ſeries of predictions, which, as he ſaid, he had from a man that pretended a commerce with Angels, who had foretold many things that were paſt very punctually. But he added, that in the year 1688 there would ſuch a change happen in the face of affairs as would amaze all the world. And after the Revolution, which happen'd that year, I aſked him before much company, if that was the event that was predicted. He was uneaſy at the queſtion; but did not deny what he had told me, which, he ſaid, he underſtood of the full ſettlement of the Nation upon a toleration, by which he believed all men's minds would be perfectly quieted and united.

Some Biſhops died in *England*.

Now I go from this to proſecute the recital of *Engliſh* affairs. Two eminent Biſhops died this year, *Pearſon* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and *Fell* Biſhop of *Oxford*. The firſt of theſe was in all reſpects the greateſt Divine of the age: A man of great learning, ſtrong reaſon, and of a clear judgment. He was a judicious and grave preacher, more inſtructive than affective; and a man of a ſpot-

leſs life, and of an excellent temper. His book on the Creed is among the beſt that our Church has produced. He was not active in his Dioceſe, but too remiſs and eaſy in his Epiſcopal function; and was a much better Divine than a Biſhop. He was a ſpeaking inſtance of what a great man could fall to: For his memory went from him ſo entirely, that he became a child ſome years before he died. 1686

Fell, Biſhop of *Oxford*, was a man of great ſtrictneſs in the courſe of his life, and of much devotion. His learning appears in that noble edition of St. *Cyprian* that he publiſhed. He had made great beginnings in learning before the Reſtoration: But his continued application to his employments after that ſtopt the progreſs that otherwiſe he might have made. He was made ſoon after Dean of *Chriſts-Church*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford*. He ſet himſelf to promote learning in the Univerſity, but moſt particularly in his own College, which he governed with great care: And was indeed in all reſpects a moſt exemplary man, a little too much heated in the matter of our diſputes with the Diſſenters. But, as he was among the firſt of our Clergy that apprehended the deſign of bringing in Popery, ſo he was one of the moſt zealous againſt it. He had much zeal for reforming abuſes; and managed it perhaps with too much heat, and in too peremptory a way. But we have ſo little of that among us, that no wonder if ſuch men are cenſured by thoſe who love not ſuch patterns, nor ſuch ſevere taſk-maſters.

Ward of *Salisbury* fell alſo under a loſs of memory and underſtanding: So, that be, who was both in Mathematicks and Philoſophy, and in the ſtrength of judgment and underſtanding, one of the firſt men of his time, tho' he came too late into our profeſſion to become very eminent in it, was now a great inſtance of the deſpicable weakneſs to which man can fall. The Court intended once to have named a Coadjutor for him. But, there being no precedent for that ſince the Reformation, they reſolved to ſtay till he ſhould die.

Cartwright and *Parker* promoted.

The other two Biſhopricks were leſs conſiderable: So they reſolved to fill them with the two worſt men that could be found out. *Cartwright* was promoted to *Cheſter*. He was a man of good capacity, and had made ſome progreſs in learning. He was ambitious and ſervile, cruel and boiſterous: And, by the great liberties he allowed himſelf, he fell under much ſcandal of the worſt ſort. He had ſet himſelf long to raiſe the King's authority above law; which, he ſaid, was only a method of government to which Kings might ſubmit as they pleaſed; but their authority was from God, abſolute and ſuperior to law, which they might exert, as oft as they found it neceſſary for the ends

1686 ends of government. So he was looked on as a man that would more effectually advance the design of Popery, than if he should turn over to it. And indeed, bad as he was, he never made that step, even in the most desperate state of his affairs.

The See of *Oxford* was given to Dr. *Parker*, who was a violent Independent at the time of the Restoration, with a high profession of piety in their way. But he soon changed, and struck into the highest form of the Church of *England*; and wrote many books with a strain of contempt and fury against all the Dissenters, that provoked them out of measure; of which an account was given in the history of the former reign. He had exalted the King's authority in matters of religion in so indecent a manner, that he condemned the ordinary form of saying the King was under God and Christ, as a crude and profane expression; saying, that tho' the King was indeed under God, yet he was not under Christ, but above him. Yet, not being preferred as he expected, he writ after that many books on design to raise the authority of the Church to an independance on the Civil power. There was an entertaining liveliness in all his books: But it was neither grave nor correct. He was a covetous and ambitious man; and seemed to have no other sense of religion but as a political interest, and a subject of party and faction. He seldom came to prayers, or to any exercises of devotion; and was so lifted up with pride, that he was become insufferable to all that came near him. These two men were pitched on, as the fittest instruments that could be found among all the Clergy, to betray and ruin the Church. Some of the Bishops brought to Archbishop *Sancroft* articles against them, which they desired he would offer to the King in Council, and pray that the Mandate for consecrating them might be delayed, till time were given to examine particulars. And Bishop *Lloyd* told me, that *Sancroft* promised to him not to consecrate them, till he had examined the truth of the articles; of which some were too scandalous to be repeated. Yet, when *Sancroft* saw what danger he might incur, if he were sued in a *Premunire*, he consented to consecrate them.

The Deanry of *Christs-Church*, the most important post in the University, was given to *Massey*, one of the new converts, tho' he had neither the gravity, the learning, nor the age that was suitable to such a dignity. But all was supplied by his early conversion: And it was set up for a maxim, to encourage all converts. He at first went to prayers in the Chapel. But soon after he declared himself more openly. Not long after this the President of *Magdalen* College died. That is esteemed the richest foundation in *England*, perhaps in *Europe*: For, tho' their

certain rents are but about 4 or 5000 *l.* yet it is thought that the improved value of the eſtate belonging to it is about 40000 *l.* So it was no wonder that the Prieſts ſtudied to get this endowment into their hands. 1686

They had endeavoured to break in upon the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in a matter of leſs importance, but without ſucceſs: And now they reſolved to attack *Oxford*, by a ſtrange fatality in their counſels. In all nations the privileges of Colleges and Univerſities are eſteemed ſuch ſacred things, that few will venture to diſpute theſe, much leſs to diſturb them, when their title is good, and their poſſeſſion is of a long continuance: For in theſe, not only the preſent body eſpouſes the matter; but all who have been of it, even thoſe that have only followed their ſtudy in it, think themſelves bound in honour and gratitude to aſſiſt and ſupport them. The Prieſts began where they ought to have ended, when all other things were brought about to their mind. The Jeſuits fancied, that, if they could get footing in the Univerſity, they would gain ſuch a reputation by their methods of teaching youth, that they would carry them away from the Univerſity tutors, who were certainly too remiſs. Some of the more moderate among them propoſed, that the King ſhould endow a new College in both Univerſities, which needed not have coſt above two thouſand pound a year, and in theſe ſet his Prieſts to work. But either the King ſtuck at the charge which this would put him to, or his Prieſts thought it too mean and below his dignity not to lay his hand upon thoſe great bodies: So rougher methods were reſolved on. It was reckoned, that by frightning them they might be driven to compound the matter, and deliver up one or two Colleges to them: And then, as the King ſaid ſometimes in the circle, they who taught beſt would be moſt followed.

The King's letter refuſed in *Cambridge*.

They began with *Cambridge* upon a ſofter point, which yet would have made way for all the reſt. The King ſent his letter, or *Mandamus*, to order *F. Francis*, an ignorant Benedictine Monk, to be received a Maſter of Arts; once to open the way for letting them into the degrees of the Univerſity. The truth is, the King's letters were ſcarce ever refuſed in conferring degrees: And when Embaſſadors or foreign Princes came to thoſe places, they uſually gave ſuch degrees to thoſe who belonged to them as were deſired. The *Morocco* Embaſſador's Secretary, that was a Mahometan, had that degree given him, but a great diſtinction was made between honorary degrees given to ſtrangers, who intended not to live among them, and thoſe given to ſuch as intended to ſettle among them: For every Maſter of Arts having a vote in the Convocation, they reckoned, that, if they

1686 gave this degree, they must give all that should be pretended to on the like authority: And they knew, all the King's Priests would be let in upon them, which might occasion in present great distraction and contentions among them; and in time they might grow to be a majority in the Convocation, which is their Parliament. They refused the *Mandamus* with great unanimity, and with a firmness that the Court had not expected from them. New and repeated orders, full of severe threatnings in case of disobedience, were sent to them: And this piece of raillery was every where set up, that a Papist was reckoned worse than a Mahometan, and that the King's letters were less considered than the Embassador from *Morocco* had been. Some feeble or false men of the University tried to compound the matter, by granting this degree to *F. Francis*, but enacting at the same time, that it should not be a precedent for the future for any other of the like nature. This was not given way to: For it was said, that in all such cases the obedience that was once paid would be a much stronger argument for continuing to do it, as oft as it should be desired, than any such proviso could be against it.

The Vice-Chancellor turned out by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

Upon this the Vice-Chancellor was summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission to answer this contempt. He was a very honest, but a very weak man. He made a poor defence. And it was no small reflection on that great body, that their chief Magistrate was so little able to assert their privileges, or to justify their proceedings. He was treated with great contempt by *Jefferies*. But he having acted only as the chief person of that body, all that was thonght fit to be done against him was, to turn him ont of his office. That was but an annual office, and of no profit: So this was a slight censure, chiefly when it was all that followed on such heavy threatnings. The University chose another Vice-Chancellor, who was a man of much spirit: And in his speech, which in course he made upon his being chosen, he promised, that, during his magistracy, neither religion, nor the rights of the body, should suffer by his means. The Court did not think fit to insist more upon this matter; which was too plain a confession, either of their weakness in beginning such an ill grounded attempt, or of their feebleness in letting it fall, doing so little, after they had talked so much about it. And now all people began to see, that they had taken wrong measures of the King, when they thonght that it would be easy to engage him into bold things, before he could see into the ill consequences that might attend them, but that being once engaged he would resolve to go through with them at all adventures. When I knew him,

he ſeemed to have ſet up that for a maxim, that a King when he made a ſtep was never to go back, nor to encourage faction and diſobedience by yielding to it. 1686

After this unſucceſsful attempt upon *Cambridge*, another was made upon *Oxford*, that laſted longer and had greater effects; which I ſhall ſet all down together, tho' the concluſion of this affair ran far into the year after this that I now write of. The Preſidentſhip of *Magdalen*'s was given by the election of the Fellows. So the King ſent a *Mandamus*, requiring them to chooſe one *Farmer*, an ignorant and vitious perſon, who had not one qualification that could recommend him to ſo high a poſt, beſides that of changing his religion. *Mandamus* letters had no legal authority in them: But all the great preferments of the Church being in the King's diſpoſal, thoſe who did pretend to favour, were not apt to refuſe his recommendation, leſt that ſhould be afterwards remembred to their prejudice. But now, ſince it was viſible in what channel favour was like to run, leſs regard was had to ſuch a letter. The Fellows of that houſe did upon this chooſe Dr. *Hough*, one of their body, who as he was in all reſpects a ſtatutable man, ſo he was a worthy and a firm man, not apt to be threatned out of his right. They carried their election according to their ſtatutes to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, their Viſitor: And he confirmed it. So that matter was legally ſettled. This was highly reſented at Court. It was ſaid, that, in caſe of a *Mandamus* for an undeſerving man, they ought to have repreſented the matter to the King, and ſtaid till they had his pleaſure: It was one of the chief ſervices that the Univerſities expected from their Chancellors, which made them always chooſe men of great credit at Court, that by their intereſt ſuch letters might be either prevented or recalled. The Duke of *Ormond* was now their Chancellor: But he had little credit in the Court; and was declining in his age, which made him retire into the country. It was much obſerved, that this Univerſity, that had aſſerted the King's prerogative in the higheſt ſtrains of the moſt abject flattery poſſible, both in their addreſſes, and in a wild decree they had made but three years before this, in which they had laid together a ſet of ſuch high flown maxims as muſt eſtabliſh an uncontrolable tyranny, ſhould be the firſt body of the Nation that ſhould feel the effects of it moſt ſenſibly. The cauſe was brought before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. The Fellows were firſt aſked, why they had not choſen *Farmer* in obedience to the King's letter? And to that they anſwered, by offering a liſt of many juſt exceptions againſt him. The ſubject was fruitful, and the ſcandals he had given were very publick. The Court was aſhamed of him, and inſiſted no more

An attempt to impoſe a Popiſh Preſident on *Magdalen* College.

1686 more on him: But they ſaid, that the Houſe ought to have ſhewed more reſpect to the King's letter, than to have proceeded to an election in contempt of it.

They diſobey, and are cenſured for it.

The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion took upon them to declare *Hough*'s election null, and to put the Houſe under ſuſpenſion. And, that the deſign of the Court in this matter might be carried on without the load of recommending a Papiſt, *Parker*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, was now recommended: And the Fellows were commanded to proceed to a new election in his favour. They excuſed themſelves, ſince they were bound by their oaths to maintain their ſtatutes: And by theſe, an election being once made and confirmed, they could not proceed to a new choice, till the former was annulled in ſome Court of law: Church benefices and College preferments were freeholds, and could only be judged in a Court of Record: And, ſince the King was now talking ſo much of liberty of conſcience, it was ſaid, that the forcing men to act againſt their oaths, ſeemed not to agree with thoſe profeſſions. In oppoſition to this it was ſaid, that the ſtatutes of Colleges had been always conſidered, as things that depended entirely on the King's good pleaſure; ſo that no oaths to obſerve them could bind them, when it was in oppoſition to the King's command.

1687 This did not ſatisfy the Fellows: And, tho' the King, as he went thro' *Oxford* in his progreſs in the year 1687, ſent for them, and ordered them to go preſently and chooſe *Parker* for their Preſident, in a ſtrain of language ill ſuited to the Majeſty of a crowned head, (for he treated them with foul language pronounced in a very angry tone;) yet it had no effect on them. They inſiſted ſtill on their oaths, tho' with a humility and ſubmiſſion, that they hoped would have mollified him. They continued thus firm. A ſubaltern Commiſſion was ſent from the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to finiſh the matter. Biſhop *Cartwright* was the head of this Commiſſion, as Sir *Charles Hedges* was the King's Advocate to manage the matter. *Cartwright* acted in ſo rough a manner, that it ſhewed, he was reſolved to ſacrifice all things to the King's pleaſure. It was an afflicting thing, which ſeemed to have a peculiar character of indignity in it, that this firſt act of violence committed againſt the legal poſſeſſions of the Church, was executed by one Biſhop, and done in favour of another.

And were all turned out.

The new Preſident was turned out. And, becauſe he would not deliver the keys of his Houſe, the doors were broken open: And *Parker* was put in poſſeſſion. The Fellows were required to make their ſubmiſſion, to aſk pardon for what was paſt, and

to accept of the Biſhop for their Preſident. They ſtill pleaded their oath: And were all turned out, except two that ſubmitted. So that it was expected, to ſee that Houſe ſoon ſtockt with Papiſts. The Nation, as well as the Univerſity, looked on all this proceeding with a juſt indignation. It was thought an open piece of robbery and burglary, when men, authorized by no legal commiſſion, came and forcibly turned men out of their poſſeſſion and freehold. This agreed ill with the profeſſions that the King was ſtill making, that he would maintain the Church of *England* as by law eſtabliſhed: For this ſtruck at the whole eſtate, and all the temporalties of the Church. It did ſo inflame the Church party and the Clergy, that they ſent over very preſſing meſſages upon it to the Prince of *Orange*, deſiring that he would interpoſe, and eſpouſe the concerns of the Church; and that he would break upon it, if the King would not redreſs it. This I did not ſee in their letters. Thoſe were of ſuch importance, ſince the writing them might have been carried to high treaſon, that the Prince did not think fit to ſhew them. But he often ſaid, he was preſſed by many of thoſe, who were afterwards his bittereſt enemies, to engage in their quarrel. When that was communicated to me, I was ſtill of opinion, that, tho' this was indeed an act of deſpotical and arbitrary power, yet I did not think it ſtruck at the whole: So that it was not in my opinion a lawful caſe of reſiſtance: And I could not concur in a quarrel occaſioned by ſuch a ſingle act, tho' the precedent ſet by it might go to every thing. 1687

Now the King broke with the Church of *England*. And, as he was apt to go warmly upon every provocation, he gave himſelf ſuch liberties in diſcourſe upon that ſubject, that it was plain, all the ſervices they had done him, both in oppoſing the Excluſion, and upon his firſt acceſſion to the Crown, were forgot. Agents were now found out, to go among the Diſſenters, to perſuade them to accept of the favour the King intended them, and to concur with him in his deſigns.

The Diſſenters were divided into four main bodies. The Preſbyterians, the Independents, the Anabaptiſts, and the Quakers. The two former had not the viſible diſtinction of different rites: And their depreſſed condition made, that the diſpute about the conſtitution and ſubordination of Churches, which had broken them when power was in their hands, was now out of doors: And they were looked on as one body, and were above three parts in four of all the Diſſenters. The main difference between theſe was, that the Preſbyterians ſeemed reconcilable to the Church; for they loved Epiſcopal Ordination and a Liturgy, and upon ſome amendments ſeemed diſpoſed to come into the Church; The Diſſenters were much courted by the King.

1687 and they liked the civil government, and limited Monarchy. But as the Independents were for a Commonwealth in the State, ſo they put all the power of the Church in the people, and thought that their choice was an ordination: Nor did they approve of ſet forms of worſhip. Both were enemies to this high prerogative, that the King was aſſuming, and were very averſe to Popery. They generally were of a mind, as to the accepting the King's favour; but were not inclined to take in the Papiſts into a full toleration; much leſs could they be prevailed on to concur in taking off the Teſts. The Anabaptiſts were generally men of vertue, and of an univerſal charity: And as they were far from being in any treating terms with the Church of *England*, ſo nothing but an univerſal toleration could make them capable of favour or employments. The Quakers had ſet up ſuch a viſible diſtinction in the matter of the Hat, and ſaying Thou and Thee, that they had all as it were a badge fixed on them: So they were eaſily known. Among theſe *Penn* had the greateſt credit, as he had a free acceſs at Court. To all theſe it was propoſed, that the King deſigned the ſettling the minds of the different parties in the Nation, and the enriching it by enacting a perpetual law, that ſhould be paſſed with ſuch ſolemnities as had accompanied the *Magna Charta*; ſo that not only penal laws ſhould be for ever repealed, but that publick employments ſhould be opened to men of all perſuaſions, without any teſts or oaths limiting them to one ſort or party of men. There were many meetings among the leading men of the ſeveral ſects.

Debates and reſolutions among them.

It was viſible to all men, that the courting them at this time was not from any kindneſs or good opinion that the King had of them. They had left the Church of *England*, becauſe of ſome forms in it, that they thought looked too like the Church of *Rome*. They needed not to be told, that all the favour expected from Popery was once to bring it in, under the colour of a general toleration, till it ſhould be ſtrong enough to ſet on a general perſecution: And therefore, as they could not engage themſelves to ſupport ſuch an arbitrary prerogative as was now made uſe of, ſo neither ſhould they go into any engagements for Popery. Yet they reſolved to let the points of controverſy alone, and leave thoſe to the management of the Clergy, who had a legal bottom to ſupport them. They did believe, that this indignation againſt the Church party, and this kindneſs to them were things too unnatural to laſt long. So the more conſiderable among them reſolved not to ſtand at too great a diſtance from the Court, nor to provoke the King ſo far, as to give him cauſe to think they were irreconcilable to him, leſt

they ſhould provoke him to make up matters on any terms with the Church party. On the other hand, they reſolved not to provoke the Church party, or by any ill behaviour of theirs drive them into a reconciliation with the Court. It is true, *Pen* ſhewed both a ſcorn of the Clergy, and virulent ſpite againſt them, in which he had not many followers. 1687

The King was ſo fond of his Army, that he ordered them to encamp on *Hounſlow-Heath*, and to be exerciſed all the ſummer long. This was done with great magnificence, and at a vaſt expence, but that which abated the King's joy in ſeeing ſo brave an Army about him was, that it appeared viſibly, and on many occaſions, that his ſoldiers had as great an averſion to his religion, as his other ſubjects had expreſſed. The King had a Chapel in his camp, where Maſs was ſaid: But ſo few went to it, and thoſe few were treated by the reſt with ſo much ſcorn, that it was not eaſy to bear it. It was very plain, that ſuch an Army was not to be truſted in any quarrel in which religion was concerned. The Army encamped at *Hounſlow-Heath*.

The few Papiſts that were in the Army were an unequal match to the reſt. The heats about religion were like to breed quarrels: And it was once very near a mutiny. It was thought, that theſe encampments had a good effect on the Army. They encouraged one another, and vowed they would ſtick together, and never forſake their religion. It was no ſmall comfort to them, to ſee they had ſo few Papiſts among them; which might have been better diſguiſed at a diſtance, than when they were all in view. A reſolution was formed upon this at Court to make recruits in *Ireland*, and to fill them up with *Iriſh* Papiſts; which ſucceeded as ill as all their other deſigns did, as ſhall be told in its proper place.

The King had for above a year managed his correſpondence with *Rome* ſecretly. But now the Prieſts reſolved to drive the matter paſt reconciling. The correſpondence with that Court, while there was none at *Rome* with a publick character, could not be decently managed, but by Cardinal *Howard*'s means. He was no friend to the Jeſuits; nor did he like their over driving matters. So they moved to the King to ſend an Embaſſador to *Rome*. This was high treaſon by law. *Jefferies* was very uneaſy in it. But the King's power of pardoning had been much argued in the Earl of *Danby*'s caſe, and was believed to be one of the unqueſtionable rights of the Crown. So he knew a ſafe way in committing crimes; which was, to take out pardons as ſoon as he had done illegal things. An Embaſſador ſent to *Rome*.

The King's choice of *Palmer*, Earl of *Caſtlemain*, was liable to great exception. For, as he was believed to be a Jeſuit, ſo he

1687 he was certainly as hot and eager in all high notions, as any of them could be. The *Romans* were amazed, when they heard that he was to be the perſon. His misfortunes were ſo eminent and publick, that they, who take their meaſures much from aſtrology, and from the characters they think are fixed on men, thought it ſtrange to ſee ſuch a negotiation put in the hands of ſo unlucky a man. It was managed with great ſplendor, and at a vaſt charge.

He managed every thing unhappily.

He was unhappy in every ſtep of it. He diſputed with a nice ſort of affectation every punctilio of the ceremonial. And, when the day ſet for his audience came, there happen'd to be ſuch an extraordinary thunder, and ſuch deluges of rain, as diſgraced the ſhew, and heightned the opinion of the ominouſneſs of this Embaſſy. After this was over, he had yet many diſputes with relation to the ceremony of viſits. The points he preſſed were, firſt the making *P. Renaldi* of *Eſte*, the Queen's uncle, a Cardinal; in which he prevailed: And it was the only point in which he ſucceeded. He tried, if it was poſſible, to get Father *Petre* to be made a Cardinal. But the Pope was known to be intractable in that point, having fixed it as a maxim not to raiſe any of that Order to the Purple. Count *Mansfield* told me, as he came from *Spain*, that our Court had preſſed the Court of *Spain* to join their intereſt with ours at *Rome* for his promotion. They gave it out, that he was a *German* by birth, and undertook that he ſhould ſerve the *Auſtrian* intereſt. They alſo promiſed the Court of *Madrid* great aſſiſtance in other matters of the laſt importance, if they would procure this: Adding, that this would prove the moſt effectual means for the converſion of *England*. Upon which the Count told me, he was aſked concerning Father *Petre*. He, who had gone often to *Spain* thro' *England*, happen'd to know that Jeſuit; and told them, he was no *German*, but an *Engliſhman*. They tried their ſtrength at *Rome* for his promotion, but with no ſucceſs.

The Embaſſador at *Rome* preſſed Cardinal *Cibo* much to put an end to the differences between the Pope and the King of *France*, in the matter of the franchiſes, that it might appear that the Pope had a due regard to a King that had extirpated hereſy, and to another King who was endeavouring to bring other Kingdoms into the ſheepfold. What muſt the world ſay, if two ſuch Kings, like whom no ages had produced any, ſhould be neglected and ill uſed at *Rome* for ſome punctilios? He added, that, if theſe matters were ſettled, and if the Pope would enter into concert with them, they would ſet about the deſtroying hereſy every where, and would begin with the *Dutch*; upon whom, he ſaid, they would fall without any declaration

of war, treating them as a company of rebels and pirates, who had not a right, as free States and Princes have, to a formal denunciation of war. *Cibo*, who was then Cardinal Patron, was amazed at this, and gave notice of it to the Imperial Cardinals. They ſent it to the Emperor, and he ſignified it to the Prince of *Orange*. It is certain, that one Prince's treating with another to invade a third gives a right to that third Prince to defend himſelf, and to prevent thoſe deſigns. And, ſince what an Embaſſador ſays is underſtood as ſaid by the Prince whoſe character he bears, this gave the States a right to make uſe of all advantages that might offer themſelves. But they had yet better grounds to juſtify their proceedings, as will appear in the ſequel. 1687

When the Embaſſador ſaw that his remonſtrances to the Cardinal Patron were ineffectual, he demanded an audience of the Pope. And there he lamented, that ſo little regard was had to two ſuch great Kings. He reflected on the Pope, as ſhewing more zeal about temporal concerns than the ſpiritual; which, he ſaid, gave ſcandal to all Chriſtendom. He concluded, that, ſince he ſaw interceſſions made in his maſter's name were ſo little conſidered, he would make haſte home: To which the Pope made no other anſwer, but, *lei è padrone*, he might do as he pleaſed. But he ſent one after the Embaſſador, as he withdrew from the audience, to let him know, how much he was offended with his diſcourſes, that he received no ſuch treatment from any perſon, and that the Embaſſador was to expect no other private audience. Cardinal *Howard* did what he could to ſoften matters. But the Embaſſador was ſo entirely in the hands of the Jeſuits, that he had little regard to any thing that the Cardinal ſuggeſted. And ſo he left *Rome* after a very expenſeful, but inſignificant Embaſſy.

The Pope ſent in return a Nuntio, *Dada*, now a Cardinal. He was highly civil in all his deportment. But it did not appear that he was a man of great depth, nor had he power to do much. The Pope was a jealous and fearful man, who had no knowledge of any ſort, but in the matters of the revenue, and of money: For he was deſcended from a family, that was become rich by dealing in banks. And, in that reſpect, it was a happineſs to the Papacy that he was advanced: For it was ſo involved in vaſt debts by a ſucceſſion of many waſtful Pontificates, that his frugal management came in good time to ſet thoſe matters in better order. It was known, that he did not ſo much as underſtand *Latin*. I was told at *Rome*, that when he was made Cardinal, he had a maſter to teach him to pronounce that little *Latin* that he had occaſion for at high

Pope *Innocent*'s character.

1687 Maſſes. He underſtood nothing of Divinity. I remembred what a Jeſuit at *Venice* had ſaid to me, whom I met ſometimes at the *French* Embaſſadors there, when we were talking of the Pope's infallibility: He ſaid, that being in *Rome* during *Altieri's* Pontificate, who lived ſome years in a perfect dotage, he confeſſed it required a very ſtrong faith to believe him infallible: But he added pleaſantly, the harder it was to believe it, the act of faith was the more meritorious. The ſubmitting to Pope *Innocent's* infalibillity was a very implicit act of faith, when all appearances were ſo ſtrongly againſt it. The Pope hated the Jeſuits, and expreſſed a great eſteem for the *Janſeniſts*; not that he underſtood the ground of the difference, but becauſe they were enemies to the Jeſuits, and were ill looked on by the Court of *France*. He underſtood the buſineſs of the Regale a little better, it relating to the temporalties of the Church. And therefore he took all thoſe under his protection, who refuſed to ſubmit to it. Things ſeemed to go far towards a breach between the two Courts: Eſpecially after the articles, which were ſet out by the Aſſembly of the Clergy of *France* in the year 1682, in favour of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſile*, in oppoſition to the Papal pretenſiõns. The King of *France*, who was not accuſtomed to be treated in ſuch a manner, ſent many threatning meſſages to *Rome*, which alarmed the Cardinals ſo much, that they tried to mollify the Pope. But it was reported at *Rome*, that he made a noble anſwer to them, when they aſked him, what he could do, if ſo great a King ſhould ſend an Army to fall upon him? He ſaid, he could ſuffer Martyrdom.

Diſputes about the franchiſes.

He was ſo little terrified with all thoſe threatnings, that he had ſet on foot a diſpute about the franchiſes. In *Rome* all thoſe of a Nation put themſelves under the protection of their Embaſſador, and are upon occaſions of ceremony his Cortege. Theſe were uſually lodged in his neighbourhood, pretending that they belonged to him. So that they exempted themſelves from the orders and juſtice of *Rome*, as a part of the Embaſſador's family. And that extent of houſes or ſtreets in which they lodged was called the franchiſes; for in it they pretended they were not ſubject to the government of *Rome*. This had made theſe houſes to be well filled, not only with thoſe of that Nation, but with ſuch *Romans* as deſired to be covered with that protection. *Rome* was now much ſunk from what it had been: So that theſe franchiſes were become ſo great a part of the City, that the privileges of thoſe that lived in them were giving every day new diſturbances to the courſe of juſtice, and were the common ſanctuaries of criminals. So the Pope reſolved to reduce the privileges of Embaſſadors to their own families,

within their own palaces. He firſt dealt with the Emperor's, and the King of *Spain*'s Embaſſadors: And brought them to quit their pretenſions to the franchiſes, but with this proviſion, that, if the *French* did not the ſame, they would return to them. So now the Pope was upon forcing the *French* to ſubmit to the ſame methods. The Pope ſaid, his Nuntio or Legate at *Paris* had no privilege but for his family, and for thoſe that lived in his palace. The *French* rejected this with great ſcorn. They ſaid, the Pope was not to pretend to an equality with ſo great a King. He was the common Father of Chriſtendom: So thoſe who came thither, as to the center of unity, were not to be put on the level with the Embaſſadors that paſſed between Sovereign Princes. Upon this the King of *France* pretended, that he would maintain all the privileges and franchiſes that his Embaſſadors were poſſeſſed of. This was now growing up to be the matter of a new quarrel, and of freſh diſputes, between thoſe Courts. 1687

The *Engliſh* Embaſſador being ſo entirely in the *French* intereſts, and in the confidence of the Jeſuits, he was much leſs conſidered at *Rome*, than he thought he ought to have been. The truth is, the *Romans*, as they have very little ſenſe of religion, ſo they conſidered the reduction of *England* as a thing impracticable. They ſaw no proſpect of any profits like to ariſe in any of their offices by bulls or compoſitions: And this was the notion that they had of the converſion of Nations, chiefly as it brought wealth and advantages to them.

I will conclude all that I ſhall ſay in this place of the affairs of *Rome* with a lively ſaying of Queen *Chriſtina* to my ſelf at *Rome*. She ſaid, it was certain that the Church was governed by the immediate care and providence of God: For none of the four Popes that ſhe had known ſince ſhe came to *Rome* had common ſenſe. She added, they were the firſt and the laſt of men. She had given her ſelf entirely for ſome years to the ſtudy of Aſtrology: And upon that ſhe told me, the King would live yet many years, but added that he would have no ſon. *Queen Chriſtina's character of ſome Popes.*

I come, from the relation of this Embaſſade to *Rome*, to give an account of other negotiations. The King found, *Skelton* managed his affairs in *Holland* with ſo little ſenſe, and gave ſuch an univerſal diſtaſte, that he reſolved to change him. But he had been ſo ſervilely addicted to all his intereſts, that he would not diſcourage him. And, becauſe all his concerns with the Court of *France* were managed with *Barillon* the *French* Embaſſador at *London*, he was ſent to *Paris*.

The King found out one *White*, an *Iriſhman*, who had been long a ſpy of the *Spaniards*. And when they did not pay his appointments *D'Albeville ſent Envoy to Holland.*

1687 appointments well, he accepted of the title of Marquis *d'Alheville* from them in part of payment. And then he turned to the *French*, who paid their tools more punctually. But, tho' he had learned the little arts of corrupting Under-Secretaries, and had found out ſome ſecrets by that way, which made him paſs for a good ſpy; yet, when he came to negotiate matters in a higher form, he proved a moſt contemptible and ridiculous man, who had not the common appearances either of decency or of truth.

I was upon the King's preſſing inſtances forbid to ſee the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*.

He had orders, before he entred upon buſineſs with the Prince or Princeſs, to aſk of them, not only to forbid me the Court, but to promiſe to ſee me no more. The King had writ two violent letters againſt me to the Princeſs. She truſted me ſo far, that ſhe ſhewed them to me; and was pleaſed to anſwer them according to the hints that I ſuggeſted. But now it was put ſo home, that this was to be complied with, or a breach was immediately to follow upon it. So this was done. And they were both ſo true to their promiſe, that I ſaw neither the one nor the other till a few days before the Prince ſet ſail for *England*. The Prince ſent *Dykvelt* and *Halewyn* conſtantly to me, with all the advertiſements that came from *England*. So I had the whole ſecret of *Engliſh* affairs ſtill brought me.

Dykvelt ſent to *England*.

That which was firſt reſolved on was, to ſend *Dykvelt* to *England* with directions how to talk with all ſorts of people: To the King, to thoſe of the Church, and to the Diſſenters. I was ordered to draw his inſtructions, which he followed very cloſely. He was ordered to expoſtulate decently, but firmly, with the King upon the methods he was purſuing, both at home and abroad; and to ſee, if it was poſſible to bring him to a better underſtanding with the Prince. He was alſo to aſſure all the Church party, that the Prince would ever be firm to the Church of *England*, and to all our national intereſts. The Clergy, by the methods in which they correſponded with him, which I ſuppoſe was chiefly by the Biſhop of *London*'s means, had deſired him to uſe all his credit with the Diſſenters, to keep them from going into the meaſures of the Court; and ſent over very poſitive aſſurances, that, in caſe they ſtood firm now to the common intereſt, they would in a better time come into a comprehenſion of ſuch as could be brought into a conjunction with the Church, and to a toleration of the reſt. They had alſo deſired him to ſend over ſome of the preachers, whom the violence of the former years had driven to *Holland*; and to prevail effectually with them to oppoſe any falſe brethren, whom the Court might gain to deceive the reſt: Which the Prince had done. And to many of them he gave ſuch preſents, as ena-

bled them to pay their debts, and to undertake the journey. *Dykvelt* had orders to preſs them all to ſtand off; and not to be drawn in by any promiſes the Court might make them, to aſſiſt them in the elections of Parliament. He was alſo inſtructed to aſſure them of a full toleration; and likewiſe of a comprehenſion, if poſſible, whenſoever the Crown ſhould devolve on the Princeſs. He was to try all ſorts of people, and to remove the ill characters that had been given them of the Prince: For the Church party was made believe, he was a Preſbyterian, and the Diſſenters were poſſeſſed with a conceit of his being arbitrary, and imperious. Some had even the impudence to give out, that he was a Papiſt. But the ill terms in which the King and he lived put an end to thoſe reports at that time. Yet they were afterwards taken up, and managed with much malice to create a jealouſy of him. *Dykvelt* was not gone off, when *D'Albeville* came to the *Hague*. He did all he could to divert the journey: For he knew well *Dykvelt*'s way of penetrating into ſecrets, he himſelf having been often employed by him, and well paid for ſeveral diſcoveries made by his means. 1687

The negotiations between the King and the Prince.

D'Albeville aſſured the Prince and the States, that the King was firmly reſolved to maintain his alliance with them: That his naval preparations were only to enable him to preſerve the peace of *Europe:* For he ſeemed much concerned to find, that the States had ſuch apprehenſions of theſe, that they were putting themſelves in a condition not to be ſurprized by them. In his ſecret negotiations with the Prince and Princeſs, he began with very poſitive aſſurances, that the King intended never to wrong them in their right of ſucceſſion: That all that the King was now engaged in was only, to aſſert the rights of the Crown, of which they would reap the advantage in their turn: The Teſt was a reſtraint on the King's liberty, and therefore he was reſolved to have it repealed: And he was alſo reſolved to lay aſide all penal laws in matters of religion: They ſaw too well the advantages that *Holland* had by the liberty of conſcience that was ſettled among them, to oppoſe him in this particular: The King could not abandon men, becauſe they were of his own religion, who had ſerved him well, and had ſuffered only on his account, and on the account of their conſcience. He told them, how much the King condemned the proceedings in *France*; and that he ſpoke of that King as a poor bigot, who was governed by the Archbiſhop of *Paris* and *Madame de Maintenon*, whereas he knew *Pere de la Chaiſe* had oppoſed the perſecution as long as he could. But the King hated thoſe maxims: And therefore he received the Refugees very kindly, and

1687 had given orders for a collection of charity over the kingdom for their relief.

This was the ſubſtance, both of what *D'Albeville* ſaid to the Prince and Princeſs, and of what the King himſelf ſaid to *Dykvelt* upon thoſe ſubjects. At that time the King thought, he had made a majority of the Houſe of Commons ſure: And ſo he ſeemed reſolved to have a ſeſſion of Parliament in *April*. And of this *D'Albeville* gave the Prince poſitive aſſurances. But the King had reckoned wrong: For many of thoſe, who had been with him in his cloſet, were either ſilent, or had anſwered him in ſuch reſpectful words, that he took theſe for promiſes. But, when they were more ſtrictly examined, the King ſaw his error: And ſo the ſitting of the Parliament was put off.

To all theſe propoſitions the Prince and the Princeſs, and *Dykvelt* in their name, anſwered, that they were fixed in a principle againſt perſecution in matters of conſcience: But they could not think it reaſonable to let Papiſts in to ſit in Parliament, or to ſerve in publick truſts: The reſtleſs ſpirit of ſome of that religion, and of their Clergy in particular, ſhewed they could not be at quiet till they were maſters: And the power they had over the King's ſpirit, in making him forget what he had promiſed upon his coming to the Crown, gave but too juſt a ground of jealouſy: It appeared, that they could not bear any reſtraints, nor remember paſt ſervices longer than thoſe who did them could comply in every thing with that which was deſired of them: They thought, the prerogative as limited by law was great enough: And they deſired no ſuch exorbitant power as ſhould break thro' all laws: They feared, that ſuch an attack upon the conſtitution might rather drive the Nation into a Commonwealth: They thought the ſureſt, as well as the beſt, way was, to govern according to law: The Church of *England* had given the King ſignal proofs of their affection and fidelity; and had complied with him in every thing, till he came to touch them in ſo tender a point, as the legal ſecurity they had for their religion: Their ſticking to that was very natural: And the King's taking that ill from them was liable to great cenſure: The King, if he pleaſed to improve the advantages he had in his hand, might be both eaſy and great at home, and the arbiter of all affairs abroad: But he was prevailed on by the importunities of ſome reſtleſs Prieſts, to embroil all his affairs to ſerve their ends: They could never conſent to aboliſh thoſe laws, which were the beſt, and now the only fence of that religion, which they themſelves believed true. This was the ſubſtance of their anſwers to all the preſſing meſſages that were often repeated by *D'Albeville*. And upon

this occaſion the Princeſs ſpoke ſo often and with ſuch firmneſs to him, that he ſaid, ſhe was more intractable on thoſe matters than the Prince himſelf. *Dykvelt* told me, he argued often with the King on all theſe topicks: But he found him obſtinately fixed in his reſolution. He ſaid, he was the head of the family, and the Prince ought to comply with him; but that he had always ſet himſelf againſt him. *Dykvelt* anſwered, that the Prince could not carry his compliance ſo far, as to give up his religion to his pleaſure; but that in all other things he had ſhewed a very ready ſubmiſſion to his will: The peace of *Nimeguen*, of which the King was guarantee, was openly violated in the article relating to the principality of *Orange:* Yet, ſince the King did not think fit to eſpouſe his intereſts in that matter, he had been ſilent, and had made no proteſtations upon it: So the King ſaw, that he was ready to be ſilent under ſo great an injury, and to ſacrifice his own concerns, rather than diſturb the King's affairs. To this the King made no anſwer. The Earl of *Sunderland*, and the reſt of the Miniſtry, preſſed *Dykvelt* mightily, to endeavour to bring the Prince to concur with the King. And they engaged to him, that, if that were once ſettled, the King would go into cloſe meaſures with him againſt *France*. But he put an end to all thoſe propoſitions. He ſaid, the Prince could never be brought to hearken to them. 1687

A letter writ by the Jeſuits of *Liege* that diſcovers the King's deſigns.

At this time a great diſcovery was made of the intentions of the Court by the Jeſuits of *Liege*, who in a letter, that they wrote to their brethren in *Friburg* in *Switzerland*, gave them a long account of the affairs of *England*. They told them, that the King was received into a communication of the merits of their Order: That he expreſſed great joy at his becoming a ſon of the ſociety; and profeſſed, he was as much concerned in all their intereſts, as in his own: He wiſhed, they could furniſh him with many Prieſts to aſſiſt him in the converſion of the Nation, which he was reſolved to bring about, or to die a Martyr in endeavouring it; and that he would rather ſuffer death for carrying on that, than live ever ſo long and happy without attempting it. He ſaid, he muſt make haſte in this work: Otherwiſe, if he ſhould die before he had compaſſed it, he would leave them worſe than he found them. They added, among many particulars, that, when one of them kneeled down to kiſs his hand, he took him up, and ſaid, ſince he was a Prieſt, he ought rather to kneel to him, and to kiſs his hand. And, when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was an heretick, he ſaid, God would provide an heir.

The

1687 The Jeſuits at *Friburg* ſhewed this about. And one of the Miniſters, on whom they were taking ſome pains, and of whom they had ſome hopes, had got a ſight of it. And he obtained leave to take a copy of it, pretending that he would make good uſe of it. He ſent a copy of it to *Heidegger*, the famous Profeſſor of Divinity at *Zurich*: And from him I had it. Other copies of it were likewiſe ſent, both from *Geneva* and *Switzerland*. One of thoſe was ſent to *Dykvelt*; who upon that told the King, that his Prieſts had other deſigns, and were full of thoſe hopes, that gave jealouſies which could not be eaſily removed: And he named the *Leige* letter, and gave the King a copy of it. He promiſed to him, he would read it; and he would ſoon ſee, whether it was an impoſture made to make them more odious, or not. But he never ſpoke of it to him afterwards. This *Dykvelt* thought, was a confeſſing that the letter was no forgery. Thus *Dykvelt*'s negotiation at *London*, and *D'Albeville*'s at the *Hague*, ended without any effect on either ſide.

Dykvelt's conduct in *England*.

But, if his treating with the King was without ſucceſs, his management of his inſtructions was more proſperous. He deſired, that thoſe who wiſhed well to their religion and their country would meet together, and concert ſuch advices and advertiſements, as might be fit for the Prince to know, that he might govern himſelf by them. The Marquis of *Halifax*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Devonſhire*, *Danby*, and *Nottingham*, the Lords *Mordaunt*, and *Lumley*, *Herbert* and *Ruſſel* among the Admirals, and the Biſhop of *London*, were the perſons chiefly truſted. And upon the advices that were ſent over by them the Prince governed all his motions. They met often at the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s. And there they concerted matters, and drew the declaration on which they adviſed the Prince to engage.

A Proclamation of indulgence ſent to *Scotland*.

In this ſtate things lay for ſome months. But the King reſolved to go on in his deſign of breaking thro' the laws. He ſent a Proclamation of indulgence to *Scotland* in *February*. It ſet forth in the preamble, that the King had an abſolute power veſted in him, ſo that all his ſubjects were bound to obey him without reſerve: By vertue of this power, the King repealed all the ſevere laws that were paſt in his Grandfather's name during his infancy: He with that took off all diſabilities that were by any law laid on his Roman Catholick ſubjects, and made them capable of all employments and benefices: He alſo ſlackned all the laws made againſt the moderate Preſbyterians: And promiſed he would never force his ſubjects by any invincible neceſſity to change their religion: And he repealed all

laws impoſing teſts on thoſe who held any employments: In- 1687
ſtead of which he ſet up a new one, by which they ſhonld renounce the principles of rebellion, and ſhonld oblige themſelves to maintain the King in this his abſolnte power againſt all mortals.

This was publiſhed in *Scotland*, to make way for that which followed it ſome months after in *England*. It was ſtrangely drawn, and liable to mnch juſt cenſure. The King by this raiſed his power to a pitch, not only of ſuſpending, but of repealing laws, and of enacting new ones by his own authority. His claiming an abſolute power, to which all men were bound to obey without reſerve, was an invaſion of all that was either legal or ſacred. The only precedent that could be found for ſuch an extraordinary pretenſion, was in the declaration that *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain* ſent by the Duke of *Alva* into the *Netherlands*, in which he fonnded all the anthority that he committed to that bloody man on the abſolute power that reſted in him. Yet in this the King went further than *Philip*, who did not pretend that the ſubjects were bonnd to obey without reſerve. Every Prince that believes the trnth of religion mnſt confeſs, that there are reſerves in the obedience of their ſubjects, in caſe their commands ſhould be contrary to the laws of God. The requiring all perſons that ſhould be capable of employments to ſwear to maintain this, was to make them feel their ſlavery too ſenſibly. The King's promiſing to uſe *no invincible neceſſity* to force his ſubjects to change their religion, ſhewed that he allowed himſelf a very large reſerve in this grace that he promiſed his ſubjects; tho' he allowed them none in their obedience. The laws that had paſſed during King *James*'s minority had been often ratified by himſelf after he was of age. And they had received many ſnbſeqnent confirmations in the ſucceeding reigns; and one in the King's own reign. And the teſt that was now taken away was paſt by the preſent King, when he repreſented his brother. Some took alſo notice of the word *moderate Presbyterians*, as very ambignons.

Which was much cenſured.

The Court finding that ſo many objections lay againſt this Proclamation, (as indeed it ſeemed penned on pnrpoſe to raiſe new jealonſies,) let it fall; and ſent down another ſome months after that more cautionſly worded; only abſolute power was ſo dear to them, that it was ſtill aſſerted in the new one. By it, full liberty was granted to all Preſbyterians to ſet up Conventicles in their own way. They did all accept of it without pretending any ſcruples. And they magnified this, as an extraordinary ſtroke of Providence, that a Prince, from whom they expected an encreaſe of the ſeverities nnder which the laws had bronght them, ſhonld thns of a ſudden allow them ſuch an un-

1687 confined liberty. But they were not ſo blind, as not to ſee what was aimed at by it. They made addreſſes upon it full of acknowledgments, and of proteſtations of loyalty. Yet, when ſome were ſent among them, preſſing them to diſpoſe all their party to concur with the King in taking away the teſts and penal laws, they anſwered them only in cold and general words.

A declaration for toleration in *England.*

In *April* the King ſet out a declaration of toleration and liberty of conſcience for *England.* But it was drawn up in much more modeſt terms, than the *Scottiſh* Proclamation had been. In the preamble, the King expreſſed his averſion to perſecution on the account of religion, and the neceſſity that he found of allowing his ſubjects liberty of conſcience, in which he did not doubt of the concurrence of his Parliament: He renewed his promiſe of maintaining the Church of *England*, as it was by law eſtabliſhed: But with this he ſuſpended all penal and ſanguinary laws in matters of religion: And, ſince the ſervice of all his ſubjects was due to him by the laws of nature, he declared them all equally capable of employments, and ſuppreſſed all oaths or teſts that limited this: In concluſion, he promiſed he would maintain all his ſubjects in all their properties, and particularly in the poſſeſſion of the Abbey lands.

This gave great offence to all true patriots, as well as to the whole Church party. The King did now aſſume a power of repealing laws by his own authority: For tho' he pretended only to ſuſpend them, yet no limitation was ſet to this ſuſpenſion: So it amounted to a repeal, the laws being ſuſpended for all time to come. The preamble, that pretended ſo much love and charity, and that condemned perſecution, ſounded ſtrangely in the mouth of a Popiſh Prince. The King's ſaying that he did not doubt of the Parliament's concurring with him in this matter ſeemed ridiculous: For it was viſible by all the prorogations, that the King was but too well aſſured, that the Parliament would not concur with him in it. And the promiſe to maintain the ſubjects in their poſſeſſions of the Abbey lands, looked as if the deſign of ſetting up Popery was thought very near being effected, ſince otherwiſe there was no need of mentioning any ſuch thing.

Addreſſes made upon it.

Upon this a new ſet of addreſſes went round the Diſſenters. And they, who had ſo long reproached the Church of *England*, as too courtly in their ſubmiſſions and flatteries, ſeemed now to vie with them in thoſe abject ſtrains. Some of them, being penned by perſons whom the Court had gained, contained ſevere reflections on the Clergy, and on their proceedings. They magnified the King's mercy and favour, and made great proteſtations of fidelity and gratitude. Many promiſed to endea-

vour, that ſuch perſons ſhould be choſen to ſerve in Parliament, as ſhould concur with the King in the enacting what he now granted ſo graciouſly. Few concurred in thoſe addreſſes: And the perſons that brought them up were mean and inconſiderable. Yet the Court was lifted up with this. The King and his Prieſts were delighted with theſe addreſſes out of meaſure: And they ſeemed to think that they had gained the Nation, and had now conquered thoſe who were hitherto their moſt irreconcilable enemies. The King made the cruelty of the Church of *England* the common ſubject of diſcourſe. He reproached them for ſetting on ſo often a violent perſecution of the Diſſenters. He ſaid, he had intended to have ſet on this toleration ſooner; but that he was reſtrained by ſome of them, who had treated with him, and had undertaken to ſhew favour to thoſe of his religion, provided they might be ſtill ſuffered to vex the Diſſenters. He named the perſons that had made thoſe propoſitions to him. In which he ſuffered much in his honour: For as the perſons denied the whole thing, ſo the freedom of diſcourſe in any ſuch treaty ought not to have been made uſe of to defame them. 1687

The King's indignation againſt the Church party.

But, to carry this further, and to give a publick and an odious proof of the rigour of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, the King ordered an enquiry to be made into all the vexatious ſuits into which Diſſenters had been brought in theſe Courts, and into all the compoſitions that they had been forced to make to redeem themſelves from further trouble; which, as was ſaid, would have brought a ſcandalous diſcovery of all the ill practices of thoſe Courts. For the uſe that many that belonged to them had made of the laws with relation to the Diſſenters, was, to draw preſents from ſuch of them as could make them; threatning them with a proceſs in caſe they failed to do that, and upon their doing it leaving them at full liberty to neglect the laws as much as they pleaſed. It was hoped at Court, that this fury againſt the Church would have animated the Diſſenters to turn upon the Clergy with ſome of that fierceneſs, with which they themſelves had been lately treated. Some few of the hotter of the Diſſenters anſwered their expectations. Angry ſpeeches and virulent books were publiſhed. Yet theſe were diſowned by the wiſer men among them: And the Clergy, by a general agreement, made no anſwer to them. So that the matter was let fall, to the great grief of the Popiſh party. Some of the Biſhops, that were gained by the Court, carried their compliance to a ſhameful pitch: For they ſet on addreſſes of thanks to the King for the promiſe he had made in the late declaration of maintaining the Church of *England*; tho' it was viſible that

1687 that the intent of it was to deſtroy the Church. Some few were drawn into this. But the Biſhop of *Oxford* had ſo ill ſucceſs in his Dioceſe, that he got but one ſingle Clergyman to concur with him in it. Some fooliſh men retained ſtill their old peeviſhneſs. But the far greater part of the Clergy began to open their eyes, and ſee how they had been engaged by ill meaning men, who were now laying off the maſk, into all the fury that had been driven on for many years by a Popiſh party. And it was often ſaid, that, if ever God ſhould deliver them out of the preſent diſtreſs, they would keep up their domeſtick quarrels no more, which were ſo viſibly and ſo artfully managed by our enemies to make us devour one another, and ſo in the end to be conſumed one of another. And when ſome of thoſe who had been always moderate told theſe, who were putting on another temper, that they would perhaps forget this as ſoon as the danger was over, they promiſed the contrary very ſolemnly. It ſhall be told afterwards, how well they remembred this. Now the Bed-chamber and Drawing-room were as full of ſtories to the prejudice of the Clergy, as they were formerly to the prejudice of the Diſſenters. It was ſaid, they had been loyal as long as the Court was in their intereſts, and was venturing all on their account; but as ſoon as this changed, they changed likewiſe.

The Parliament was diſſolved.

The King, ſeeing no hope of prevailing on his Parliament, diſſolved it; but gave it out, that he would have a new one before winter. And, the Queen being adviſed to go to the *Bath* for her health, the King reſolved on a great progreſs thro' ſome of the Weſtern Counties.

The reception of the Pope's Nuntio.

Before he ſet out, he reſolved to give the Pope's Nuntio a ſolemn reception at *Windſor*. He apprehended ſome diſorder might have happen'd, if it had been done at *London*. He thought it below both his own dignity and the Pope's, not to give the Nuntio a publick audience. This was a hard point for thoſe who were to act a part in this ceremony; for, all commerce with the See of *Rome* being declared high treaſon by law, this was believed to fall within the ſtatute. It was ſo apprehended by Queen *Mary*. Cardinal *Pool* was obliged to ſtay in *Flanders* till all thoſe laws were repealed. But the King would not ſtay for that. The Duke of *Somerſet*, being the Lord of the Bed-chamber then in waiting, had adviſed with his lawyers: And they told him, he could not ſafely do the part that was expected of him in the audience. So he told the King, that he could not ſerve him upon that occaſion; for he was aſſured it was againſt the law. The King aſked him, if he did not know that he was above the law. The other anſwered, that, whatever the King

might be, he himſelf was not above the law. The King expreſſed a high diſpleaſure, and turned him out of all employments. The ceremony paſt very heavily: And the compliment was pronounced with ſo low a voice, that no perſon could hear it; which was believed done by concert. 1687

When this was over, the King ſet out for his progreſs, and went from *Salisbury* all round as far as to *Cheſter*. In the places thro' which the King paſt, he ſaw a viſible coldneſs both in the Nobility and Gentry, which was not eaſily born by a man of his temper. In many places they pretended occaſions to go out of their countries. Some ſtaid at home. And thoſe who waited on the King ſeemed to do it rather out of duty and reſpect, than with any cordial affection. The King on his part was very obliging to all that came near him, and moſt particularly to the Diſſenters, and to thoſe who had paſſed long under the notion of Commonwealth's men. He looked very graciouſly on all that had been of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s party. He addreſſed his diſcourſe generally to all ſorts of people. He ran out on the point of liberty of conſcience: He ſaid, this was the true ſecret of the greatneſs and wealth of *Holland*. He was well pleaſed to hear all the ill natured ſtories that were brought him of the violences committed of late, either by the Juſtices of Peace, or by the Clergy. He every where recommended to them the chooſing ſuch Parliament men, as would concur with him in ſettling this liberty as firmly as the *Magna Charta* had been: And to this he never forgot to add the taking away the Teſts. But he received ſuch cold and general anſwers, that he ſaw, he could not depend on them. The King had deſigned to go thro' many more places: But the ſmall ſucceſs he had in thoſe which he viſited made him ſhorten his progreſs. He went and viſited the Queen at the *Bath*, where he ſtaid only a few days, two or three at moſt: And ſhe continued on in her courſe of bathing. Many books were now writ for liberty of conſcience: And, ſince all people ſaw what ſecurity the Teſts gave, theſe ſpoke of an equivalent to be offered, that ſhould give a further ſecurity, beyond what could be pretended from the Teſts. It was never explained what was meant by this: So it was thought an artificial method to lay men aſleep with a high ſounding word. Some talked of new laws to ſecure civil liberty, which had been ſo much ſhaken by the practices of theſe laſt years, ever ſince the *Oxford* Parliament. Upon this a very extravagant thing was given out, that the King was reſolved to ſet up a ſort of a Commonwealth: And the Papiſts began to talk every where very high for publick liberty, trying by that to recommend themſelves to the Nation.

The King made a progreſs thro' many parts of *England*.

1687 When the King came back from his progreſs, he reſolved to change the Magiſtracy in moſt of the Cities of *England*. He began with *London*. He not only changed the Court of Aldermen, but the government of many of the companies of the City: For great powers had been reſerved in the new Charters that had been given, for the King to put in and to put out at pleaſure: But it was ſaid at the granting them, that theſe clauſes were put in only to keep them in a due dependance on the Court, but that they ſhould not be made uſe of, unleſs great provocation was given. Now all this was executed with great ſeverity and contempt. Thoſe, who had ſtood up for the King during the debates about the Excluſion, were now turned out with diſgrace: And thoſe who had appeared moſt violently againſt him were put in the Magiſtracy, who took liberties now in their turn to inſult their neighbours. All this turned upon the King, who was ſo given up to the humours of his Prieſts, that he ſacrificed both his honour and gratitude as they dictated. The new men, who were brought in, ſaw this too viſibly to be much wrought on by it.

A change of the Magiſtracy in *London*, and over *England*.

The King threw off his old party in too outrageous a manner ever to return to them again. But he was much ſurpriſed to find that the new Mayor and Aldermen took the Teſt, and ordered the obſervation of Gunpowder-treaſon day to be continued. When the Sheriffs came according to cuſtom to invite the King to the Lord Mayor's feaſt, he commanded them to go and invite the Nuntio; which they did. And he went upon the invitation, to the ſurprize of all who ſaw it. But the Mayor and Aldermen diſowned the invitation; and made an entry of it in their books, that the Nuntio came without their knowledge. This the King took very ill. And upon it he ſaid, he ſaw the Diſſenters were an ill natured ſort of people, that could not be gained. The King ſignified to the Lord Mayor, that he might uſe what form of worſhip he liked beſt in *Guildhall* Chapel. The deſign in this was to engage the Diſſenters to make the firſt change from the eſtabliſhed worſhip: And, if a Preſbyterian Mayor ſhould do this in one year, a Popiſh Mayor might do it in another. But the Mayor put the deciſion of this upon perſons againſt whom the Court could have no exception. He ſent to thoſe, to whom the governing of the Dioceſe of *London* was committed during the ſuſpenſion, and aſked their opinion in it; which they could not but give in behalf of the eſtabliſhed worſhip: And they added, that the changing it was againſt law. So this project miſcarried: And the Mayor, tho' he went ſometimes to the meetings of the Diſſenters, yet he

he came often to Church, and behaved himſelf more decently than was expected of him. 1687

This change in the City not ſucceeding as the Court had expected, did not diſcourage them from appointing a Committee to examine the Magiſtracy in the other Cities, and to put in or out as they ſaw cauſe for it. Some were putting the Nation in hope, that the old Charters were to be reſtored. But the King was ſo far from that, that he was making every day a very arbitrary uſe of the power of changing the Magiſtracy, that was reſerved in the new Charters. Theſe Regulators, who were for moſt part Diſſenters gained by the Court, went on very boldly; and turned men out upon every ſtory that was made of them, and put ſuch men in their room as they confided in. And in theſe they took their meaſures often ſo haſtily, that men were put in in one week, and turned out in another.

Queſtions put about elections of Parliament.

After this the King ſent orders to the Lords Lieutenants of the Counties, to examine the Gentlemen and Freeholders upon three queſtions. The firſt was, whether, in caſe they ſhould be choſen to ſerve in Parliament, they would conſent to repeal the penal laws, and thoſe for the Teſts. The ſecond was, whether they would give their vote for chooſing ſuch men as would engage to do that. And the third was, whether they would maintain the King's declaration. In moſt of the Counties the Lords Lieutenants put thoſe queſtions in ſo careleſs a manner, that it was plain they did not deſire they ſhould be anſwered in the affirmative. Some went further, and declared themſelves againſt them. And a few of the more reſolute refuſed to put them. They ſaid, this was the preliminting, and the packing of a Parliament, which in its nature was to be free, and under no previous engagement. Many Counties anſwered very boldly in the negative: And others refuſed to give any anſwer, which was underſtood to be equivalent to a negative. The Mayor and moſt of the new Aldermen of *London* refuſed to anſwer. Upon this many were turned out of all Commiſſions.

This, as all the other artifices of the Prieſts, had an effect quite contrary to what they promiſed themſelves from it: For thoſe who had reſolved to oppoſe the Court were more encouraged than ever, by the diſcovery now made of the ſenſe of the whole Nation in thoſe matters. Yet ſuch care was taken in naming the Sheriffs and Mayors that were appointed for the next year, that it was believed that the King was reſolved to hold a Parliament within that time, and to have ſuch a Houſe of Commons returned, whether regularly choſen, or not, as ſhould ſerve his ends.

It

1687 It was concluded, that the King would make uſe both of his power and of his troops, either to force elections, or to put the Parliament under a force when it ſhould meet: For it was ſo poſitively ſaid, that the King would carry his point, and there was ſo little appearance of his being able to do it in a fair and regular way, that it was generally believed, ſome very deſperate reſolution was now taken up. His Miniſters were now ſo deeply engaged in illegal things, that they were very uneaſy, and were endeavouring either to carry on his deſigns with ſucceſs, ſo as to get all ſettled in a body that ſhould carry the face and appearance of a Parliament, or at leaſt to bring him to let all fall, and to come into terms of agreement with his people; in which caſe, they reckoned, one article would be an indemnity for all that had been done.

The King was every day ſaying, that he was King, and he would be obeyed, and would make thoſe who oppoſed him feel that he was their King: And he had both Prieſts and flatterers about him, that were ſtill puſhing him forward. All men grew melancholly with this ſad proſpect. The hope of the true Proteſtants was in the King's two daughters; chiefly on the eldeſt, who was out of his reach, and was known to be well inſtructed, and very zealous in matters of religion. The Princeſs *Anne* was ſtill very ſtedfaſt and regular in her devotions, and was very exemplary in the courſe of her life. But, as care had been taken to put very ordinary Divines about her for her Chaplains, ſo ſhe had never purſued any ſtudy in thoſe points with much application. And, all her Court being put about her by the King and Queen, ſhe was beſet with ſpies. It was therefore much apprehended, that ſhe would be ſtrongly aſſaulted, when all other deſigns ſhould ſo far ſucceed as to make that ſeaſonable. In the mean while ſhe was let alone by the King, who was indeed a very kind and indulgent Father to her. Now he reſolved to make his firſt attack on the Princeſs of *Orange*. *D'Albeville* went over to *England* in the ſummer, and did not come back before the twenty fourth of *December*, *Chriſtmas* Eve. And then he gave the Princeſs a letter from the King, bearing date the fourth of *November*. He was to carry this letter: And his diſpatches being put off longer than was intended, that made this letter came ſo late to her.

The King wrote to the Princeſs of *Orange* about religion.

The King took the riſe of his letter from a queſtion ſhe had put to *D'Albeville*, deſiring to know what were the grounds upon which the King himſelf had changed his religion. The King told her, he was bred up in the doctrine of the Church of *England* by Dr. *Stewart*, whom the King his father had put about him; in which he was ſo zealous, that when he perceived the Queen

his Mother had a deſign upon the Duke of *Gloceſter*, tho' he preſerved ſtill the reſpect that he owed her, yet he took care to prevent it. All the while that he was beyond ſea, no Catholick, but one Nun, had ever ſpoken one word to perſuade him to change his religion: And he continued for the moſt part of that time firm to the doctrine of the Church of *England*. He did not then mind thoſe matters much: And, as all young people are apt to do, he thought it a point of honour not to change his religion. The firſt thing that raiſed ſcruples in him was, the great devotion that he had obſerved among Catholicks: He ſaw they had great helps for it: They had their Churches better adorned, and did greater acts of charity, than he had ever ſeen among Proteſtants. He alſo obſerved, that many of them changed their courſe of life, and became good Chriſtians, even tho' they continued to live ſtill in the world. This made him firſt begin to examine both religions. He could ſee nothing in the three reigns in which religion was changed in *England*, to incline him to believe that they who did it were ſent of God. He read the hiſtory of that time, as it was writ in the Chronicle. He read both Dr. *Heylin*, and *Hooker*'s preface to his Eccleſiaſtical Policy, which confirmed him in the ſame opinion. He ſaw clearly, that Chriſt had left an infallibility in his Church, againſt which *the gates of Hell cannot prevail:* And it appeared that this was lodged with St. *Peter* from our Saviour's words to him, St. *Mat.* xvi. ver. 18. Upon this the certainty of the Scriptures, and even of Chriſtianity it ſelf, was founded. The Apoſtles acknowledged this to be in St. *Peter*, *Acts* xv. when they ſaid, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us.* It was the authority of the Church that declared the Scriptures to be Canonical: And certainly they who declared them could only interpret them: And where-ever this infallibility was, there muſt be a clear ſucceſſion. The point of the infallibility being once ſettled, all other controverſies muſt needs fall. Now the *Roman* Church was the only Church that either has infallibility, or that pretended to it. And they who threw off this authority did open a door to Atheiſm and Infidelity, and took people off from true devotion, and ſet even Chriſtianity it ſelf looſe to all that would queſtion it, and to Socinians and Latitudinarians who doubted of every thing. He had diſcourſed of theſe things with ſome Divines of the Church of *England*; but had received no ſatisfaction from them. The Chriſtian Religion gained its credit by the miracles which the Apoſtles wrought, and by the holy lives and ſufferings of the Martyrs, whoſe blood was the ſeed of the Church. Whereas *Luther* and *Calvin*, and thoſe who had ſet up the Church of 1687

1687 *England*, had their heads fuller of temporal matters than of ſpiritual, and had let the world looſe to great diſorders. Submiſſion was neceſſary to the peace of the Church: And when every man will expound the Scriptures, this makes way to all ſects, who pretend to build upon it. It was alſo plain, that the Church of *England* did not pretend to infallibility: Yet ſhe acted as if ſhe did: For ever ſince the Reformation ſhe had perſecuted thoſe who differed from her, Diſſenters as well as Papiſts, more than was generally known. And he could not ſee why Diſſenters might not ſeparate from the Church of *England*, as well as ſhe had done from the Church of *Rome*. Nor could the Church of *England* ſeparate her ſelf from the Catholick Church, any more than a County of *England* could ſeparate it ſelf from the reſt of the Kingdom. This, he ſaid, was all that his leiſure allowed him to write. But he thought that theſe things, together with the King his brother's papers, and the Ducheſs's papers, might ſerve, if not to juſtify the Catholick Religion to an unbiaſſed judgment, yet at leaſt to create a favourable opinion of it.

I read this letter in the original: For the Prince ſent it to me together with the Princeſs's anſwer, but with a charge not to take a copy of either, but to read them over as often as I pleaſed; which I did till I had fixed both pretty well in my memory. And, as ſoon as I had ſent them back, I ſat down immediately to write out all that I remembred, which the Princeſs owned to me afterwards, when ſhe read the abſtracts I made, were punctual almoſt to a tittle. It was eaſy for me to believe that this letter was all the King's enditing; for I had heard it almoſt in the very ſame words from his own mouth. The letter was writ very decently, and concluded very modeſtly. The Princeſs received this letter, as was told me, on the twenty fourth of *December* at night. Next day being *Chriſtmas* day, ſhe received the Sacrament, and was during the greateſt part of the day in publick devotions: Yet ſhe found time to draw firſt an anſwer, and then to write it out fair: And ſhe ſent it by the poſt on the twenty ſixth of *December*. Her draught, which the Prince ſent me, was very little blotted or altered. It was long, about two ſheets of paper: For as an anſwer runs generally out into more length than the paper that is to be anſwered, ſo the ſtrains of reſpect, with which her letter was full, drew it out to a greater length.

Which ſhe anſwered. She began with anſwering another letter that ſhe had received by the poſt; in which the King had made an excuſe for failing to write the former poſt day. She was very ſenſible of the happineſs of hearing ſo conſtantly from him: For no difference

in religion could hinder her from desiring both his blessing and his prayers, tho' she was ever so far from him. As for the paper that *M. Albeville* delivered her, he told her, that his Majesty would not be offended, if she wrote her thoughts freely to him upon it. 1687

She hoped, he would not look on that as want of respect in her. She was far from sticking to the religion in which she was bred out of a point of honour; for she had taken much pains to be settled in it upon better grounds. Those of the Church of *England* who had instructed her, had freely laid before her that which was good in the Romish Religion, that so, seeing the good and the bad of both, she might judge impartially; according to the Apostle's rule of *proving all things, and holding fast that which was good.* Tho' she had come young out of *England*, yet she had not left behind her either the desire of being well informed, or the means for it. She had furnished her self with books, and had those about her who might clear any doubts to her. She saw clearly in the Scriptures, that she must work her own salvation with fear and trembling, and that she must not believe by the faith of another, but according as things appeared to her self. It ought to be no prejudice against the Reformation, if many of those who professed it led ill lives. If any of them lived ill, none of the principles of their religion allowed them in it. Many of them led good lives, and more might do it by the grace of God. But there were many devotions in the Church of *Rome*, on which the Reformed could set no value.

She acknowledged, that, if there was an infallibility in the Church, all other controversies must fall to the ground. But she could never yet be informed where that infallibility was lodged: Whether in the Pope alone, or in a General Council, or in both. And she desired to know in whom the infallibility rested, when there were two or three Popes at a time, acting one against another, with the assistance of Councils, which they called General: And at least the succession was then much disordered. As for the authority that is pretended to have been given to St. *Peter* over the rest, that place which was chiefly alledged for it was otherwise interpreted by those of the Church of *England*, as importing only the confirmation of him in the office of an Apostle, when in answer to that question, *Simon, son of* Jonas, *lovest thou me*, he had by a triple confession washed off his triple denial. The words that the King had cited were spoken to the other Apostles, as well as to him. It was agreed by all, that the Apostles were infallible, who were guided by God's holy Spirit. But that gift, as well as many others, had ceased

1687 ceaſed long ago. Yet in that St. *Peter* had no authority over the other Apoſtles: Otherwiſe St. *Paul* underſtood our Saviour's words ill, who *withſtood him to his face, becauſe he was to be blamed.* And if St. *Peter* himſelf could not maintain that authority, ſhe could not ſee how it could be given to his ſucceſſors, whoſe bad lives agreed ill with his doctrine.

Nor did ſhe ſee, why the ill uſe that ſome made of the Scriptures ought to deprive others of them. It is true, all ſects made uſe of them, and find ſomewhat in them that they draw in to ſupport their opinions: Yet for all this our Saviour ſaid to the *Jews, ſearch the Scriptures*; and St. *Paul* ordered his epiſtles to be read to all the Saints in the Churches; and he ſays in one place, *I write as to wiſemen, judge what I ſay.* And if they might judge an Apoſtle, much more any other teacher. Under the law of *Moſes*, the Old Teſtament was to be read, not only in the hearing of the Scribes and the Doctors of the law, but likewiſe in the hearing of the women and children. And ſince God had made us reaſonable creatures, it ſeemed neceſſary to employ our reaſons chiefly in the matters of the greateſt concern. Tho' faith was above our reaſon, yet it propoſed nothing to us that was contradictory to it. Every one ought to ſatisfy himſelf in theſe things: As our Saviour convinced *Thomas*, by making him to thruſt his own hand into the print of the nails, not leaving him to the teſtimony of the other Apoſtles, who were already convinced. She was confident, that, if the King would hear many of his own ſubjects, they would fully ſatisfy him as to all thoſe prejudices, that he had at the Reformation; in which nothing was acted tumultuouſly, but all was done according to law. The deſign of it was only, to ſeparate from the *Roman* Church, in ſo far as it had ſeparated from the primitive Church: In which they had brought things to as great a degree of perfection, as thoſe corrupt ages were capable of. She did not ſee, how the Church of *England* could be blamed for the perſecution of the Diſſenters: For the laws made againſt them were made by the State, and not by the Church: And they were made for crimes againſt the State. Their enemies had taken great care to foment the diviſion, in which they had been but too ſucceſsful. But, if he would reflect on the grounds upon which the Church of *England* had ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*, he would find them to be of a very different nature from thoſe for which the Diſſenters had left it.

Thus, ſhe concluded, ſhe gave him the trouble of a long account of the grounds upon which ſhe was perſuaded of the truth of her religion: In which ſhe was ſo fully ſatisfied, that ſhe truſted by the grace of God that ſhe ſhould ſpend the reſt

of her days in it: And ſhe was ſo well aſſured of the truth of our Saviour's words, that ſhe was confident the gates of hell ſhould not prevail againſt it, but that he would be with it to the end of the world. All ended thus, that the religion which ſhe profeſſed taught her her duty to him, ſo that ſhe ſhould ever be his moſt obedient daughter and ſervant. 1687

To this the next return of the poſt brought an anſwer from the King, which I ſaw not. But the account that was ſent me of it was: The King took notice of the great progreſs he ſaw the Princeſs had made in her enquiries after thoſe matters: The King's buſineſs did not allow him the time that was neceſſary to enter into the detail of her letter: He deſired, ſhe would read thoſe books that he had mentioned to her in his former letters, and ſome others that he intended to ſend her: And, if ſhe deſired to be more fully ſatisfied, he propoſed to her to diſcourſe about them with *F. Morgan*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit then at the *Hague*.

I have ſet down very minutely every particular that was in thoſe letters, and very near in the ſame words. It muſt be confeſſed, that perſons of this Quality ſeldom enter into ſuch a diſcuſſion. The King's letter contained a ſtudied account of the change of his religion, which he had repeated often: And it was perhaps prepared for him by ſome others. There were ſome things in it, which, if he had made a little more reflection on them, it may be ſuppoſed he would not have mentioned. The courſe of his own life was not ſo ſtrict, as to make it likely that the good lives of ſome Papiſts had made ſuch impreſſions upon him. The eaſy abſolutions that are granted in that Church are a much juſter prejudice in this reſpect againſt it, than the good lives of a few can be ſuppoſed to be an argument for it. The adorning their Churches, was a reflection that did no great honour to him that made it. The ſeverities uſed by the Church of *England* againſt the Diſſenters were urged with a very ill grace by one of the Church of *Rome*, that has delighted her ſelf ſo often by being, as it were, bathed with the blood of thoſe they call hereticks: And, if it had not been for the reſpect that a daughter paid her father, here greater advantages might have been taken. I had a high opinion of the Princeſs's good underſtanding, and of her knowledge in thoſe matters, before I ſaw this letter: But this ſurprized me. It gave me an aſtoniſhing joy, to ſee ſo young a perſon all of the ſudden, without conſulting any one perſon, to be able to write ſo ſolid and learned a letter, in which ſhe mixed with the reſpect that ſhe paid a father ſo great a firmneſs, that by it ſhe cut off all further treaty. And her repulſing the attack, that the

Reflections on theſe letters.

1687 King made upon her, with ſo much reſolution and force, did let the Popiſh party ſee, that ſhe underſtood her religion as well as ſhe loved it.

A proſecution ſet on againſt me.

But now I muſt ſay ſomewhat of my ſelf: After I had ſtaid a year in *Holland*, I heard from many hands, that the King ſeemed to forget his own greatneſs when he ſpoke of me, which he took occaſion to do very often. I had publiſhed ſome account of the ſhort *Tour* I had made in ſeveral letters; in which my chief deſign was to expoſe both Popery and Tyranny. The book was well received, and was much read: And it raiſed the King's diſpleaſure very high.

My continuing at the *Hague* made him conclude, that I was managing deſigns againſt him. And ſome papers in ſingle ſheets came out, reflecting on the proceedings of *England*, which ſeemed to have a conſiderable effect on thoſe who read them. Theſe were printed in *Holland:* And many copies of them were ſent into all the parts of *England*. All which inflamed the King the more againſt me; for he believed they were writ by me, as indeed moſt of them were. But that which gave the criſis to the King's anger was, that he heard I was to be married to a conſiderable fortune at the *Hague*. So a project was formed to break this, by charging me with high treaſon for correſponding with Lord *Argile*, and for converſing with ſome that were outlawed for high treaſon.

The King ordered a letter to be writ in his name to his Advocate in *Scotland* to proſecute me for ſome probable thing or other; which was intended only to make a noiſe, not doubting but this would break the intended marriage. A ſhip coming from *Scotland* the day in which this proſecution was ordered, that had a quick paſſage, brought me the firſt news of it, long before it was ſent to *D'Albeville*. So I petitioned the States, who were then ſitting, to be naturalized in order to my intended marriage. And this paſt in courſe, without the leaſt difficulty; which perhaps might have been made, if this proſecution, now begun in *Scotland*, had been known. Now I was legally under the protection of the States of *Holland*. Yet I writ a full juſtification of my ſelf, as to all particulars laid to my charge, in ſome letters that I ſent to the Earl of *Middleton*. But in one of theſe I ſaid, that, being now naturalized in *Holland*, my allegiance was, during my ſtay in theſe parts, transferred from his Majeſty to the States. I alſo ſaid in another letter, that, if upon my non-appearance a ſentence ſhould paſs againſt me, I might be perhaps forced to juſtify my ſelf, and to give an account of the ſhare that I had in affairs theſe twenty years paſt: In which I might be led to mention ſome things, that I

was afraid would diſpleaſe the King: And therefore I ſhould be ſorry, if I were driven to it. 1687

Now the Court thought they had ſomewhat againſt me: For they knew they had nothing before. So the firſt citation was let fall, and a new one was ordered on theſe two accounts. I was pretended to be high treaſon, to ſay my allegiance was now transferred: And it was ſet forth, as a high indignity to the King, to threaten him with writing a hiſtory of the transactions paſt theſe laſt twenty years. The firſt of theſe ſtruck at a grear point, which was a part of the law of Nations. Every man that was naturalized took an oath of allegiance to the Prince or State that naturalized him. And, ſince no man can ſerve two maſters, or be under a double allegiance, it is certain, that there muſt be a transfer of allegiance, at leaſt during the ſtay in the country where one is ſo naturalized.

This matter was kept up againſt me for ſome time, the Court delaying proceeding to any ſentence for ſeveral months. At laſt a ſentence of outlawry was given: And upon that *Albeville* ſaid, that, if the States would not deliver me up, he would find ſuch inſtruments as ſhould ſeize on me, and carry me away forcibly. The methods he named of doing this were very ridiculous. And he ſpoke of it to ſo many perſons, that I believe his deſign was rather to frighten me, than that he could think to effect them. Many overtnres were made to ſome of my friends in *London*, not only to let this proſecntion fall, but to promote me, if I would make my ſelf capable of it. I entertained none of theſe. I had many ſtories brought me of the diſcourſes among ſome of the brutal *Iriſh*, then in the *Dutch* ſervice. But, I thank God, I was not moved with them. I reſolved to go on, and to do my duty, and to do what ſervice I could to the publick, and to my Country: And reſigned my ſelf up entirely to that Providence, that had watched over me to that time with an indulgent care, and had made all the deſigns of my enemies againſt me turn to my great advantage.

I come now to the year 1688, which proved memorable, and produced an extraordinary and unheard-of Revolution. The year in this Century made all people reflect on the ſame year in the former Century, in which the power of *Spain* received ſo great a check, that the decline of that Monarchy began then; and *England* was ſaved from an invaſion, that, if it had ſucceeded as happily as it was well laid, muſt have ended in the abſolute conqueſt and utter ruin of the Nation. Our books are ſo full of all that related to that *Armada*, boaſted to be invincible, that I need add no more of ſo known and ſo remarkable a piece of 1688

our

1688 our hiſtory. A new eighty eight raiſed new expectations, in which the ſurpriſing events did far exceed all that could have been looked for.

Albeville's memorial to the States.

I begin the year with *Albeville's* negotiation after his coming to the *Hague*. He had before his going over given in a threatning memorial upon the buſineſs of *Bantam*, that looked like a prelude of a declaration of war; for he demanded a preſent anſwer, ſince the King could no longer bear the injuſtice done him in that matter, which was ſet forth in very high words. He ſent this memorial to be printed at *Amſterdam*, before he had communicated it to the States. The chief effect that this had was, that the Actions of the Company did ſink for ſome days. But they roſe ſoon again: And by this it was ſaid, that *Albeville* himſelf made the greateſt gain. The *Eaſt-India* fleet was then expected home every day. So the Merchants, who remembred well the buſineſs of the *Smirna* fleet in the year ſeventy two, did apprehend that the King had ſent a fleet to intercept them, and that this memorial was intended only to prepare an apology for that breach, when it ſhould happen: But nothing of that ſort followed upon it. The States did anſwer this memorial with another, that was firm, but more decently expreſſed: By their laſt treaty with *England* it was provided, that, in caſe any diſputes ſhould ariſe between the Merchants of either ſide, Commiſſioners ſhould be named of both ſides to hear and judge the matter: The King had not yet named any of his ſide: So that the delay lay at his door: They were therefore amazed to receive a memorial in ſo high a ſtrain, ſince they had done all that by the treaty was incumbent on them. *Albeville* after this gave in another memorial, in which he deſired them to ſend over Commiſſioners for ending that diſpute. But, tho' this was a great fall from the height in which the former memorial was conceived, yet in this the thing was ſo ill apprehended, that the *Dutch* had reaſon to believe that the King's Miniſters did not know the treaty, or were not at leiſure to read it: For, according to the treaty, and the preſent poſture of that buſineſs, the King was obliged to ſend over Commiſſioners to the *Hague* to judge of that affair. When this memorial was anſwered, and the treaty was examined, the matter was let fall.

Albeville's next negotiation related to my ſelf. I had printed a paper in juſtification of my ſelf, together with my letters to the Earl of *Middleton*. And he in a memorial complained of two paſſages in that paper. One was, that I ſaid it was yet too early to perſecute men for religion, and therefore crimes againſt the State were pretended by my enemies: This, he ſaid, did inſinuate, that the King did in time intend to perſecute

for religion. The other was, that I had put in it an intimation, that I was in danger by ſome of the *Iriſh* Papiſts. This, he ſaid, was a reflection on the King, who hated all ſuch practices. And to this he added, that by the laws of *England* all the King's ſubjects were bound to ſeize on any perſon that was condemned in his Courts, in what manner ſoever they could: And therefore he deſired, that both I and the printer of that paper might be puniſhed. But now upon his return to the *Hague*, I being outlawed by that time, he demanded, that, in purſuance of an article of the treaty that related to rebels or fugitives, I might be baniſhed the Provinces. And to this he craved once and again a ſpeedy anſwer. 1688

I was called before the Deputies of the States of *Holland*, that I might anſwer the two memorials that lay before them relating to my ſelf. I obſerved the difference between them. The one deſired, that the States would puniſh me, which did acknowledge me to be their ſubject. The other, in contradiction to that, laid claim to me as the King's rebel. As to the particulars complained of, I had made no reflection on the King; but to the contrary. I ſaid, my enemies found it was not yet time to perſecute for religion. This inſinuated, that the King could not be brought to it. And no perſon could be offended with this, but he who thought it was now not too early to perſecute. As to that of the danger in which I apprehended my ſelf to be in, I had now more reaſon than before to complain of it, ſince the Envoy had ſo publickly affirmed, that every one of the King's ſubjects might ſeize on any one that was condemned, in what manner ſoever they could, which was either dead or alive. I was now the ſubject of the States of *Holland*, naturalized in order to a marriage among them, as they all knew: And therefore I claimed their protection. So, if I was charged with any thing that was not according to law, I ſubmitted my ſelf to their juſtice. I ſhould decline no trial, nor the utmoſt ſeverity, if I had offended in any thing. As for the two memorials that claimed me as a fugitive and a rebel, I could not be looked on as a fugitive from *Scotland*. It was now fourteen years ſince I had left that Kingdom, and three ſince I came out of *England* with the King's leave. I had lived a year in the *Hague* openly; and nothing was laid to my charge. As for the ſentence that was pretended to be paſt upon me, I could ſay nothing to it, till I ſaw a copy of it.

The States were fully ſatisfied with my anſwers; and ordered a memorial to be drawn according to them. They alſo ordered their Embaſſador to repreſent to the King, that he himſelf knew how ſacred a thing naturalization was. The faith and

The States anſwer to what related to me.

1688 honour of every State was concerned in it. I had been naturalized upon marrying one of their ſubjects, which was the juſteſt of all reaſons. If the King had any thing to lay to my charge, juſtice ſhould be done in their Courts. The King took the matter very ill; and ſaid, it was an affront to him, and a juſt cauſe of war. Yet, after much paſſion, he ſaid, he did not intend to make war upon it; for he was not then in condition to do it. But he knew there were deſigns againſt him, to make war on him, againſt which he ſhould take care to ſecure himſelf: And he ſhould be on his guard. The Embaſſador aſked him, of whom he meant that. But he did not think fit to explain himſelf further. He ordered a third memorial to be put in againſt me, in which the article of the treaty was ſet forth: But no notice was taken of the anſwers made to that by the States: But it was inſiſted on, that, ſince the States were bound not to give ſanctuary to fugitives and rebels, they ought not to examine the grounds on which ſuch judgments were given, but were bound to execute the treaty. Upon this it was obſerved, that the words in treaties ought to be explained according to their common acceptation, or the ſenſe given them in the civil law, and not according to any particular forms of Courts, where for non-appearance a writ of outlawry or rebellion might lie: The ſenſe of the word Rebel in common uſe was, a man that had born arms, or had plotted againſt his Prince: And a fugitive was a man that fled from juſtice. The heat with which the King ſeemed inflamed againſt me, carried him to ſay and do many things that were very little to his honour.

Other deſigns againſt me.

I had advertiſements ſent me of a further progreſs in his deſigns againſt me. He had it ſuggeſted to him, that, ſince a ſentence was paſt againſt me for non-appearance, and the States refuſed to deliver me up, he might order private perſons to execute the ſentence as they could: And it was writ over very poſitively, that 5000 *l.* would be given to any one that ſhould murder me. A Gentleman of an unblemiſhed repntation writ me word, that he himſelf by accident ſaw an order drawn in the Secretaries Office, but not yet ſigned, for 3000 *l.* to a blank perſon that was to ſeize or deſtroy me. And he alſo affirmed, that Prince *George* had heard of the ſame thing, and had deſired the perſon to whom he truſted it to convoy the notice of it to me: And my author was employed by that perſon to ſend the notice to me. The King aſked *Jefferies*, what he might do againſt me in a private way, now that he could not get me into his hands. *Jefferies* anſwered, he did not ſee how the King could do any more than he had done.

He told this to Mr. *Kirk* to ſend it to me: For he concluded, 1688
the King was reſolved to proceed to extremities, and only wanted the opinion of a man of the law to juſtify a more violent method. I had ſo many different advertiſements ſent me of this, that I concluded a whiſper of ſuch a deſign might have been ſet about, on deſign to frighten me into ſome mean ſubmiſſion, or into ſilence at leaſt. But it had no other effect on me, but that I thought it fit to ſtay more within doors, and to uſe a little more than ordinary caution. I thank God, I was very little concerned at it. I reſigned up my life very freely to God. I knew my own innocence, and the root of all the malice that was againſt me. And I never poſſeſſed my own ſoul in a more perfect calm, and in a clearer cheerfulneſs of ſpirit, than I did during all thoſe threatnings, and the apprehenſions that others were in concerning me.

Soon after this a letter writ by *Fagel* the Penſioner of *Holland* was printed: Which leads me to look back a little into a tranſaction that paſſed the former year. There was one *Steward*, a lawyer of *Scotland*, a man of great parts, and of as great ambition. He had given over the practice of the law, becauſe all that were admitted to the bar in *Scotland* were required to renounce the Covenant, which he would not do. This recommended him to the confidence of that whole party. They had made great uſe of him, and truſted him entirely. *Pen* had engaged him, who had been long conſidered by the King as the chief manager of all the rebellions and plots that had been on foot theſe twenty years paſt, more particularly of *Argile*'s, to come over: And he undertook, that he ſhould not only be received into favour, but into confidence. He came, before he croſſed the Seas, to the Prince, and promiſed an inviolable fidelity to him, and to the common intereſts of religion and liberty. He had been oft with the Penſioner, and had a great meaſure of his confidence. Upon his coming to Court, he was careſſed to a degree that amazed all who knew him. He either believed, that the King was ſincere in the profeſſions he made, and that his deſigns went no further than to ſettle a full liberty of conſcience: Or he thought, that it became a man who had been ſo long in diſgrace, not to ſhew any jealouſies at firſt, when the King was ſo gracious to him. He undertook to do all that lay in his power to advance his deſigns in *Scotland*, and to repreſent his intentions ſo at the *Hague*, as might incline the Prince to a better opinion of them.

Penſioner *Fagel*'s letter.

He opened all this in ſeveral letters to the Penſioner. And in theſe he preſſed him vehemently, in the King's name, and by his direction, to perſuade the Prince to concur with the King in

1688 in procuring the laws to be repealed. He laid before him the inconſiderable number of the Papiſts: So that there was no reaſon to apprehend much from them. He alſo enlarged on the ſeverities that the penal laws had brought on the Diſſenters. The King was reſolved not to conſent to the repealing them, unleſs the Teſts were taken away with them: So that the refuſing to conſent to this might at another time bring them under another ſevere proſecution. *Steward*, after he had writ many letters to this purpoſe without receiving any anſwers, tried if he could ſerve the King in *Scotland* with more ſucceſs, than it ſeemed he was like to have at the *Hague*. But he found there, that his old friends were now much alienated from him, looking on him as a perſon entirely gained by the Court.

The Penſioner laid all his letters before the Prince. They were alſo brought to me. The Prince upon this thought, that a full anſwer made by *Fagell*, in ſuch a manner as that it might be publiſhed as a declaration of his intentions, might be of ſervice to him in many reſpects; chiefly in Popiſh Courts, that were on civil accounts inclined to an alliance againſt *France*, but were now poſſeſſed with an opinion of the Prince, and of his party in *England*, as deſigning nothing but the ruin and extirpation of all the Papiſts in thoſe Kingdoms. So the Penſioner wrote a long anſwer to *Steward*, which was put in *Engliſh* by me.

He began it with great aſſurances of the Prince and Princeſs's duty to the King. They were both of them much againſt all perſecution on the account of religion. They freely conſented to the covering Papiſts from the ſeverities of the laws made againſt them on the account of their religion, and alſo that they might have the free exerciſe of it in private. They alſo conſented to grant a full liberty to Diſſenters. But they could not conſent to the repeal of thoſe laws that tended only to the ſecuring the Proteſtant religion; ſuch as thoſe concerning the Teſts, which imported no puniſhment, but only an incapacity of being in publick employments, which could not be complained of as great ſeverities. This was a caution obſerved in all Nations, and was now neceſſary, both for ſecuring the publick peace and the eſtabliſhed religion. If the numbers of the Papiſts were ſo ſmall as to make them inconſiderable, then it was not reaſonable to make ſuch a change for the ſake of a few. And if thoſe few, that pretended to publick employments, would do all their own party ſo great a prejudice, as not to ſuffer the King to be content with the repeal of the penal laws, unleſs they could get into the offices of truſt, then their ambition was only to be blamed, if the offers now made were

not accepted. The matter was very ſtrongly argued thro' the whole letter: And the Prince and Princeſs's zeal for the Proteſtant Religion was ſet out in terms, that could not be very acceptable to the King. The letter was carried by *Steward* to the King, and was brought by him into the Cabinet Council. But nothing followed then upon it. The King ordered *Steward* to write back, that he would either have all or nothing. All the Lay-Papiſts of *England*, who were not engaged in the intrigues of the Prieſts, preſſed earneſtly that the King would accept of the repeal of the penal laws; which was offered, and would have made them both eaſy and ſafe for the future. The Emperor was fully ſatisfied with what was offered; and promiſed to uſe his intereſt at *Rome*, to get the Pope to write to the King to accept of this, as a ſtep to the other: But I could not learn whether he did it, or not. If he did, it had no effect. The King was in all points governed by the Jeſuits, and the *French* Embaſſador. 1688

Father *Petre*, as he had been long in the confidence, was now brought to the Council board, and made a Privy Counſellor: And it was given out, that the King was reſolved to get a Cardinal's Cap for him, and to make him Archbiſhop of *York*. The Pope was ſtill firm to his reſolution againſt it. But it was hoped, that the King would conquer it, if not in the preſent, yet at furtheſt in the next Pontificate. The King reſolved at the ſame time not to diſguſt the Secular Prieſts: So Biſhop *Leyburn*, whom Cardinal *Howard* had ſent over with the Epiſcopal character, was made much uſe of in appearance, tho' he had no great ſhare in the counſels. There was a faction formed between the Seculars and the Jeſuits, which was ſometimes near breaking out into an open rupture. But the King was ſo partial to the Jeſuits, that the others found they were not on equal terms with them. There were three other Biſhops conſecrated for *England*. And theſe four were ordered to make a progreſs and circuit over *England*, confirming, and doing other Epiſcopal offices, in all the parts of *England*. Great numbers gathered about them, whereſoever they went. Father *Petre* made a Privy Counſellor.

The Jeſuits thought all was ſure, and that their ſcheme was ſo well laid that it could not miſcarry. And they had ſo poſſeſſed that contemptible tool of theirs, *Albeville*, with this, that he ſeemed upon his return to the *Hague* to be ſo ſanguine, that he did not ſtick to ſpeak out, what a wiſer man would have ſuppreſſed tho' he had believed it. One day, when the Prince was ſpeaking of the promiſes the King had made, and the oath that he had ſworn to maintain the laws and the eſtabliſhed Church, he, inſtead of pretending that the King ſtill kept his word, The confidence of the Jeſuits.

1688 ſaid, upon ſome occaſions Princes muſt forget their promiſes. And, when the Prince ſaid, that the King ought to have more regard to the Church of *England*, which was the main body of the Nation, *Albeville* anſwered, that the body which he called the Church of *England* would not have a being two years to an end. Thus he ſpoke out the deſigns of the Court, both too early and too openly. But at the ſame time he behaved himſelf in all other reſpects ſo poorly, that he became the jeſt of the *Hague*. The foreign Miniſters, Mr. *D'Avaux* the *French* Embaſſador not excepted, did not know how to excuſe or bear with his weakneſs, which appeared on all occaſions and in all companies.

The Penſioner's letter was printed.

What he wrote to *England* upon his firſt audiences was not known. But it was ſoon after ſpread up and down the Kingdom, very artificially and with much induſtry, that the Prince and Princeſs had now conſented to the repeal of the Teſts, as well as of the penal laws. This was writ over by many hands to the *Hague*. The Prince, to prevent the ill effects that might follow on ſuch reports, gave orders to print the Penſioner's letter to *Steward*; which was ſent to all the parts of *England*, and was received with an univerſal joy. The Diſſenters ſaw themſelves now ſafe in his intentions towards them. The Church party was confirmed in their zeal for maintaining the Teſts. And the Lay-Papiſts ſeemed likewiſe to be ſo well pleaſed with it, that they complained of thoſe ambitious Prieſts, and hungry Courtiers, who were reſolved, rather than lay down their aſpirings and other projects, to leave them ſtill expoſed to the ſeverities of the laws, tho' a freedom from theſe was now offered to them. But it was not eaſy to judge, whether this was ſincerely meant by them, or if it was only a popular art, to recommend themſelves under ſuch a moderate appearance. The Court ſaw the hurt that this letter did them. At firſt they hoped to have ſtifled it by calling it an impoſture. But when they were driven from that, the King began to ſpeak ſeverely and indecently of the Prince, not only to all about him, but even to foreign Miniſters: And reſolved to put ſuch marks of his indignation upon him, as ſhould let all the world ſee how deep it was.

The King asked the Regiments of his ſubjects in the States ſervice.

There were ſix Regiments of the King's ſubjects, three *Engliſh* and three *Scotiſh*, in the ſervice of the States. Some of them were old Regiments, that had continued in their ſervice during the two wars in the late King's reign. Others were raiſed ſince the peace in ſeventy three. But theſe came not into their ſervice under any capitulation, that had reſerved an authority to the King to call for them at his pleaſure. When *Argile* and

Monmouth made their invaſion, the King deſired that the States would lend them to him. Some of the towns of *Holland* were ſo jealous of the King, and wiſhed *Monmouth*'s ſucceſs ſo much, that the Prince found ſome difficulty in obtaining the conſent of the States to ſend them over. There was no diſtinction made among them between Papiſts and Proteſtants, according to a maxim of the States with relation to their armies: So there were ſeveral Papiſts in thoſe Regiments. And the King had ſhewed ſuch particular kindneſs to theſe, while they were in *England*, that at their return they formed a faction which was breeding great diſtractions among them. This was very uneaſy to the Prince, who began to ſee that he might have occaſion to make uſe of thoſe bodies, if things ſhould be carried to a rupture between the King and him: And yet he did not know how he could truſt them, while ſuch Officers were in command. He did not ſee neither, how he could get rid of them well. But the King helped him out of that difficulty: He wrote to the States, that he had occaſion for the ſix Regiments of his ſubjects that were in their ſervice, and deſired that they ſhould be ſent over to him. 1688

This demand was made all of the ſudden, without any previous application to any of the States, to diſpoſe them to grant it, or to many of the Officers to perſuade them to aſk their *Congè* to go over. The States pretended the Regiments were theirs: They had paid levy money for them, and had them under no capitulation: So they excuſed themſelves, that they could not part with them. But they gave orders, that all the Officers that ſhould aſk their *Congè*, ſhould have it. Thirty or forty came and aſked, and had their *Congè*. So now the Prince was delivered from ſome troubleſome men by this management of the King's. Upon that, theſe bodies were ſo modeled, that the Prince knew, that he might depend entirely on them: And he was no more diſturbed by thoſe inſolent Officers, who had for ſome years behaved themſelves rather as enemies, than as perſons in the States pay. Which was refuſed, but the Officers had leave to go.

The diſcourſe of a Parliament was often taken up, and as often let fall: And it was not eaſy to judge in what ſuch fluctuating counſels would end. Father *Petre* had gained ſuch an aſcendant, that he was conſidered as the firſt Miniſter of State. The Nuncio had moved the King to interpoſe, and mediate a reconciliation between the Court of *Rome* and *France*. But he anſwered, that ſince the Pope would not gratify him in the promotion of Father *Petre*, he would leave him to free himſelf of the trouble into which he had involved himſelf the beſt way he could. And our Court reckoned, that as ſoon as the Pope felt

1688 felt himſelf preſſed, he would fly to the King for protection, and grant him every thing that he aſked of him in order to obtain it. That Jeſuit gave daily new proofs of a weak and ill governed paſſion, and diſcovered all the ill qualities of one, that ſeemed raiſed up to be the common incendiary, and to drive the King and his party to the precipice.

A new declaration for toleration.

Towards the end of *April* the King thought fit to renew the declaration, that he had ſet out the former year for liberty of conſcience; with an addition, declaring that he would adhere firmly to it, and that he would put none in any publick employments, but ſuch as would concur with him in maintaining it. He alſo promiſed, that he would hold a Parliament in the *November* following. This promiſe of a Parliament ſo long beforehand was ſomewhat extraordinary. Both Father *Petre* and *Pen* engaged the King to it, but with a different proſpect. *Pen*, and all the tools who were employed by him, had ſtill ſome hopes of carrying a Parliament to agree with the King, if too much time was not loſt: Whereas the delaying a Parliament raiſed jealouſies, as if none were intended, but that it was only talked of to amuſe the Nation till other deſigns were ripe.

On the other hand, Father *Petre* and his cabal ſaw that the King was kept off from many things that they propoſed, with the expectation of the concurrence of a Parliament: And the fear of giving new diſguſts, which might obſtruct that, had begot a caution that was very uneaſy to them. They thought that much time was already loſt, and that they made but a ſmall progreſs. They began to apprehend, that the Regulators, who were ſtill feeding them with hopes, and were aſking more time and more money, did intend only to amuſe them, and to wear out the buſineſs into more length, and to keep themſelves the longer in credit and in pay; but that they did not in their hearts wiſh well to the main deſign, and therefore acted but an inſincere part with the King. Therefore they reſolved to put that matter to the laſt trial, reckoning that, if the King ſaw it was in vain to hope for any thing in a Parliamentary way, he might be more eaſily carried to extream and violent methods.

Which the Clergy were ordered to read.

The King was not ſatisfied with the publiſhing his declaration: But he reſolved to oblige the Clergy to read it in all their Churches in the time of divine ſervice. And now it appeared, what bad effects were like to follow on that officious motion that *Sancroft* had made, for obliging the Clergy to read the declaration that King *Charles* ſet out in the year 1681, after the diſſolution of the *Oxford* Parliament. An order paſt in Council,

requiring

requiring the Biſhops to ſend copies of the declaration to all their Clergy, and to order them to read it on two ſeveral *Sundays* in time of divine ſervice. 1688

This put the Clergy under great difficulties. And they were at firſt much divided about it. Even many of the beſt and worthieſt of them were under ſome diſtraction of thought. They had many meetings, and argued the point long among themſelves, in and about *London*. On the one hand it was ſaid, that if they refuſed to read it, the King would proceed againſt them for diſobedience. It did not ſeem reaſonable to run ſo great a hazard upon ſuch a point, that was not ſtrong enough to bear the conſequences that might follow on a breach. Their reading it did not import their approving it. But was only a publication of an act of their King's. So it was propoſed, to ſave the whole by making ſome declaration, that their reading it was a meer act of obedience, and did not import any aſſent and approbation of theirs. Others thought, that the publiſhing this in ſuch manner was only impoſed on them to make them odious and contemptible to the whole Nation, for reading that which was intended for their ruin. If they carried their compliance ſo far, that might provoke the Nobility and Gentry to carry theirs much further. If they once yielded the point, that they were bound to read every declaration, with this ſalvo that it did not import their approving it, they would be then bound to read every thing that ſhould be ſent to them: The King might make declarations in favour of all the points of Popery, and require them to read them: And they could not ſee where they muſt make their ſtops, if they did it not now. So it ſeemed neceſſary to fix on this, as a rule, that they ought to publiſh nothing in time of divine ſervice, but that which they approved of. The point at preſent was not, whether a toleration was a lawful or an expedient thing. The declaration was founded on the claim of a diſpenſing power, which the King did now aſſume, that tended to the total ſubverſion of the government, and the making it arbitrary; whereas by the conſtitution it was a legal adminiſtration. It alſo allowed ſuch an infinite liberty, with the ſuſpenſion of all penal laws, and that without any limitation, that Paganiſm it ſelf might be now publickly profeſſed. It was viſible, that the deſign in impoſing the reading of it on them, was only to make them ridiculous, and to make them contribute to their own ruin. As for the danger that they might incur, they ſaw their ruin was reſolved on: And nothing they could do was like to prevent it, unleſs they would baſely ſacrifice their religion to their worldly intereſts. It would be perhaps a year ſooner or

1688 later by any other management: It was therefore fit, that they ſhould prepare themſelves for ſuffering; and not endeavour to prevent it by doing that, which would draw on them the hatred of their friends, and the ſcorn of their enemies.

To which they would not give obedience.

Theſe reaſons prevailed: And they reſolved not to read the declaration. They ſaw of what importance it was, that they ſhould be unanimous in this. Nothing could be of more fatal conſequence than their being divided in their practice. For, if any conſiderable body of the Clergy, ſuch as could carry the name of the Church of *England*, could have been prevailed on to give obedience, and only ſome number, how valuable ſoever the men might be, ſhould refuſe to obey; then the Court might ſtill pretend, that they would maintain the Church of *England*, and ſingle out all thoſe who had not given obedience, and fall on them, and ſo break the Church within itſelf upon this point, and then deſtroy the one half by the means of the reſt. The moſt eminent reſolved not to obey: And thoſe who might be prevailed on to comply would by that means fall under ſuch contempt, that they could not have the credit or ſtrength to ſupport the eſtabliſhed religion. The Court depended upon this, that the greater part would obey: And ſo they would be furniſhed with a point of State, to give a colour for turning out the diſobedient, who were like to be the men that ſtood moſt in their way, and croſſed their deſigns moſt, both with their learning and credit.

Thoſe few Biſhops that were engaged in the deſign of betraying the Church, were perſuaded that this would be the event of the matter: And they poſſeſſed the King with the hope of it ſo poſitively, that he ſeemed to depend upon it. The correſpondence over *England* was managed with that ſecrecy, that theſe reſolutions were ſo communicated to the Clergy in the Country, that they were generally engaged to agree in their conduct, before the Court came to apprehend that they would be ſo unanimous, as it proved in concluſion that they were.

The Archbiſhop and ſix Biſhops petition the King.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Sancroft*, reſolved upon this occaſion to act ſuitably to his poſt and character. He wrote round his Province, and deſired that ſuch of the Biſhops as were able would come up, and conſult together in a matter of this great concern: And he aſked the opinion of thoſe, whom their age and infirmities diſabled from taking the journey. He found, that eighteen of the Biſhops, and the main body of the Clergy, concurred in the reſolution againſt reading the declaration. So he, with ſix of the Biſhops that came up to *London*, reſolved in a petition to the King, to lay before him the reaſons that determined them not to obey the order of Council that had been

ſent them: This flowed from no want of reſpect to his Majeſty's authority, nor from any unwillingneſs to let favour be ſhewed to Diſſenters; in relation to whom they were willing to come to ſuch a temper, as ſhould be thought fit, when that matter ſhould be conſidered and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation: But, this declaration being founded on ſuch a diſpenſing power, as had been often declared illegal in Parliament, both in the year 1662 and in the year 1672, and in the beginning of his own reign, and was a matter of ſo great conſequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State; they could not in prudence, honour, and conſcience, make themſelves ſo far parties to it, as the publication of it once and again in God's houſe, and in the time of divine ſervice, muſt amount to. 1688

The Archbiſhop was then in an ill State of health. So he ſent over the ſix Biſhops with the petition to the King, ſigned by himſelf and the reſt. The King was much ſurpriſed with this, being flattered and deceived by his ſpies. *Cartwright*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, was poſſeſſed with a ſtory that was too eaſily believed by him, and was by him carried to the King, who was very apt to believe every thing that ſuited with his own deſigns. The ſtory was, that the Biſhops intended by a petition to the King to let him underſtand that orders of this kind uſed to be addreſſed to their Chancellors, but not to themſelves; and to pray him to continue that method: And that by this means they hoped to get out of this difficulty. This was very acceptable to the Court, and procured the Biſhops a quick admittance. And they had proceeded ſo carefully that nothing concerted among them had broken out; for they had been very ſecret and cautious. The King, when he heard their petition, and ſaw his miſtake, ſpoke roughly to them. He ſaid, he was their King, and he would be obeyed: And they ſhould be made to feel what it was to diſobey him. The ſix Biſhops were St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Chicheſter*, and *Briſtol*. The anſwer they made the King was in theſe words: *The will of God be done.* And they came from the Court in a ſort of triumph. Now matters were brought to a criſis. The King was engaged on his part, as the Biſhops were on theirs. So all people looked on with great expectations, reckoning that upon the iſſue of this buſineſs a great deciſion would be made, both of the deſigns of the Court, and of the temper of the Nation.

The King conſulted for ſome days with all that were now employed by him, what he ſhould do upon this emergent; and talked with people of all perſuaſions. *Lob*, an eminent man among

1688 among the Diſſenters, who was entirely gained to the Court, adviſed the King to ſend the Biſhops to the Tower. Father *Petre* ſeemed now as one tranſported with joy: For he thought the King was engaged to break with the Church of *England*. And it was reported, that he broke out into that indecent expreſſion upon it, that they ſhould be made to eat their own dung. The King was long in doubt. Some of the Popiſh Nobility preſſed him earneſtly to let the matter fall: For now it appeared, that the body of the Clergy were reſolved not to read the declaration. Thoſe who did obey, were few and inconſiderable. Only ſeven obeyed in the City of *London*, and not above two hundred all *England* over: And of theſe ſome read it the firſt *Sunday*, but changed their minds before the ſecond: Others declared in their ſermons, that tho' they obeyed the order, they did not approve of the declaration: And one, more pleaſantly than gravely, told his people, that, tho' he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and he ſtopt till they all went out, and then he read it to the walls: In many places, as ſoon as the Miniſter began to read it, all the people roſe, and went out.

The King did what he could to encourage thoſe that did obey his order. *Parker*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, died about this time. He wrote a book againſt the Teſts full of petulant ſcurrility, of which I ſhall only give one inſtance. He had reflected much on the whole Popiſh Plot, and on *Oates*'s evidence: And upon that he called the Teſt, the Sacrament of the *Oateſian* villainy. He treated the Parliament that enacted the Teſts with a ſcorn that no Popiſh writer had yet ventured on: And he ſaid much to excuſe tranſubſtantiation, and to free the Church of *Rome* from the charge of idolatry. This raiſed ſuch a diſguſt of him, even in thoſe that had been formerly but too much influenced by him, that, when he could not help ſeeing that, he ſunk upon it. I was deſired to anſwer his book with the ſeverity that he deſerved: And I did it with an acrimony of ſtile, that nothing but ſuch a time, and ſuch a man, could in any ſort excuſe. It was ſaid, the King ſent him my papers, hearing that no body elſe durſt put them in his hands, hoping that it would raiſe his indignation, and engage him to anſwer them. And one *Hall*, a Conformiſt in *London*, who was looked on as half a Preſbyterian, yet, becauſe he read the declaration, was made Biſhop of *Oxford*. One of the Popiſh Biſhops was upon the King's *Mandamus* choſen by the illegal Fellows of *Magdalen*'s College their Preſident. The ſenſe of the Nation, as well as of the Clergy, had appeared ſo ſignally on this occaſion, that it was viſible, that the King had not only the ſeven petitioning Biſhops to

deal with, but the body of the whole Nation, both Clergy and Laity. 1688

The violent advices of Father *Petre*, and the Jeſuite party, were ſo fatally ſuited to the King's own temper and paſſion, that they prevailed over the wiſer counſels of almoſt all that were adviſed with. But the King, before he would bring the matter to the Council, ſecretly engaged all the Privy Counſellors to concur with him: And, after a fortnight's conſultation, the Biſhops were cited to appear before the Council. The petition was offered to them; and they were aſked, if they owned it to be their petition. They anſwered, it ſeemed they were to be proceeded againſt upon that account; ſo they hoped the King would not preſs them to a confeſſion, and then make uſe of it againſt them: After they had offered this, they owned the petition. They were next charged with the publication of it; for it was then printed. But they abſolutely denied that was done by their means. The Archbiſhop had written the petition all in his own hand, without employing any perſon to copy it out: And tho' there was one draught written of the petition, as it was agreed on, from which he had written out the original which they had all ſigned, yet he had kept that ſtill in his own poſſeſſion, and had never ſhewn it to any perſon: So it was not publiſhed by them: That muſt have been done by ſome of thoſe to whom the King had ſhewed it.

The King ordered the Biſhops to be profecuted for it.

They were in the next place required to enter into bonds to appear in the Court of the King's bench, and anſwer to an information of miſdemeanor. They excepted to this; and ſaid, that by their Peerage they were not bound to do it. Upon their inſiſting on this, they were ſent to the Tower, by a warrant ſigned by the whole board, except Father *Petre*, who was paſt over by the King's order. This ſet all the whole City into the higheſt fermentation that was ever known in memory of man. The Biſhops were ſent by water to the Tower: And all along as they paſt the banks of the river were full of people, who kneeled down and aſked their bleſſing, and with loud ſhouts expreſſed their good wiſhes for them, and their concern in their preſervation. The ſoldiers, and other officers in the Tower, did the ſame. An univerſal conſternation appeared in all peoples looks. But the King was not moved with all this. And, tho' two days after, upon the Queen's pretended delivery, the King had a fair occaſion to have granted a general pardon to celebrate the joy of that birth, (and it was given out by thoſe Papiſts that had always affected to paſs for moderate men, that they had all preſſed this vehemently,) the King was inflexible:

They were ſent to the Tower.

1688 He ſaid, his authority would become contemptible, if he ſuffered ſuch an affront to paſs unpuniſhed.

A week after their commitment, they were brought upon a *Habeas Corpus* to the King's bench bar, where their Counſel offered to make it appear to be an illegal commitment: But the Court allowed it good in law. They were required to enter into bonds for ſmall ſums, to anſwer to the information that day fortnight.

But ſoon after diſcharged. The Biſhops were diſcharged of their impriſonment: And people of all ſorts ran to viſit them as Confeſſors, one company going in as another went out. The appearance in *Weſtminſter-Hall* was very ſolemn: About thirty of the Nobility accompanying them. All the ſtreets were full of ſhoutings the reſt of the day, and with bonefires at night.

They were tried. When the day fixed for their trial came, there was a vaſt concourſe. *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and all the places about, were full of people, who were ſtrangely affected with the matter. Even the Army, that was then encamped on *Hounſlow-Heath*, ſhewed ſuch a diſpoſition to mutiny, that it gave the King no ſmall uneaſineſs. The trial came on, which was chiefly managed againſt the Biſhops by Sir *William Williams*. He had been Speaker in two ſucceſſive Parliaments, and was a zealous promoter of the Excluſion: And he had continued many years a bold pleader in all cauſes againſt the Court: But he was a corrupt and vicious man, who had no principles, but followed his own intereſts. *Sawyer* the Attorney General, who had for many years ſerved the ends of the Court in a moſt abject and obſequions manner, would not ſupport the diſpenſing power: So he was turned out, *Powis* being advanced to be Attorney General: And *Williams* was made Solicitor General. *Powis* acted his part in this trial as fairly as his poſt could admit of. But *Williams* took very indecent liberties. And he had great advantages over *Sawyer* and *Finch*, who were among the Biſhops Counſel, by reflecting on the precedents and proceedings during their being the King's Counſel. The King's Counſel could not have full proof, that the Biſhops hands were truly theirs, and were forced to have recourſe to the confeſſion they had made at the Council board; which was thought very diſhonourable, ſince they had made that confeſſion in confidence, truſting to the King's honour, tho' it did not appear that any promiſe was made, that no advantage ſhould be taken of that confeſſion. No proof was brought of their publiſhing it, which was the main point. The preſenting it to the King, and afterwards their owning it to be their petition, when it was put to them at the Council board, was all that the King's Counſel could offer

offer for proof of this; which was an apparent ſtrain, in which even thoſe Judges, that were the ſureſt to the Court, did not ſeem to be ſatisfied. It was much urged againſt them, that this petition was a libel, tending to the defaming the King's government. 1688

But to this it was anſwered, that they having received an order, to which they found they could not give obedience, thought it was incumbent on them, as Biſhops, and as ſubjects, to lay before the King their reaſons for it: All ſubjects had a right to petition the King: They as Peers were of his great Council, and ſo had yet a better claim to that: And that more particularly in matters of religion; for the act of uniformity in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time had required them under a curſe to look carefully after thoſe matters: The diſpenſing power had been often brought into debate in Parliament, and was always voted to be againſt law: And the late King had yielded the point by recalling his declaration: So they thought, they had a right to repreſent theſe things to the King. And occaſion was often taken to reflect on the diſpenſing power. To this the King's Counſel replied, that the votes of one or both Houſes were not laws, till they were enacted by King and Parliament: And the late King's paſſing once from a point of his prerogative did not give it up, but only waved it for that time: They urged much the ſacredneſs of the King's authority; that a paper might be true in fact, and yet be a libel; that in Parliament the two Houſes had a right to petition, but it was ſedition to do it in a point of government out of Parliament.

The trial did laſt long, above ten hours. The crouds continued in expectation all the while, and expreſſed ſo great a concern for the Biſhops, that the witneſſes who were brought againſt them were not only treated with much ſcorn, and loud laughter upon every occaſion, but ſeemed to be in ſuch danger, that they eſcaped narrowly, going away by a back paſſage. Two of the Judges, *Powel* and *Halloway*, delivered their opinion, that there was no ſeditions matter in the petition, and that it was no libel. *Wright* was now brought into this Court and made Chief Juſtice; and *Herbert* was made Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas: *Herbert* was with the Court in the main of the King's diſpenſing power, but was againſt them in moſt particulars: So he could not ſerve their ends in this Court. *Wright* was the properer tool. He in his charge called the petition a libel: But he did not think the publication was proved.

The Jury was fairly returned. When they were ſhut up, they were ſoon agreed upon their verdict, to acquit the Biſhops. But it was thought to be both the more ſolemn, and the ſafer way, And acquitted.

1688 way, to continue ſhut up till the morning. The King ſtill flattered himſelf with the hope that the Biſhops would be brought in guilty. He went that morning to the camp: For the ill humour the Army was in the day before, made him think it neceſſary to go and keep them in awe and order by his own preſence.

To the great joy of the Town and Nation.

The Court ſat again next day. And then the Jury came in with their verdict. Upon which there were ſuch ſhoutings, ſo long continued, and as it were echoed into the City, that all people were ſtruck with it. Every man ſeemed tranſported with joy. Bonefires were made all about the ſtreets. And the news going over the Nation, produced the like rejoycings and bonefires all *England* over. The King's preſence kept the Army in ſome order. But he was no ſooner gone out of the camp, than he was followed with an univerſal ſhouting, as if it had been a victory obtained. And ſo fatally was the King puſhed on to his ruin, that he ſeemed not to be by all this enough convinced of the folly of thoſe violent counſels. He intended ſtill to purſue them. It was therefore reſolved on, to bring this matter of the contempt of the order of Council in not reading the declaration before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. They did not think fit to cite the Archbiſhop and Biſhops before them: For they did not doubt they would plead to their juriſdiction, and refuſe to acknowledge their authority; which they hoped their Chancellors, and the inferior Clergy, would not venture on.

The Clergy was next deſigned againſt.

Citations were ſent out requiring the Chancellors, and Archdeacons to ſend in the liſts of all the Clergy, both of ſuch as had obeyed, and of thoſe who had not obeyed the order of Council. Some of theſe were now ſo much animated with the ſenſe that the Nation had expreſſed of the Biſhop's impriſonment and trial, that they declared they would not obey this order: And others excuſed themſelves in ſofter terms. When the day came to which they were cited, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, tho' he himſelf had obeyed the order, and had hitherto gone along, ſitting with the other Commiſſioners, but had always voted on the milder ſide, yet now, when he ſaw matters were running ſo faſt to the ruin of the Church, he not only would ſit no longer with them, but wrote a letter to them; in which he ſaid, it was impoſſible for him to go on with them any longer, for tho' he himſelf had obeyed the order of Council, which he proteſted he did becauſe he thought he was bound in conſcience to do it, yet he did not doubt but that thoſe who had not obeyed it had gone upon the ſame principle of following their conſcience, and he would much rather chooſe

to ſuffer with them than to concur in making them ſuffer. This ſtopped proceedings for that day, and put the Court to a ſtand. So they adjourned themſelves till *December:* And they never ſat any more. 1688

This was the progreſs of that tranſaction, which was conſidered all *Europe* over as the trial whether the King or the Church were like to prevail. The deciſion was as favourable as was poſſible. The King did aſſume to himſelf a power to make laws void, and to qualify men for employments, whom the law had put under ſuch incapacities that all they did was null and void. The Sheriffs and Mayors of towns were no legal Officers: Judges, (one of them being a profeſſed Papiſt, *Alibon,*) who took not the Teſt, were no Judges: So that the government, and the legal adminiſtration of it, was broken. A Parliament returned by ſuch men was no legal Parliament. All this was done by vertue of the diſpenſing power, which changed the whole frame of our government, and ſubjected all the laws to the King's pleaſure: For, upon the ſame pretence of that power, other declarations might have come out voiding any other laws that the Court found ſtood in their way; ſince we had ſcarce any law that was fortified with ſuch clauſes to force the execution of it, as thoſe that were laid aſide had in them. And when the King pretended, that this was ſuch a ſacred point of government, that a petition, offered in the modeſteſt terms, and in the humbleſt manner poſſible, calling it in queſtion, was made ſo great a crime, and carried ſo far againſt men of ſuch eminence; this I confeſs ſatisfied me, that here was a total deſtruction of our conſtitution, avowedly began, and violently proſecuted. Here was not jealouſies nor fears: The thing was open and avowed. This was not a ſingle act of illegal violence, but a declared deſign againſt the whole of our conſtitution. It was not only the judgment of a Court of law: The King had now by two publick acts of ſtate, renewed in two ſucceſſive years, openly publiſhed his deſign. This appeared ſuch a total ſubverſion, that, according to the principles that ſome of the higheſt aſſertors of ſubmiſſion and obedience, *Barklay* and *Grotius*, had laid down, it was now lawful for the Nation to look to itſelf, and ſee to its own preſervation. And, as ſoon as any man was convinced that this was lawful, there remained nothing but to look to the Prince of *Orange*, who was the only perſon that either could ſave them, or had a right to it: Since by all the laws in the world, even private as well as publick, he that has in him the reverſion of any eſtate has a right to hinder the poſſeſſor, if he goes about to deſtroy that which is to come to him after the poſſeſſor's death. The Effect this had every where.

1688 Upon all this diſorder that *England* was falling into, Admiral *Ruſſel* came to the *Hague*. He had a good pretence for coming over to *Holland*, for he had a ſiſter then living in it. He was deſired by many of great power and intereſt in *England* to ſpeak very freely to the Prince, and to know poſitively of him what might be expected from him. All people were now in a gaze: Thoſe who had little or no religion had no mind to turn Papiſts, if they could ſee any probable way of reſiſting the fury with which the Court was now driving: But men of fortune, if they ſaw no viſible proſpect, would be governed by their preſent intereſt: They were at preſent united: But, if a breaking ſhould once happen, and ſome men of figure ſhould be prevailed on to change, that might go far; eſpecially in a corrupt and diſſolute Army, that was as it were let looſe to commit crimes and violences every where, in which they were rather encouraged than puniſhed; for it ſeemed to be ſet up as a maxim, that the Army by rendring it ſelf odions to the Nation would become thereby entirely devoted to the Court: But after all, tho' ſoldiers were bad *Engliſhmen* and worſe Chriſtians, yet the Court found them too good Proteſtants to truſt much to them. So *Ruſſel* put the Prince to explain himſelf what he intended to do.

Ruſſel preſſed the Prince.

The Prince's anſwer. The Prince anſwered, that, if he was invited by ſome men of the beſt intereſt, and the moſt valued in the Nation, who ſhould both in their own name, and in the name of others who truſted them, invite him to come and reſcue the Nation and the Religion, he believed he could be ready by the end of *September* to come over. The main confidence we had was in the Electoral Prince of *Brandenburg*; for the old Elector was then dying. And I told *Ruſſel* at parting, that, unleſs he died, there would be great difficulties, not eaſily maſtered, in the deſign of the Prince's expedition to *England*.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s death. He was then ill of a dropſy, which, coming afer a gout of a long continuance, ſeemed to threaten a ſpeedy end of his life. I had the honour to ſee him at *Cleve*; and was admitted to two long audiences, in which he was pleaſed to ſpeak to me with great freedom. He was a Prince of great courage. He both underſtood military matters well, and loved them much. He had a very perfect view of the ſtate *Europe* had been in for fifty years, in which he had born a great ſhare in all affairs, having directed his own counſels himſelf. He had a wonderful memory, even in the ſmalleſt matters; for every thing paſt under his eye. He had a quick apprehenſion, and a cholerick temper. The heat of his ſpirits was apt to kindle too quick, till his intereſt cooled him: And that fetched him back, which

brought him under the cenſure of changing ſides too ſoon and too often. He was a very zealous man in all the concerns of religion. His own life was regular and free of all blemiſhes. He tried all that was poſſible to bring the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* to ſome terms of reconciliation. He complained much of the rigidity of the *Lutherans*, more particularly of thoſe in *Pruſſia:* Nor was he well pleaſed with the ſtiffneſs of the *Calviniſts:* And he inveighed againſt the Synod of *Dort*, as that which had ſet all on fire, and made matters almoſt paſt reconciling. He thought, all poſitive deciſions in thoſe matters ought to be laid aſide by both parties, without which nothing could bring them to a better temper. 1688

He had a very ſplendid Court: And to maintain that, and his great armies, his ſubjects were preſſed hard by many uneaſy taxes. He ſeemed not to have a juſt ſenſe of the miſeries of his people. His Miniſters had great power over him in all leſſer matters, while he directed the greater: And he ſuffered them to enrich themſelves exceſſively.

In the end of his life the Electoreſs had gained great credit, and governed his counſels too much. He had ſet it up for a maxim, that the Electoral families in *Germany* had weakned themſelves ſo much, that they would not be able to maintain the liberty of the Empire againſt the *Auſtrian* Family, which was now riſing by their victories in *Hungary:* The Honſes of *Saxe*, and the *Palatine*, and of *Brunſwick*, and *Heſſe*, had done this ſo much, by the diſmembring ſome of their dominions to their younger children, that they were mouldring to nothing: He therefore reſolved to keep all his dominions entire in one hand: This would make his Family the balance to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, on whom the reſt of the Empire muſt depend: And he ſuffered his Electoreſs to provide for her children, and to enrich herſelf by all the ways ſhe could think on, ſince he would not give them any ſhare of his dominions. This ſhe did not fail to do. And the Elector, having juſt cauſe of complaint for being abandoned by the Allies in the peace of *Nimeguen*, and ſo forced to reſtore what he had got from the *Swedes*, the *French* upon that gave him a great penſion, and made the Electoreſs ſuch preſents, that he was prevailed on to enter into their intereſts: And in this he made ſome ill ſteps in the decline of his life. But nothing could ſoften him with relation to that Court, after they broke the edict of *Nantes*, and began the perſecution of the Proteſtants. He took great care of all the Refugees. He ſet men on the frontier of *France* to receive and defray them; and gave them all the marks of Chriſtian compaſſion, and of a bounty becoming ſo great a Prince. But his age and infirmi-

ties,

1688 ties, he being crippled with the gout, and the ill underſtanding that was between the Prince the Electoral and Electoreſs, had ſo disjointed his Court, that little was to be expected from him.

Death came upon him quicker than was looked for. He received the intimations of it with the firmneſs that became both a Chriſtian and a Hero. He gave his laſt advices to his ſon, and to his Miniſters, with a greatneſs and a tenderneſs that both ſurpriſed and melted them all: And above all other things he recommended to them the concerns of the Proteſtant Religion, then in ſuch an univerſal danger. His ſon had not his genius. He had not a ſtrength of body nor a force of mind capable of great matters. But he was filled with zeal for the Reformed Religion: And he was at that time ſo entirely poſſeſſed with a confidence in the Prince of *Orange*, and with a high eſteem of him, as he was his couſin german, that we had a much better proſpect of all our affairs by his ſucceeding his father. And this was encreaſed by the great credit that *Dankelman*, who had been his Governor, continued to have with him: For he had true notions of the affairs of *Europe*, and was a zealous Proteſtant, and was like to prove a very good Miniſter, tho' he was too abſolute in his favour, and was too much ſet on raiſing his own family. All at the *Hague* were looking with great concern on the affairs of *Europe*; theſe being, in many reſpects, and in many different places, brought to a very critical ſtate.

The Queen gave out that ſhe was with child.

I muſt now look back to *England*, where the Queen's delivery was the ſubject of all men's diſcourſe. And ſince ſo much depends on this, I will give as full and as diſtinct an account of all that related to that matter, as I could gather up either at that time or afterwards. The Queen had been for ſix or ſeven years in ſuch an ill ſtate of health, that every winter brought her very near death. Thoſe about her ſeemed well aſſured that ſhe, who had buried all her children ſoon after they were born, and had now for ſeveral years ceaſed bearing, would have no more children. Her own Prieſts apprehended it, and ſeemed to wiſh for her death. She had great and frequent diſtempers, that returned often, which put all people out of their hopes or fears of her having any children. Her ſpirits were now much on the fret. She was eager in the proſecution of all the King's deſigns. It was believed, that ſhe had a main hand in driving him to them all. And he, perhaps to make her gentler to him in his vagrant amours, was more eaſy to her in every thing elſe. The Lady *Dorcheſter* was come back from *Ireland*: And the King went oft to her. But it was viſible, ſhe was

not like to gain that credit in affairs, to which ſhe had aſpired: And therefore this was leſs conſidered. 1688

She had another mortification, when *Fitz-James* the King's ſon was made Duke of *Berwick*. He was a ſoft and harmleſs young man, and was much beloved by the King: But the Queen's diſlike kept him from making any great figure. He made two campaigns in *Hungary*, that were little to his honour: For, as his Governor diverted the allowance that was given for keeping a table, and ſent him always to eat at other tables, ſo, tho' in the ſiege of *Buda* there were many occaſions given him to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf, yet he had appeared in none of them. There was more care taken of his perſon, than became his age and condition. Yet his Governor's brother was a Jeſuit, and in the ſecret: So every thing was ventured on by him, and all was forgiven him.

In *September*, the former year, the Queen went to the *Bath*, where, as was already told, the King came and ſaw her, and ſtaid a few days with her. She after that purſued a full courſe of bathing: And, having reſolved to return in the end of *September*, an accident took her to which the ſex is ſubject: And that made her ſtay there a week longer. She came to *Windſor* on the ſixth of *October*. It was ſaid, that, at the very time of her coming to the King, her mother, the Ducheſs of *Modena*, made a vow to the Lady *Loretto*, that her daughter might by her means have a ſon. And it went current, that the Queen believed herſelf to be with child in that very inſtant, in which her mother made her vow: Of which, ſome travellers have aſſured me, there was a ſolemn record made at *Loretto*. A conception ſaid to be thus begun looked ſuſpicious. It was now fixed to the ſixth of *October:* So the nine months were to run to the ſixth of *July*. She was in the progreſs of her big belly let blood ſeveral times: And the moſt aſtringent things that could be propoſed were uſed.

It was ſoon obſerved, that all things about her perſon were managed with a myſterious ſecrecy, into which none were admitted but a few Papiſts. She was not dreſſed nor undreſſed with the uſual ceremony. Prince *George* told me, that the Princeſs went as far in deſiring to be ſatisfied by feeling the motion, after ſhe ſaid ſhe was quick, as ſhe could go without breaking with her: And ſhe had ſometimes ſtaid by her even indecently long in mornings, to ſee her riſe, and to give her her ſhift: But ſhe never did either. She never offered any ſatisfaction in that matter by letter to the Princeſs of *Orange*, nor to any of the Ladies of quality, in whoſe word the world would have acquieſced. The thing upon this began to be ſuſpected: And ſome libels were writ, treating the whole as an impoſture. The uſe the Queen

1688 made of this was, to ſay, that ſince ſhe ſaw ſome were ſuſpecting her as capable of ſo black a contrivance, ſhe ſcorned to ſatisfy thoſe who could entertain ſuch thoughts of her. How juſt ſoever this might be with relation to the libellers, yet certainly, if ſhe was truly with child, ſhe owed it to the King and herſelf, to the King's daughters, but moſt of all to the infant ſhe carried in her belly, to give ſuch reaſonable ſatisfaction, as might put an end to jealouſy. This was in her power to do every day: And her not doing it gave juſt grounds of ſuſpicion.

Things went thus on till *Monday* in *Eaſter* week. On that day the King went to *Rocheſter*, to ſee ſome of the naval preparations; but was ſoon ſent for by the Queen, who apprehended ſhe was in danger of miſcarrying. Dr. *Scarborough* was come to *Knightsbridge* to ſee Biſhop *Ward*, my predeceſſor, who had been his antient friend, and was then his patient: But the Queen's coach was ſent to call him in all haſte, ſince ſhe was near miſcarrying. Dr. *Windebank*, who knew nothing of this matter, ſtaid long that morning upon an appointment for Dr. *Wallgrave*, another of the Queen's phyſicians, who the next time he ſaw him excuſed himſelf, for the Queen, he ſaid, was then under the moſt apparent ſigns of miſcarrying. Of this the Doctor made oath: And it is yet extant.

On the ſame day the Counteſs of *Clarendon*, being to go out of town for a few days, came to ſee the Queen before ſhe went, knowing nothing of what had happen'd to her. And ſhe, being a Lady of the Bed-chamber to Queen *Dowager*, did, according to the rule of the Court, go into the Queen's Bed-chamber without aſking admittance. She ſaw the Queen a bed, bemoaning herſelf in a moſt doleful manner, ſaying often, *Undone, Undone:* And one that belonged to her carried ſomewhat out of the bed, which ſhe believed was linen taken from the Queen. She was upon this in ſome confuſion: And the Counteſs of *Powis* coming in, went to her, and ſaid with ſome ſharpneſs, what do you here? And carried her to the door. Before ſhe had got out of the Court, one of the Bed-chamber women followed her, and charged her not to ſpeak of any thing ſhe had ſeen that day. This matter, whatever was in it, was huſhed up: And the Queen held on her courſe.

The Princeſs had miſcarried in the ſpring. So, as ſoon as ſhe had recovered her ſtrength, the King preſſed her to go to the *Bath*, ſince that had ſo good an effect on the Queen. Some of her phyſicians, and all her other friends, were againſt her going. *Lower*, one of her phyſicians told me, he was againſt it: He thought, ſhe was not ſtrong enough for the *Bath*, tho' the King preſſed it with an unuſual vehemence. *Millington*, another phyſician, told

the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, from whom I had it, that he was preſſed to go to the Princeſs, and adviſe her to go to the *Bath*. The perſon that ſpoke to him told him, the King was much ſet on it, and that he expected it of him, that he would perſuade her to it. *Millington* anſwered, he would not adviſe a patient according to direction, but according to his own reaſon: So he would not go. *Scarborough* and *Witherly* took it upon them to adviſe it: So ſhe went thither in the end of *May*. 1688

As ſoon as ſhe was gone, thoſe about the Queen did all of the ſudden change her reckoning, and began it from the King's being with her at *Bath*. This came on ſo quick, that, tho' the Queen had ſet the fourteenth of *June* for her going to *Windſor*, where ſhe intended to lie in, and all the preparations for the birth and for the child were ordered to be made ready by the end of *June*, yet now a reſolution was taken for the Queen's lying in at St. *James's*; and directions were given to have all things quickly ready. The *Bath* water either did not agree with the Princeſs: Or the advices of her friends were ſo preſſing, who thought her abſence from the Court at that time of ſuch conſequence, that in compliance with them ſhe gave it out it did not, and that therefore ſhe would return in a few days. The Queen's reckoning changed.

The day after the Court had this notice, the Queen ſaid, ſhe would go to St. *James's*, and look for the good hour. She was often told, that it was impoſſible upon ſo ſhort a warning to have things ready. But ſhe was ſo poſitive, that ſhe ſaid, ſhe would lie there that night, tho' ſhe ſhould lie upon the boards. And at night, tho' the ſhorter and quicker way was to go from *Whitehall* to St. *James's* thro' the Park, and ſhe always went that way, yet now, by a ſort of affectation, ſhe would be carried thither by *Charing-Croſs* thro' the *Pall-Mall*. And it was given out by all her train, that ſhe was going to be delivered. Some ſaid, it would be next morning: And the Prieſts ſaid very confidently, that it would be a boy.

The next morning, about nine a clock, ſhe ſent word to the King, that ſhe was in labour. The Queen *Dowager* was next ſent to. But no Ladies were ſent for: So that no women were in the room, but two dreſſers and one under dreſſer, and the midwife. The Earl of *Arran* ſent notice to the Counteſs of *Sunderland:* So ſhe came. The Lady *Bellaſis* came alſo in time. The Proteſtant Ladies that belonged to the Court were all gone to Church before the news was let go abroad: For it happen'd on *Trinity Sunday*, it being that year on the tenth of *June*. The King brought over with him from *Whitehall* a great many Peers and Privy Counſellors. And of theſe eighteen were let into the Bed-chamber The Queen ſaid to be in labour.

1688 Bed-chamber: But they ſtood at the furtheſt end of the room. The Ladies ſtood within the alcove. The curtains of the bed were drawn cloſe, and none came within them, but the midwife, and an under dreſſer. The Queen lay all the while a bed: And, in order to the warming one ſide of it, a warming pan was brought. But it was not opened, that it might be ſeen that there was fire and nothing elſe in it: So here was matter for ſuſpicion, with which all people were filled.

And delivered of a ſon. A little before ten, the Queen cried out as in a ſtrong pain, and immediately after the midwife ſaid aloud, ſhe was happily brought to bed. When the Lords all cried out of what, the midwife anſwered, the Queen muſt not be ſurpriſed: Only ſhe gave a ſign to the Counteſs of *Sunderland*, who upon that touched her forehead, by which, it being the ſign before agreed on, the King ſaid he knew it was a boy. No cries were heard from the child: Nor was it ſhewed to thoſe in the room. It was pretended, more air was neceſſary. The under dreſſer went out with the child, or ſomewhat elſe, in her arms to a dreſſing room, to which there was a door near the Queen's bed: But there was another entry to it from other apartments.

Great grounds of jealouſy appeared. The King continued with the Lords in the Bed-chamber for ſome minutes, which was either a ſign of much phlegm upon ſuch an occaſion; for it was not known whether the child was alive or dead: Or it looked like the giving time for ſome management. After a little while they went all into the dreſſing room: And then the news was publiſhed. In the mean while, no body was called to lay their hands on the Queen's belly, in order to a full ſatisfaction. When the Princeſs came to town three days after, ſhe had as little ſatisfaction given her. *Chamberlain*, the man midwife, who was always ordered to attend her labour before, and who brought the plaiſters for putting back the milk, wondered that he had not been ſent to. He went according to cuſtom with the plaiſters: But he was told they had no occaſion for him. He fancied, that ſome other perſon was put in his place: But he could not find that any had it. All that concerned the milk, or the Queen's purgations, was managed ſtill in the dark. This made all people inclined more and more to believe, there was a baſe impoſture now put on the Nation. That ſtill increaſed. That night one *Hemings*, a very worthy man, an Apothecary by his trade, who lived in St. *Martin's Lane*, the very next door to a family of an eminent Papiſt: (*Brown*, brother to the Viſcount *Montacute*, lived there:) The wall between his parlour and theirs being ſo thin, that he could eaſily hear any thing that was ſaid with a louder voice, he (*Hemings*) was reading in his parlour late at night, when he

heard one coming into the neighbouring parlour, and ſay with a doleful voice, the Prince of *Wales* is dead: Upon which a great many that lived in the houſe came down ſtairs very quick: Upon this confuſion he could not hear any thing more; but it was plain, they were in a great conſternation. He went with the news next morning to the Biſhops in the Tower. The Counteſs of *Clarendon* came thither ſoon after, and told them, ſhe had been at the young Prince's door, but was denied acceſs: She was amazed at it; and aſked, if they knew her: They ſaid, they did; but that the Queen had ordered, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould be ſuffered to come in to him. This gave credit to *Heming*'s ſtory, and looked as if all was ordered to be kept ſhut up cloſe, till another child was found. One, that ſaw the child two days after, ſaid to me, that he looked ſtrong, and not like a child ſo newly born. *Windebank* met *Walgrave* the day after this birth, and remembred him of what he had told him eight weeks before. He acknowledged what he had ſaid, but added, that God wrought miracles: To which no reply could, or durſt be made by the other: It needed none. So healthy a child being ſo little like any of thoſe the Queen had born, it was given out, that he had fits, and could not live. But thoſe who ſaw him every day obſerved no ſuch thing. On the contrary the child was in a very proſperous ſtate. None of thoſe fits ever happen'd, when the Princeſs was at Court; for ſhe could not be denied admittance, tho' all others were. So this was believed to be given out to make the matter more credible. It is true, ſome weeks after that, the Court being gone to *Windſor*, and the child ſent to *Richmond*, he fell into ſuch fits, that four phyſicians were ſent for. They all looked on him as a dying child. The King and Queen were ſent for. The phyſicians went to a dinner prepared for them; and were often wondring that they were not called for. They took it for granted, that the child was dead. But, when they went in after dinner to look on him, they ſaw a ſound healthy child, that ſeemed to have had no ſort of illneſs on him. It was ſaid, that the child was ſtrangely revived of a ſudden. Some of the phyſicians told *Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, that it was not poſſible for them to think it was the ſame child. They looked on one another, but durſt not ſpeak what they thought.

1688

The child, as was believed, died, and another was put in his room.

Thus I have related ſuch particulars as I could gather of this birth: To which ſome more ſhall be added, when I give an account of the proof that the King brought afterwards to put this matter out of doubt; but by which it became indeed more doubtful than ever. I took moſt of theſe from the informations that were ſent over to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*,

1688 as I had many from the vouchers themſelves. I do not mix with theſe the various reports that were, both then and afterwards, ſpread of this matter, of which Biſhop *Lloyd* has a great collection, moſt of them well atteſted. What truth ſoever may be in theſe, this is certain, that the method in which this matter was conducted from firſt to laſt was very unaccountable. If an impoſture had been intended, it could not have been otherwiſe managed. The pretended excuſe that the Queen made, that ſhe owed no ſatisfaction to thoſe who could ſuſpect her capable of ſuch baſe forgery, was the only excuſe that ſhe could have made, if it had been really what it was commonly ſaid to be. She ſeemed to be ſoon recovered, and was ſo little altered by her labour, either in her looks or voice, that this helped not a little to encreaſe jealouſies. The rejoycings over *England* upon this birth were very cold and forced. Bonefires were made in ſome places, and a ſet of congratulatory addreſſes went round the Nation. None durſt oppoſe them. But all was formal, and only to make a ſhew.

The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſent to congratulate.

The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* received the news of this birth very decently. The firſt letters gave not thoſe grounds of ſuſpicion that were ſent to them afterwards. So they ſent over *Zuyleſtein* to congratulate: And the Princeſs ordered the Prince of *Wales* to be prayed for in her Chapel. Upon this occaſion, it may not be improper to ſet down what the Princeſs ſaid to my ſelf on this ſubject two years before. I had aſked her, in the freedom of much diſcourſe, if ſhe knew the temper of her own mind, and how ſhe could bear the Queen's having a ſon. She ſaid, ſhe was ſure it would give her no concern at all on her own account: God knew beſt what was fit for her: And, if it was not to ſerve the great ends of providence, ſhe was ſure that, as to her ſelf, ſhe would rather wiſh to live and die in the condition ſhe was then in. The advertiſements formerly mentioned came over from ſo many hands, that it was impoſſible not to be ſhaken by them. It was alſo taken ill in *England*, that the Princeſs ſhould have begun ſo early to pray for the pretended Prince: Upon which the naming him diſcontinued. But this was ſo highly reſented by the Court of *England*, that the Prince, fearing it might precipitate a rupture, ordered him to be again named in the prayers.

The Prince deſigns an expedition to *England*.

The Prince ſet himſelf with great application to prepare for the intended expedition: For *Zuyleſtein* brought him ſuch poſitive advices, and ſuch an aſſurance of the invitation he had deſired, that he was fully fixed in his purpoſe. It was adviſed from *England*, that the Prince could never hope for a more favourable conjuncture, nor for better grounds to break on, than he

he had at that time. The whole Nation was in a high fermentation. The proceedings againſt the Biſhops, and thoſe that were ſtill kept on foot againſt the Clergy, made all people think the ruin of the Church was reſolved on, and that on the firſt occaſion it would be executed, and that the Religion would be altered. The pretended birth made them reckon that Popery and Slavery would be entailed on the Nation. And, if this heat went off, people would loſe heart. It was alſo viſible, that the Army continued well affected. They ſpoke openly againſt Popery: They drank the moſt reproachful healths againſt them that could be invented, and treated the few Papiſts that were among them with ſcorn and averſion. The King ſaw this ſo viſibly, that he broke up the camp, and ſent them to their quarters: And it was believed, that he would bring them no more together, till they were modelled more to his mind. The ſeamen ſhewed the ſame inclinations. The *Dutch* had ſet out a fleet of twenty four men of war, on pretence to ſecure their trade: So the King reſolved to ſet out as ſtrong a fleet. *Strickland*, who was a Papiſt, had the command. He brought ſome Prieſts aboard with him, who ſaid Maſs, or at leaſt performed ſuch offices of their Religion as are allowed on ſhips of war: And the Chaplain, that was to ſerve the Proteſtants in *Strickland*'s ſhip, was ſent away upon a ſlight pretence. This put the whole Fleet into ſuch a diſorder, that it was like to end in a mutiny. *Strickland* puniſhed ſome for this: And the King came down to accommodate the matter. He ſpoke very ſoftly to the ſeamen: Yet this made no great impreſſion: For they hated Popery in general, and *Strickland* in particular. When ſome gained perſons among the ſeamen tried their affections to the *Dutch*, it appeared they had no inclinations to make war on them. They ſaid aloud, they were their friends and their brethren; but they would very willingly go againſt the *French*. The King ſaw all this, and was reſolved to take other more moderate meaſures. 1688

Sunderland advised more moderate proceedings.

Theſe advices were ſuggeſted by the Earl of *Sunderland*, who ſaw the King was running violently to his own ruin. So, as ſoon as the Queen admitted men to audiences, he had ſome very long ones of her. He repreſented to her, that the ſtate of her affairs was quite changed by her having a ſon. There was no need of driving things faſt, now they had a ſucceſſion ſure: Time would bring all about, if matters were but ſoftly managed. He told her, it would become her to ſet up for the author of gentle counſels, that ſhe might by another adminiſtration lay the flame that was now kindled. By this ſhe would gain the hearts of the Nation, both to her ſelf and to her ſon:

1688 She might be declared Regent, in caſe the King ſhould die before her ſon came to be of age. He found theſe advices began to be hearkned to. But, that he might have the more credit in preſſing them, he, who had but too ſlight notions of religion, reſolved to declare himſelf a Papiſt. And then, he being in the ſame intereſt with her, and moſt violently hated for this ill ſtep he had made, he gained ſuch an aſcendant over her ſpirit, that things were like to be put in another management.

And he turned Papiſt.

He made the ſtep to Popery all of the ſudden, without any previous inſtruction or conference: So that the change he made looked too like a man who, having no religion, took up one, rather for to ſerve a turn, than that he was truly changed from one religion to another. He has been ſince accuſed, as if he had done all this to gain the more credit, that ſo he might the more effectually ruin the King. There was a ſuſpicion of another nature, that ſtuck with ſome in *England*, who thought that Mr. *Sidney*, who had the ſecret of all the correſpondence that was between the Prince and his party in *England*, being in particular friendſhip with the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Earl had got into that ſecret: And they fancied he would get into the Prince's confidence by *Sidney*'s means. So I was writ to, and deſired to put it home to the Prince, whether he was in any confidence or correſpondence with the Earl of *Sunderland*, or not? For, till they were ſatisfied in that matter, they would not go on; ſince they believed he would betray all, when things were ripe for it, and that many were engaged in the deſign. The Prince upon that did ſay very poſitively, that he was in no ſort of correſpondence with him. His counſels lay then another way. And, if time had been given him to follow the ſcheme then laid down by him, things might have turned fatally: And the Nation might have been ſo laid aſleep with new promiſes, and a different conduct, that in a ſlow method they might have gained that, which they were ſo near loſing by the violent proceedings in which they had gone ſo far. The Judges had orders in their circuits to proceed very gently, and to give new promiſes in the King's name. But they were treated every where with ſuch contempt, that the common decencies were ſcarce paid them, when they were on the bench. And they now ſaw that the preſentments of Grand Juries, and the verdicts of other Juries, were no more under their direction. Things ſlept in *England*, as is uſual, during the long vacation. But the Court had little quiet, having every day freſh alarms from abroad, as well as great mortifications at home.

I must now change the scene, and give a large account of the affairs abroad, they having such a connection with all that followed in *England*. Upon the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s death, the Prince sent Mr. *Bentink* with the compliment to the new Elector: And he was ordered to lay before him the state of affairs, and to communicate the Prince's design to him, and to ask him, how much he might depend upon him for his assistance. The answer was full and frank. He offered all that was asked, and more. The Prince resolved to carry over to *England* an Army of nine thousand foot, and four thousand horse and dragoons. He intended to choose these out of the whole *Dutch* Army. But for the security of the States, under such a diminution of their force, it was necessary to have a strength from some other Princes. This was soon concerted between the Prince and the new Elector, with the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Duke of *Lunenburg* and *Zell*, who had a particular affection to the Prince, and was a cordial friend to him on all occasions. 1688 The Prince of *Orange* treats with some Princes of the Empire.

His brother, the Duke of *Hannover*, was at that time in some engagements with the Court of *France*. But, since he had married the Princess *Sophia* of the *Palatine* House, I ventured to send a message to her by one of their Court, who was then at the *Hague*. He was a *French* Refugee, named Mr. *Boucour*. It was to acquaint her with our design with relation to *England*, and to let her know, that, if we succeeded, certainly a perpetual exclusion of all Papists from the succession to the Crown would be enacted: And, since she was the next Protestant heir after the two Princesses, and the Prince of *Orange*, of whom at that time there was no issue alive, I was very confident, that, if the Duke of *Hannover* could be disengaged from the interests of *France*, so that he came into our interests, the succession to the Crown would be lodged in her person, and in her posterity; tho' on the other hand, if he continued, as he stood then, engaged with *France*, I could not answer for this. The Gentleman carried the message, and delivered it. The Duchess entertained it with much warmth: And brought him to the Duke to repeat it to him. But at that time this made no great impression on him. He looked on it as a remote and a doubtful project. Yet when he saw our success in *England*, he had other thoughts of it. Some days after this *Frenchman* was gone, I told the Prince what I had done. He approved of it heartily: But was particularly glad, that I had done it, as of my self, without communicating it to him, or any way engaging him in it: For he said, if it should happen to be known that the proposition was made by him, it might do us hurt in *England*, as if he had already

1688 ready reckoned himſelf ſo far maſter, as to be forming projects concerning the ſucceſſion to the Crown.

The affairs of *Colen.* But while this was in a ſecret management, the Elector of *Colen*'s death came in very luckily to give a good colour to intrigues and preparations. The old Elector was brother to *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*. He had been long Biſhop, both of *Colen* and *Liege:* He was alſo elected Biſhop of *Munſter:* But the Pope would never grant his Bulls for that See: But he had the temporalties, and that was all he thought on. He had thus a revenue of near four millions of Guilders, and four great Biſhopricks; for he was likewiſe Biſhop of *Hildeſheim*. He could arm and pay twenty thouſand men, beſides that his dominions lay quite round the *Netherlands*. *Munſter* lay between them and the Northern parts of *Germany*; and from thence their beſt recruits came. *Colen* commanded twenty leagues of the *Rhine*; by which, as an entrance was opened into *Holland*, which they had felt ſeverely in the year 1672, ſo the *Spaniſh Netherlands* were entirely cut off from all aſſiſtance that might be ſent them out of *Germany:* And *Liege* was a country full both of people and wealth, by which an entrance is open into *Brabant:* And if *Maſtreicht* was taken, the *Maeſe* was open down to *Holland*. So it was of great importance to the States to take care who ſhould ſucceed him. The old man was a weak Prince, much ſet on chymical proceſſes, in hopes of the Philoſopher's ſtone. He had taken one of the Princes of *Furſtenberg* into his particular confidence, and was entirely governed by him. He made him one of the Canons of *Colen:* And he came to be Dean at laſt. He made him not only his chief Miniſter, but left the nominatiou of the Canons that were preferred by him wholly to his choice. The Biſhop, and the Dean and Chapter, name thoſe by turns. So, what by thoſe the Elector named on his motion, what by thoſe he got to be choſen, he reckoned he was ſure of ſucceeding the Elector: And nothing but ill management could have prevented it. He had no hopes of ſucceeding at *Munſter*. But he had taken much pains to ſecure *Liege*.

I need not enlarge further on this ſtory, than to remember that he got the Elector to deliver his Country up to the *French* in the year 1672, and that the treaty opened at *Colen* was broken up on his being ſeized by the Emperor's order. After he was ſet at liberty, he was, upon the recommendation of the Court of *France*, made a Cardinal, tho' with much difficulty. In the former winter, the Emperor had been prevailed on by the *Palatine* Family to conſent to the election of a Coadjutor in *Colen*. But this was an artifice of the Cardinal's, who deceived

deceived that family into the hopes of carrying the election for one of their branches. And they obtained the Emperor's conſent to it, without which it could not be done. But ſo ill grounded were the *Palatine*'s hopes, that of twenty five voices the Cardinal had nineteeen, and they had only ſix voices. 1688

The conteſt at *Rome* about the Franchiſes had now occaſioned ſuch a rupture there, that *France* and *Rome* ſeemed to be in a ſtate of war. The Count *Lavardin* was ſent Embaſſador to *Rome*. But the Pope refuſed to receive him, unleſs he would renounce the pretenſion to the Franchiſes. So he enterd *Rome* in a hoſtile manner, with ſome troops of horſe, tho' not in form of troops: But the force was too great for the Pope. He kept guards about his houſe, and in the Franchiſes, and affronted the Pope's authority on all occaſions. The Pope bore all ſilently; but would never admit him to an audience, nor receive any meſſage nor interceſſion from the Court of *France*; and kept off every thing, in which they concerned themſelves: And therefore he would not confirm the election of a Coadjutor to *Colen*. So, that not being done when the Elector died, the Canons were to proceed to a new election, the former being void, becauſe not confirmed: For if it had been confirmed, there would have been no vacancy.

The cabal againſt the Cardinal grew ſo ſtrong, that he began to apprehend he might loſe it, if he had not leave from the Pope to reſign the Biſhoprick of *Strasburg*, which the *French* had forced him to accept, only to leſſen the penſion that they paid him by giving him that Biſhoprick. By the rules of the Empire, a man that is already a Biſhop, cannot be choſen to another See, but by a poſtulation: And to that it is neceſſary to have a concurrence of two thirds of the Chapter. But it was at the Pope's choice, whether he would accept of the reſignation of *Strasburg*, or not: And therefore he refuſed it. The King of *France* ſent a Gentleman to the Pope with a letter writ in his own hand, deſiring him to accept of that reſignation, and promiſing him upon it all reaſonable ſatisfaction: But the Pope would not admit the bearer, nor receive the letter. He ſaid, while the *French* Embaſſador lived at *Rome* like an enemy, that had invaded it, he would receive nothing from that Court.

In the Biſhopricks of *Munſter* and *Hildeſheim*, the Deans were promoted, of whom both the States and the Princes of the Empire were well aſſured. But a new management was ſet up at *Colen*. The Elector of *Bavaria* had been diſguſted at ſome things in the Emperor's Court. He complained, that the honour of the ſucceſs in *Hungary* was given ſo entirely to the Duke

1688 of *Lorrain*, that he had not the ſhare which belonged to him. The *French* inſtruments that were then about him took occaſion to alienate him more from the Emperor, by repreſenting to him, that, in the management now at *Colen*, the Emperor ſhewed more regard to the *Palatine* Family than to himſelf, after all the ſervice he had done him. The Emperor, apprehending the ill conſequences of a breach with him, ſent and offered him the ſupream command of his Armies in *Hungary* for that year, the Duke of *Lorrain* being taken ill of a fever, juſt as they were upon opening the Campaign. He likewiſe offered him all the voices that the *Palatine* had made at *Colen*, in favour of his brother Prince *Clement*. Upon this they were again reconciled: And the Elector of *Bavaria* commanded the Emperor's Army in *Hungary* ſo ſucceſsfully, that he took *Belgrade* by ſtorm after a ſhort ſiege. Prince *Clement* was then but ſeventeen, and was not of the Chapter of *Colen*. So he was not eligible according to their rules, till he obtained a Bull from the Pope diſpenſing with theſe things. That was eaſily got. With it the Emperor ſent one to manage the election in his name, with expreſs inſtructions to offer the Chapter the whole revenue and government of the temporalties for five years, in caſe they would chooſe Prince *Clement*, who wanted all that time to be of age. If he could make nine voices ſure for him, he was to ſtick firm to his intereſt. But, if he could not gain ſo many, he was to conſent to any perſon that ſhould be ſet up in oppoſition to the Cardinal. He was ordered to charge him ſeverely before the Chapter, as one that had been for many years an enemy and traitor to the Empire. This was done with all poſſible aggravations, and in very injurious words.

The Chapter ſaw, that this election was like to be attended with a war in their Country, and other diſmal conſequences: For the Cardinal was choſen by the Chapter Vicar, or Guardian of the temporalties: And he had put garriſons in all their fortified places, that were paid with *French* money: And they knew, he would put them all in the King of *France*'s hands, if he was not elected. They had promiſed not to vote in favour of the *Bavarian* Prince. So they offered to the Emperor's agent to conſent to any third perſon. But ten voices were made ſure to Prince *Clement:* So he was fixed to his intereſts. At the election, the Cardinal had fourteen voices, and Prince *Clement* had ten. By this means the Cardinal's poſtulation was defective, ſince he had not two thirds. And upon that Prince *Clement*'s election was firſt judged good by the Emperor as to the temporalties; but was tranſmitted by him to *Rome*, where a congregation of Cardinals examined it: And it was judged in

favour of Prince *Clement*. The Cardinal ſucceeded worſe at *Liege*, where the Dean was without any difficulty choſen Biſhop: And nothing but the Cardinal's purple ſaved him from the violences of the people of *Liege*. He met with all ſorts of injurious uſage, being hated there, both on the account of his depending ſo much on the protection of *France*, and for the effects they had felt of his violent and cruel Miniſtry under the old Elector. I will add one circumſtance in honour of ſome of the Canons of *Liege*. They not only would accept of no preſents from thoſe whom the States appointed to aſſiſt in managing that election, before it was made; but they refuſed them after the election was over. This I ſaw in the letter that the States Deputy wrote to the *Hague*. 1688

I have given a more particular account of this matter; becauſe I was acquainted with all the ſteps that were made in it. And it had ſuch an immediate relation to the peace and ſafety of *Holland*, that, if they had miſcarried in it, the expedition deſigned for *England* would not have been ſo ſafe, nor could it have been propoſed eaſily in the States. By this it appeared, what an influence the Papacy, low as it is, may ſtill have in the matters of the greateſt conſequence. The fooliſh pride of the *French* Court, which had affronted the Pope, in a point in which, ſince they allowed him to be the Prince of *Rome*, he certainly could lay down ſuch rules as he thought fit, did now defeat a deſign that they had been long driving at, and which could not have miſcarried by any other means, than thoſe that they had found out. Such great events may and do often riſe from inconſiderable beginnings. Theſe things furniſhed the Prince with a good blind for covering all his preparations; ſince here a war in their neighbourhood was unavoidable, and it was neceſſary to ſtrengthen both their alliances and their troops. For it was viſible to all the world, that, if the *French* could have fixed themſelves in the territory of *Colen*, the way was opened to enter *Holland*, or to ſeize on *Flanders*, when the King pleaſed; and he would have the four Electors on the *Rhine* at mercy. It was neceſſary to diſlodge them, and this could not be done without a war with *France*. The Prince got the States to ſettle a fund for nine thouſand ſeamen to be conſtantly in their ſervice. And orders were given to put the naval preparations in ſuch a caſe, that they might be ready to put to ſea upon orders. Thus things went on in *July* and *Auguſt*, with ſo much ſecrecy and ſo little ſuſpicion, that neither the Court of *England* nor the Court of *France* ſeemed to be alarmed at them.

1688 In *July*, Admiral *Herbert* came over to *Holland*, and was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill humour: For he was upon every occaſion ſo ſullen and peeviſh, that it was plain he ſet a high value on himſelf, and expected the ſame of all others. He had got his accounts paſt, in which he complained, that the King had uſed him not only hardly but unjuſtly. He was a man delivered up to pride and luxury. Yet he had a good underſtanding: And he had gained ſo great a reputation by his ſteady behaviour in *England*, that the Prince underſtood that it was expected he ſhould uſe him as he himſelf ſhould deſire; in which it was not very eaſy to him to conſtrain himſelf ſo far as that required. The managing him was in a great meaſure put on me: And it was no eaſy thing. It made me often reflect on the providence of God, that makes ſome men inſtruments in great things, to which they themſelves have no ſort of affection or diſpoſition: For his private quarrel with the Lord *Dartmouth*, who he thought had more of the King's confidence than he himſelf had, was believed the root of all the ſullenneſs he fell under towards the King, and of all the firmneſs that grew out of that.

Herbert came over to *Holland*.

The advices from *England*. I now return to *England*, to give an account of a ſecret management there. The Lord *Mordaunt* was the firſt of all the *Engliſh* Nobility that came over openly to ſee the Prince of *Orange*. He aſked the King's leave to do it. He was a man of much heat, many notions, and full of diſcourſe: He was brave and generous: But had not true judgment: His thoughts were crude and indigeſted: And his ſecrets were ſoon known. He was with the Prince in the year 1686: And then he preſſed him to undertake the buſineſs of *England:* And he repreſented the matter as ſo eaſy, that this appeared too romantical to the Prince to build upon it. He only promiſed in general, that he ſhould have an eye on the affairs of *England*; and ſhould endeavour to put the affairs of *Holland* in ſo good a poſture, as to be ready to act when it ſhould be neceſſary: And he aſſured him, that, if the King ſhould go about either to change the eſtabliſhed religion, or to wrong the Princeſs in her right, or to raiſe forged plots to deſtroy his friends, that he would try what he could poſſibly do. Next year a man of a far different temper came over to him:

The Lord *Mordaunt*'s character.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s character. The Earl of *Shrewsbury*. He had been bred a Papiſt, but had forſaken that religion upon a very critical and anxious enquiry into matters of controverſy. Some thought, that, tho' he had forſaken Popery, he was too ſceptical, and too little fixed in the points of religion. He ſeemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high ſenſe of honour. He had

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no ordinary meaſure of learning, a correct judgment, with a ſweetneſs of temper that charmed all who knew him. He had at that time juſt notions of government; and ſo great a command of himſelf, that, during all the time that he continued in the Miniſtry, I never heard any one complaint of him, but for his ſilent and reſerved anſwers, with which his friends were not always well pleaſed. His modeſt deportment gave him ſuch an intereſt in the Prince, that he never ſeemed ſo fond of any of his Miniſters, as he was of him. He had only in general laid the ſtate of affairs before the Prince, without preſſing him too much. 1688

Ruſſel's character.

But *Ruſſel* coming over in *May* brought the matter nearer a point. He was a couſin german to the Lord *Ruſſel*. He had been bred at ſea, and was Bed-chamber-man to the King, when he was Duke of *York:* But, upon the Lord *Ruſſel*'s death, he retired from the Court. He was a man of much honour, and great courage. He had good principles, and was firm to them. The Prince ſpoke more poſitively to him, than he had ever done before. He ſaid, he muſt ſatisfy both his honour and conſcience, before he could enter upon ſo great a deſign, which, if it miſcarried, muſt bring ruin both on *England* and *Holland:* He proteſted, that no private ambition nor reſentment of his own could ever prevail ſo far with him, as to make him break with ſo near a relation, or engage in a war, of which the conſequences muſt be of the laſt importance both to the intereſts of *Europe* and of the Proteſtant Religion: Therefore he expected formal and direct invitations. *Ruſſel* laid before him the danger of truſting ſuch a ſecret to great numbers. The Prince ſaid, if a conſiderable number of men, that might be ſuppoſed to underſtand the ſenſe of the Nation beſt, ſhould do it, he would acquieſce in it.

Ruſſel told me, that, upon his return to *England*, he communicated the matter, firſt to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and then to the Lord *Lumly*, who was a late convert from Popery, and had ſtood out very firmly all this reign. He was a man, who laid his intereſt much to heart: And he reſolved to embark deep in this deſign.

Sidney's character.

But the man in whoſe hands the conduct of the whole deſign was chiefly depoſited, by the Prince's own order, was Mr. *Sidney*, brother to the Earl of *Leiceſter* and to *Algernoon Sidney*. He was a graceful man, and had lived long in the Court, where he had ſome adventures that became very publick. He was a man of a ſweet and carreſſing temper, had no malice in his heart, but too great a love of pleaſure. He had been ſent Envoy to *Holland* in the year 1679, where he entred into ſuch particular

1688 ticular confidences with the Prince, that he had the higheſt meaſure of his truſt and favour that any *Engliſhman* ever had. This was well known over *England:* So that all who deſired to recommend themſelves to the Prince did it thro' his hands. He was ſo apprehenſive of the dangers this might caſt him in, that he travelled almoſt a year round *Italy*. But now matters ripened faſter: So all centered in him. But, becauſe he was lazy, and the buſineſs required an active man, who could both run about, and write over long and full accounts of all matters, I recommended a kinſman of my own, *Johnſtoune*, whom I had formed, and knew to be both faithful and diligent, and very fit for the employment he was now truſted with.

Many engaged in the deſign.

Sidney tried the Marquis of *Halliſax*, if he would adviſe the Prince's coming over. But, as this matter was opened to him at a great diſtance, he did not encourage a further freedom. He looked on the thing as impracticable: It depended on ſo many accidents, that he thought it was a raſh and deſperate project, that ventured all upon ſuch a dangerous iſſue, as might turn on ſeas and winds. It was next opened to the Earl of *Danby:* And he not only went in heartily to it himſelf, but drew in the Biſhop of *London* to join in it. By their advice it was propoſed to the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had great credit with the whole Church party: For he was a man poſſeſſed with their notions, and was grave and vertuous in the courſe of his life. He had ſome knowledge of the law, and of the records of Parliament, and was a copious Speaker, but too florid and tedious. He was much admired by many. He had ſtood at a great diſtance from the Court all this reign: For, tho his name was ſtill among the Privy Counſellors, yet he never went to the board. He upon the firſt propoſition entertained it, and agreed to it. But at their next meeting he ſaid, he had conſidered better of that matter: His conſcience was ſo reſtrained in thoſe points, that he could not go further with them in it: He ſaid, he had talked with ſome Divines, and named *Tillotſon* and *Stillingfleet*, in general of the thing; and they were not ſatisfied with it: (Tho' they proteſted to me afterwards, that they remembred no ſuch thing:) He confeſſed, he ſhould not have ſuffered them to go ſo far with him in ſuch a ſecret, till he had examined it better: They had now, according to *Italian* notions, a right to murder him: But, tho' his principles reſtrained him, ſo that he could not go on with them, his affections would make him to wiſh well to them, and be ſo far a criminal as concealment could make him one. The Earl of *Devonſhire* was ſpoke to: And he went into it with great reſolution. It was next propoſed to three of the chief Officers of the Army, *Trelawny*,

Kirk, and the Lord *Churchill*. Theſe went all into it. And *Trelawny* engaged his brother, the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, into it. 1688

But, having now named the Lord *Churchill*, who is like to be mentioned oft by me in the ſequel of this work, I will ſay a little more of him. He was a man of a noble and graceful appearance, bred up in the Court with no literature: But he had a ſolid and clear underſtanding, with a conſtant preſence of mind. He knew the arts of living in a Court beyond any man in it. He careſſed all people with a ſoft and obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices. He had no fortune to ſet up on: This put him on all the methods of acquiring one. And that went ſo far into him, that he did not ſhake it off, when he was in a much higher elevation: Nor was his expence ſuited enough to his poſts. But, when allowances are made for that, it muſt be acknowledged, that he is one of the greateſt men the age has produced. He was in high favour with the King. But his Lady was much more in Princeſs *Anne*'s favour. She had an aſcendant over her in every thing. She was a woman of little knowledge, but of a clear apprehenſion, and a true judgment, a warm and hearty friend, violent and ſudden in her reſolutions, and impetuous in her way of ſpeaking. She was thought proud and inſolent on her favour, tho' ſhe uſed none of the common arts of a Court to maintain it: For ſhe did not beſet the Princeſs, nor flatter her. She ſtaid much at home, and looked very carefully after the education of her children. Having thus opened both their characters, I will now give an account of this Lord's engagements in this matter; for which he has been ſo ſeverely cenſured, as guilty both of ingratitude and treachery to a very kind and liberal maſter. He never diſcovered any of the King's ſecrets; nor did he ever puſh him on to any violent proceedings. So that he was in no contrivance to ruin or betray him. On the contrary, whenſoever he ſpoke to the King of his affairs; which he did but ſeldom, becauſe he could not fall in with the King's notions, he always ſuggeſted moderate counſels. The Earl of *Gallway* told me, that when he came over with the firſt compliment upon the King's coming to the Crown, he ſaid then to him, that, if the King was ever prevailed on to alter our religion, he would ſerve him no longer, but withdraw from him. So early was this reſolution fixed in him. When he ſaw how the King was ſet, he could not be contented to ſee all ruined by him. He was alſo very doubtful as to the pretended birth. So he reſolved, when the Prince ſhould come over, to go in to him; but to betray no poſt, nor do any thing more than the withdrawing himſelf, with ſuch Officers as he could truſt with ſuch

Lord Churchill's character.

1688 a ſecret. He alſo undertook, that Prince *George* and the Princeſs *Anne* would leave the Court, and come to the Prince, as ſoon as was poſſible.

With theſe invitations and letters the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and *Ruſſel* came over in *September:* And ſoon after them came *Sidney* with *Johnſtoune*. And they brought over a full ſcheme of advices, together with the heads of a declaration, all which were chiefly penned by Lord *Danby*. He and the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lord *Lumly* undertook for the North: And they all diſperſed themſelves into their ſeveral countries, and among their friends. The thing was in the hands of many thouſands, who yet were ſo true to one another, that none of them made any diſcovery, no not by their raſhneſs: Tho' they were ſo confident, that they did not uſe ſo diſcreet a conduct as was neceſſary. Matters went on in *Holland* with great ſecrecy till *September*. Then it was known, that many arms were beſpoke. And, tho' thoſe were bargained for in the name of the King of *Sweden*, and of ſome of the Princes of *Germany*, yet there was ground enough for ſuſpicion. All thoſe that were truſted proved both faithful and diſcreet. And here an eminent difference appeared between the hearty concurrence of thoſe who went into a deſign upon principles of religion and honour, and the forced compliance of mercenary Soldiers, or corrupt Miniſters, which is neither cordial nor ſecret. *France* took the alarm firſt, and gave it to the Court of *England*.

The Court of *France* gave the alarm.

D'Avaux, the *French* Embaſſador, could no more give the Court of *France* thoſe advertiſements that he was wont to ſend of all that paſt in *Holland*. He had great allowances for entertaining agents and ſpies every where. But *Louvoy*, who hated him, ſuggeſted that there was no more need of theſe: So they were ſtopped: And the Embaſſador was not ſorry, that the Court felt their error ſo ſenſibly. The King publiſhed the advertiſements he had from *France* a little too raſhly: For all people were much animated, when they heard it from ſuch a hand. The King ſoon ſaw his error: And, to correct it, he ſaid on many occaſions, that whatever the deſigns of the *Dutch* might be, he was ſure they were not againſt him. It was given out ſometimes, that they were againſt *France*, and then that they were againſt *Denmark*. Yet the King ſhewed he was not without his fears: For he ordered fourteen more ſhips to be put to ſea with many fireſhips. He recalled *Strickland*, and gave the command to the Lord *Dartmouth*; who was indeed one of the worthieſt men of his Court: He loved him, and had been long in his ſervice, and in his confidence: But he was much againſt all the conduct of his affairs: Yet he reſolved to ſtick to him

at all hazards. The ſeamen came in ſlowly: And a heavy backwardneſs appeared in every thing. 1688

A new and unlooked for accident gave the King a very ſenſible trouble. It was reſolved, as was told before, to model the Army, and to begin with recruits from *Ireland*. Upon which the *Engliſh* Army would have become inſenſibly an *Iriſh* one. The King made the firſt trial on the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment, which being already under an illegal Colonel, it might be ſuppoſed they were ready to ſubmit to every thing. Five *Iriſhmen* were ordered to be put into every company of that Regiment, which then lay at *Portſmouth*. But *Beaumont*, the Lieutenant Colonel, and five of the Captains refuſed to receive them. They ſaid, they had raiſed their men upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s invaſion, by which their zeal for the King's ſervice did evidently appear. If the King would order any recruits, they doubted not, but that they ſhould be able to make them. But they found, it would give ſuch an univerſal diſcontent, if they ſhould receive the *Iriſh* among them, that it would put them out of a capacity of ſerving the King any more. But as the order was poſitive, ſo the Duke of *Berwick* was ſent down to ſee it obeyed. Upon which they deſired leave to lay down their commiſſions. The King was provoked by this to ſuch a degree that he could not govern his paſſion. The Officers were put in arreſt, and brought before a Council of war, where they were broken with reproach, and declared incapable to ſerve the King any more. But upon this occaſion the whole Officers of the Army declared ſo great an unwillingneſs to mix with thoſe of another Nation and Religion, that, as no more attempts were made of this kind, ſo it was believed that this fixed the King in a point that was then under debate. Recruits from *Ireland* refuſed.

The King of *France*, when he gave the King the advertiſements of the preparations in *Holland*, offered him ſuch a force as he ſhould call for. Twelve or fifteen thouſand were named, or as many more as he ſhould deſire. It was propoſed, that they ſhould land at *Portſmouth*, and that they ſhould have that place to keep the communication with *France* open, and in their hands. All the Prieſts were for this: So were moſt of the Popiſh Lords. The Earl of *Sunderland* was the only man in credit that oppoſed it. He ſaid, the offer of an Army of forty thouſand men might be a real ſtrength: But then it would depend on the orders that came from *France:* They might perhaps maſter *England:* But they would become the King's maſters at the ſame time: So that he muſt govern under ſuch orders as they ſhould give: And thus he would quickly become only a Viceroy to the King of *France:* Any Army leſs than that Offers made by the *French*.

1688 that would loſe the King the affections of his people, and drive his own Army to deſertion, if not to mutiny.

Not entertained at that time.

The King did not think matters were yet ſo near a criſis: So he did neither entertain the propoſition, nor let it fall quite to the ground. There was a treaty ſet on foot, and the King was to have an hundred merchant ſhips ready for the tranſportation of ſuch forces as he ſhould deſire, which it was promiſed ſhould be ready when called for. It is certain, that the *French* Embaſſador then at *London*, who knew the Court better than he did the Nation, did believe, that the King would have been able to have made a greater diviſion of the Nation, than it proved afterwards he was able to do. He believed, it would have gone to a civil war; and that then the King would have been forced to have taken aſſiſtance from *France* on any terms: And ſo he encouraged the King of *France* to go on with his deſigns that winter, and he believed he might come in good time next year to the King's aſſiſtance. Theſe advices proved fatal to the King, and to *Barillon* himſelf: For, when he was ſent over to *France*, he was ſo ill looked on, that it was believed it had an ill effect on his health; for he died ſoon after.

Albeville came over fully perſuaded that the *Dutch* deſigned the expedition againſt *England*, bnt plaid the Miniſter ſo, that he took pains to infuſe into all people that they deſigned no ſuch thing; which made him to be generally laughed at. He was ſoon ſent back: And, in a memorial he gave into the States, he aſked, what was the deſign of thoſe great and ſurpriſing preparations at ſuch a ſeaſon. The States, according to their ſlow forms let this lie long before them, without giving it an anſwer.

The *French* own an alliance with the King.

But the Court of *France* made a greater ſtep. The *French* Embaſſador in a memorial told the States, that his maſter underſtood their deſign was againſt *England*, and in that caſe he ſignified to them, that there was ſuch a ſtrait alliance between him and the King of *England*, that he would look on every thing done againſt *England*, as an invaſion of his own Crown. This put the King and his Miniſters much out of countenance: For, upon ſome ſurmiſes of an alliance with *France*, they had very poſitively denied there was any ſuch thing. *Albeville* did continue to deny it at the *Hague*, even after the memorial was put in. The King did likewiſe deny it to the *Dutch* Embaſſador at *London*. And the blame of the putting it into the memorial was caſt on *Shelton* the King's Envoy at *Paris*, who was diſowned in it, and upon his coming over was put in the Tower for it. This was a ſhort diſgrace; for he was ſoon after made Lieutenant of the Tower. His raſh folly might have procur-

ed the order from the Court of *France*, to own this alliance: 1688
He thought it would terrify the States: And ſo he preſſed this officiouſly, which they eaſily granted. That related only to the owning it in ſo publick a manner. But this did clearly prove, that ſuch an alliance was made: Otherwiſe no inſtances, how preſſing ſoever, would have prevailed with the Court of *France* to have owned it in ſo ſolemn a manner: For what Embaſſadors ſay in their maſter's name, when they are not immediately diſowned, paſſes for authentick. So that it was a vain cavil that ſome made afterwards, when they aſked, how was this alliance proved? The memorial was a full proof of it: And the ſhew of a diſgrace on *Shelton* did not at all weaken that proof.

But I was more confirmed of this matter by what Sir *William Trumball*, then the *Engliſh* Embaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, told me at his return to *England*. He was the eminenteſt of all our Civilians, and was by much the beſt pleader in thoſe Courts, and was a learned, a diligent, and a vertuous man. He was ſent Envoy to *Paris* upon the Lord *Preſton*'s being recalled. He was there, when the edict that repealed the edict of *Nantes* was paſt, and ſaw the violence of the perſecution, and acted a great and worthy part in harbouring many, in covering their effects, and in conveying over their jewels and plate to *England*; which diſguſted the Court of *France*, and was not very acceptable to the Court of *England*, tho' it was not then thought fit to diſown or recall him for it. He had orders to put in memorials, complaining of the invaſion of the Principality of *Orange*; which he did in ſo high a ſtrain, that the laſt of them was like a denunciation of war. From thence he was ſent to *Turkey*. And, about this time, he was ſurprized one morning by a viſit that the *French* Embaſſador made him, without thoſe ceremonies that paſs between Embaſſadors. He told him, there was no ceremony to be between them any more; for their maſters were now one. And he ſhewed him Monſieur *de Croiſſy*'s letter, which was written in cypher. The decyphering he read to him, importing that now an alliance was concluded between the two Kings. So, this matter was as evidently proved, as a thing of ſuch a nature could poſſibly be.

The conduct of *France* at that time with relation to the States was very unaccountable; and proved as favourable to the Prince of *Orange*'s deſigns, as if he had directed it. All the manufacture of *Holland* both linen and woolen was prohibited in *France*. The importation of herrings was alſo prohibited, except they were cured with *French* ſalt. This was contrary to the treaty of commerce. The manufacture began to ſuffer much. And

The ſtrange conduct of *France*.

1688 this was ſenſible to thoſe who were concerned in the herring trade. So the States prohibited the importing of *French* wine or brandy, till the trade ſhould be ſet free again of both ſides. There was nothing that the Prince had more reaſon to apprehend, than that the *French* ſhould have given the States ſome ſatisfaction in the point of trade, and offered ſome aſſurances with relation to the territory of *Colen*. Many of the towns of *Holland* might have been wrought on by ſome temper in theſe things; great bodies being eaſily deceived, and not eaſily drawn into wars, which interrupt that trade which they ſubſiſt by. But the height the Court of *France* was then in, made them deſpiſe all the world. They ſeemed rather to wiſh for a war, than to fear it. This diſpoſed the States to an unanimous concurrence in the great reſolutions that were now agreed on, of raiſing ten thouſand men more, and of accepting thirteen thouſand *Germans*, for whom the Prince had, as was formerly mentioned, agreed with ſome of the Princes of the Empire. *Amſterdam* was at firſt cold in the matter: But they conſented with the reſt. Reports were given out, that the *French* would ſettle a regulation of commerce, and that they would abandon the Cardinal, and leave the affairs of *Colen* to be ſettled by the laws of the Empire. Expedients were alſo ſpoke of for accommodating the matter, by Prince *Clement*'s being admitted Coadjutor, and by his having ſome of the ſtrong places put in his hands. This was only given out to amuſe.

A Manifeſto of war againſt the Empire.

But while theſe things were diſcourſed of at the *Hague*, the world was ſurpriſed with a Manifeſto ſet out, in the King of *France*'s name, againſt the Emperor. In it, the Emperor's ill deſigns againſt *France* were ſet forth. It alſo complained of the Elector *Palatine*'s injuſtice to the Ducheſs of *Orleans*, in not giving her the ſucceſſion that fell to her by her brother's death, which conſiſted in ſome lands, cannon, furniture, and other moveable goods. It alſo charged him with the diſturbances in *Colen*, he having intended firſt to gain that to one of his own ſons, and then engaging the *Bavarian* Prince into it; whoſe elder brother having no children, he hoped, by bringing him into an Eccleſiaſtical State, to make the ſucceſſion of *Bavaria* fall into his own family. It charged the Emperor likewiſe with a deſign to force the Electors to chooſe his ſon King of the *Romans*; and that the Elector *Palatine* was preſſing him to make peace with the *Turks*, in order to the turning his arms againſt *France*. By their means a great alliance was projected among many Proteſtant Princes to diſturb Cardinal *Furſtemberg* in the poſſeſſion of *Colen*, to which he was poſtulated by the majority of the Chapter. And this might turn to the prejudice of the

Catholick Religion in that territory. Upon all these considerations, the King of *France*, seeing that his enemies could not enter into *France* by any other way but by that of *Philipsburg*, resolved to possess himself of it, and then to demolish it. He resolved also to take *Kaisarslauter* from the *Palatine*, and to keep it, till the Duchess of *Orleans* had justice done her in her pretensions. And he also resolved to support the Cardinal in his possession of *Colen*. But, to balance this, he offered to the House of *Bavaria*, that Prince *Clement* should be chosen Coadjutor. He offered also to raze *Fribourg*, and to restore *Kaisarslauter*, as soon as the Elector *Palatine* should pay the Duchess of *Orleans* the just value of her pretensions. He demanded, that the truce between him and the Empire should be turned into a peace. He proposed, that the King of *England* and the Republick of *Venice* should be the mediators of this peace. And he concluded all, declaring that he would not bind himself to stand to the conditions now offered by him, unless they were accepted of before *January*. 1688

Reflections made upon it.

I have given a full abstract of this Manifesto: For upon it did the great war begin, which lasted till the peace of *Ryswick*. And, upon the grounds laid down in this Manifesto, it will evidently appear, whether the war was a just one, or not. This declaration was much censured, both for the matter and for the stile. It had not the air of greatness, which became crowned heads. The Duchess of *Orleans*'s pretensions to old furniture, was a strange rise to a war; especially when it was not alledged, that these had been demanded in the forms of law, and that justice had been denied, which was a course necessarily to be observed in things of that nature. The judging of the secret intentions of the Elector *Palatine* with relation to the House of *Bavaria* was absurd. And the complaints of designs to bring the Emperor to a peace with the *Turks*, that so he might make war on *France*, and of the Emperor's design to force an election of a King of the *Romans*, was the entring into the secrets of those thoughts, which were only known to God. Such conjectures, so remote and uncertain, and that could not be proved, were a strange ground of war. If this was once admitted, all treaties of peace were vain things, and were no more to be reckoned or relied on. The reason given of the intention to take *Philipsbourg*, because it was the propereſt place by which *France* could be invaded, was a throwing off all regards to the common decencies observed by Princes. All fortified places on frontiers are intended both for resistance and for magazines; and are of both sides conveniencies for entring into the neighbouring territory, as there is occasion for it. So here was a pretence

1688 tence ſet up, of beginning a war, that puts an end to all the ſecurities of peace.

The buſineſs of *Colen* was judged by the Pope, according to the laws of the Empire: And his ſentence was final: Nor could the poſtulation of the majority of the Chapter be valid, unleſs two thirds joined in it. The Cardinal was commended in the Manifeſto, for his care in preſerving the peace of *Europe*. This was ridiculous to all, who knew that he had been for many years the great incendiary, who had betrayed the Empire, chiefly in the year 1672. The charge that the Emperor's agent had laid on him before the Chapter was alſo complained of, as an infraction of the Amneſty ſtipulated by the peace of *Nimeguen*. He was not indeed to be called to an account, in order to be puniſhed for any thing done before that peace. But that did not bind up the Emperor from endeavouring to exclude him from ſo great a dignity, which was like to prove fatal to the Empire. Theſe were ſome of the cenſures that paſt on this Manifeſto; which was indeed looked on, by all who had conſidered the rights of peace and the laws of war, as one of the moſt avowed and ſolemn declarations, that ever was made, of the perfidiouſneſs of that Court. And it was thought to be ſome degrees beyond that in the year 1672, in which that King's glory was pretended as the chief motive of that war. For, in that, particulars were not reckoned up: So it might be ſuppoſed, he had met with affronts, which he did not think conſiſtent with his greatneſs to be mentioned. But here all that could be thought on, even the hangings of *Heidelberg*, were enumerated: And all together amounted to this, that the King of *France* thought himſelf tied by no peace; but that, when he ſuſpected his neighbours were intending to make war upon him, he might upon ſuch a ſuſpicion begin a war on his part.

Another againſt the Pope.

This Manifeſto againſt the Emperor was followed by another againſt the Pope, writ in the form of a letter to Cardinal *D'Eſtrees*, to be given by him to the Pope. In it, he reckoned all the partiality that the Pope had ſhewed during his whole Pontificate, both againſt *France* and in favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. He mentioned the buſineſs of the Regale; his refuſing the Bulls to the Biſhops nominated by him; the diſpute about the franchiſes, of which his Embaſſadors had been long in poſſeſſion; the denying audience, not only to his Embaſſador, but to a Gentleman whom he had ſent to *Rome* without a character, and with a letter writ in his own hand: In concluſion, he complained of the Pope's breaking the Canons of the Church, in granting Bulls in favour of Prince *Clement*, and in denying juſtice to Cardinal *Furſtemberg:* For all theſe reaſons the King was re-

ſolved to ſeparate the character of the Moſt Holy Father from that of a temporal Prince: And therefore he intended to ſeize on *Avignon*, as likewiſe on *Caſtro*, untill the Pope ſhould ſatisfy the pretenſions of the Duke of *Parma*. He complained of the Pope's not concurring with him in the concerns of the Church, for the extirpation of hereſy: In which the Pope's behaviour gave great ſcandal both to the old Catholicks, and to the new converts. It alſo gave the Prince of *Orange* the boldneſs to go and invade the King of *England*, under the pretence of ſupporting the Proteſtant religion, but indeed to deſtroy the Catholick religion, and to overturn the Government: Upon which his emiſſaries and the writers in *Holland* gave out, that the birth of the Prince of *Wales* was an impoſture. 1688

This was the firſt publick mention that was made of the impoſture of that birth: For the author of a book writ to that purpoſe was puniſhed for it in *Holland*. It was ſtrange to ſee the diſputes about the Franchiſes made a pretence for a war: For certainly all ſovereign Princes can make ſuch regulations as they think fit in thoſe matters. If they cut Embaſſadors ſhort in any privilege, their Embaſſadors are to expect the ſame treatment from other Princes: And as long as the ſacredneſs of an Embaſſador's perſon, and of his family, was ſtill preſerved, which was all that was a part of the law of Nations, Princes may certainly limit the extent of their other privileges, and may refuſe any Embaſſadors, who will not ſubmit to their regulation. The number of an Embaſſador's retinue is not a thing that can be well defined: But if an Embaſſador comes with an army about him, inſtead of a retinue, he may be denied admittance. And if he forces it, as *Lavardin* had done, it was certainly an act of hoſtility: And, inſtead of having a right to the character of an Embaſſador, he might well be conſidered and treated as an enemy. Cenſures that paſt upon it.

The Pope had obſerved the Canons in rejecting Cardinal *Furſtemburg*'s defective poſtulation. And, whatever might be brought from ancient Canons, the practice of that Church for many ages allowed of the diſpenſations that the Pope granted to Prince *Clement*. It was looked on by all people, as a ſtrange reverſe of things, to ſee the King of *France*, after all his cruelty to the Proteſtants, now go to make war on the Pope; and on the other hand to ſee the whole Proteſtant body concurring to ſupport the authority of the Pope's Bulls in the buſineſs of *Colen*; and to defend the two Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*, by whom they were laid ſo low but threeſcore years before this. The *French*, by the war that they had now begun, had ſent their troops towards *Germany* and the upper *Rhine*; and ſo had

1688 rendred their ſending an Army over to *England* impracticable: Nor could they ſend ſuch a force into the Biſhoprick of *Colen*, as could any ways alarm the States. So that the invaſion of *Germany* made the deſigns that the Prince of *Orange* was engaged in both practicable and ſafe.

Marſhal *Schomberg* ſent to *Cleve*.

Marſhal *Schomberg* came at this time into the country of *Cleve*. He was a *German* by birth: So when the perſecution was begun in *France*, he deſired leave to return into his own Country. That was denied him. All the favour he could obtain, was leave to go to *Portugal*. And ſo cruel is the ſpirit of Popery, that, though he had preſerved that Kingdom from falling under the yoke of *Caſtille*, yet now that he came thither for refuge, the Inquiſition repreſented that matter of giving harbour to a heretick ſo odiouſly to the King, that he was forced to ſend him away. He came from thence, firſt to *England:* And then he paſſed thro' *Holland*, where he entred into a particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*. And being invited by the old Elector of *Brandenburgh*, he went to *Berlin:* Where he was made Governor of *Pruſſia*, and ſet at the head of all the Elector's armies. The ſon treated him now with the ſame regard that the father had for him: And ſent him to *Cleve*, to command the troops that were ſent from the Empire to the defence of *Colen*. The Cardinal offered a neutrality to the Town of *Colen*. But they chooſe rather to accept a garriſon that *Schomberg* ſent them: By which not only that Town was ſecured, but a ſtop was put to any progreſs the *French* could make, till they could get that great Town into their hands. By theſe means the States were ſafe on all hands for this winter: And this gave the Prince of *Orange* great quiet in proſecuting his deſigns upon *England*. He had often ſaid, that he would never give occaſion to any of his enemies to ſay, that he had carried away the beſt force of the States, and had left them expoſed to any impreſſions that might be made on them in his abſence. He had now reaſon to conclude, that he had no other riſk to run in his intended expedition, but that of the ſeas and the weather. The ſeas were then very boiſterous: And the ſeaſon of the year was ſo far ſpent, that he ſaw he was to have a campaign in winter. But all other things were now well ſecured by this unexpected conduct of the *French*.

The *Dutch* fleet at ſea.

There was a fleet now ſet to ſea of about fifty ſail. Moſt of them were third or fourth rates, commanded by *Dutch* Officers. But *Herbert*, as repreſenting the Prince's perſon, was to command in chief, as Lieutenant General Admiral. This was not very eaſy to the States, nor indeed to the Prince himſelf; who thought it an abſurd thing to ſet a ſtranger at the head of their

fleet. Nothing leſs would content *Herbert*. And it was ſaid, 1688
that nothing would probably make the *Engliſh* fleet come over,
and join with the Prince, ſo much as the ſeeing one that had lately commanded them at the head of the *Dutch* fleet. There was a tranſport fleet hired for carrying over the Army. And this grew to be about five hundred veſſels: For, tho' the horſe and dragoons in pay were not four thouſand, yet the horſes for officers and voluntiers, and for artillery and baggage, were above ſeven thouſand. There were arms provided for twenty thouſand more. And, as things were thus made ready,

The declaration that the Prince was to publiſh came to be conſidered. A great many draughts were ſent from *England* by different hands. All theſe were put in the Penſioner *Fagel*'s hands, who upon that made a long and heavy draught, founded on the grounds of the civil law, and of the law of Nations. That was brought to me to be put in *Engliſh*. I ſaw he was fond of his own draught: And the Prince left that matter wholly to him: Yet I got it to be much ſhortned, tho' it was ſtill too long. It ſet forth at firſt a long recital of all the violations of the laws of *England*, both with relation to religion, to the civil government, and to the adminiſtration of juſtice; which have been all opened in the ſeries of the hiſtory. It ſet forth next all remedies that had been tried in a gentler way; all which had been ineffectual. Petitioning by the greateſt perſons, and in the privateſt manner, was made a crime. Endeavours were uſed to pack a Parliament, and to pre-ingage both the votes of the electors, and the votes of ſuch as upon the election ſhould be returned to ſit in Parliament. The writs were to be addreſſed to unlawful officers, who were diſabled by law to execute them: So that no legal Parliament could now be brought together. In concluſion, the reaſons of ſuſpecting the Queen's pretended delivery were ſet forth in general terms. Upon theſe grounds the Prince, ſeeing how little hope was left of ſucceeding in any other method, and being ſenſible of the ruin both of the Proteſtant religion, and of the conſtitution of *England* and *Ireland*, that was imminent, and being earneſtly invited by men of all ranks, and in particular by many of the Peers, both Spiritual and Temporal, he reſolved, according to the obligation he lay under, both on the Princeſs's account, and on his own, to go over into *England*, and to ſee for proper and effectual remedies for redreſſing ſuch growing evils in a Parliament that ſhould be lawfully choſen, and ſhould ſit in full freedom, according to the ancient cuſtom and conſtitution of *England*, with which he would concur in all things that might tend to the peace and happineſs of the Nation. And he promiſed in particular,

The Prince of *Orange*'s declaration.

1688 ticular, that he would preſerve the Church and the eſtabliſhed religion, and that he would endeavour to unite all ſuch as divided from the Church to it by the beſt means that could be thought on, and that he would ſuffer ſuch as would live peaceably to enjoy all due freedom in their conſciences, and that he would refer the enquiry into the Queen's delivery to a Parliament, and acquieſce in its deciſion. This the Prince ſigned and ſealed on the tenth of *October*. With this the Prince ordered letters to be writ in his name, inviting both the ſoldiers, ſeamen, and others to come and join with him, in order to the ſecuring their religion, laws, and liberties. Another ſhort paper was drawn by me concerning the meaſures of obedience, juſtifying the deſign, and anſwering the objections that might be made to it. Of all theſe many thouſand copies were printed, to be diſperſed at our landing.

I was deſired to go with the Prince.

The Prince deſired me to go along with him as his Chaplain, to which I very readily agreed: For, being fully ſatisfied in my conſcience that the undertaking was lawful and juſt, and having had a conſiderable hand in adviſing the whole progreſs of it, I thought it would have been an unbecoming fear in me to have taken care of my own perſon, when the Prince was venturing his, and the whole was now to be put to hazard. It is true, I being a *Scotiſh* man by birth, had reaſon to expect, that, if I had fallen into the enemies hands, I ſhould have been ſent to *Scotland*, and put to the torture there. And, having this in proſpect, I took care to know no particulars of any one of thoſe who correſponded with the Prince. So that knowing nothing againſt any, even torture it ſelf could not have drawn from me that by which any perſon could be hurt. There was another declaration prepared for *Scotland*. But I had no other ſhare in that, but that I corrected it in ſeveral places, chiefly in that which related to the Church: For the *Scots* at the *Hague*, who were all Preſbyterians, had drawn it ſo, that, by many paſſages in it, the Prince by an implication declared in favour of Preſbytery. He did not ſee what the conſequences of thoſe were, till I explained them. So he ordered them to be altered. And by the declaration that matter was ſtill entire.

Advices from *England*.

As *Sidney* brought over letters from the perſons formerly mentioned, both inviting the Prince to come over to ſave and reſcue the Nation from ruin, and aſſuring him that they wrote that which was the univerſal ſenſe of all the wiſe and good men in the Nation: So they alſo ſent over with him a ſcheme of advices. They adviſed his having a great Fleet, but a ſmall Army: They thought, it ſhould not exceed ſix or ſeven thouſand men. They apprehended, that an ill uſe might be made of it, if he brought

brought over too great an Army of foreigners, to infuſe in people a jealouſy that he deſigned a conqueſt: They adviſed his landing in the North, either in *Burlington* bay, or a little below *Hull: Yorkſhire* abounded in horſe: And the Gentry were generally well affected, even to zeal, for the deſign: The country was plentiful, and the roads were good till within fifty miles of *London*. The Earl of *Danby* was earneſt for this, hoping to have had a ſhare in the whole management by the intereſt he believed he had in that country. It was confeſſed, that the weſtern counties were well affected: But it was ſaid, that the miſcarriage of *Monmouth*'s invaſion, and the executions which followed it, had ſo diſpirited them, that it could not be expected they would be forward to join the Prince: Above all things they preſſed diſpatch, and all poſſible haſte: The King had then but eighteen ſhips riding in the *Downs:* But a much greater Fleet was almoſt ready to come out: They only wanted ſeamen, who came in very ſlowly. 1688

When theſe things were laid before the Prince, he ſaid, he could by no means reſolve to come over with ſo ſmall a force: He could not believe what they ſuggeſted, concerning the King's Army's being diſpoſed to come over to him: Nor did he reckon, ſo much as they did, on the people of the country's coming in to him: He ſaid, he could truſt to neither of theſe: He could not undertake ſo great a deſign, the miſcarriage of which would be the ruin both of *England* and *Holland*, without ſuch a force, as he had reaſon to believe would be ſuperior to the King's own, tho' his whole Army ſhould ſtick to him. Some propoſed, that the Prince would divide his force, and land himſelf with the greateſt part in the North, and ſend a detachment to the Weſt under Marſhal *Schomberg*. They preſſed the Prince very earneſtly to bring him over with him, both becauſe of the great reputation he was in, and becauſe they thought it was a ſecurity to the Prince's perſon, and to the whole deſign, to have another General with him, to whom all would ſubmit in caſe of any diſmal accident: For it ſeemed too much to have all depend on a ſingle life: And they thought that would be the ſafer, if their enemies ſaw another perſon capable of the command, in caſe they ſhould have a deſign upon the Prince's perſon. With this the Prince complied eaſily, and obtained the Elector's conſent to carry him over with him. But he rejected the motion of dividing his Fleet and Army. He ſaid, ſuch a divided force might be fatal: For if the King ſhould ſend his chief ſtrength againſt the detachment, and have the advantage, it might loſe the whole buſineſs; ſince a misfortune in any one part might be the ruin of the whole.

1688 When theſe advices were propoſed to *Herbert*, and the other ſeamen, they oppoſed the landing in the North vehemently. They ſaid, no ſeamen had been conſulted in that: The North coaſt was not fit for a Fleet to ride in in an Eaſt wind, which it was to be expected in winter might blow ſo freſh that it would not be poſſible to preſerve the Fleet: And if the Fleet was left there, the Channel was open for ſuch forces as might be ſent from *France:* The Channel was the ſafer ſea for the Fleet to ride in, as well as to cut off the aſſiſtance from *France*. Yet the advices for this were ſo poſitive, and ſo often repeated from *England*, that the Prince was reſolved to have ſplit the matter, and to have landed in the North, and then to have ſent the Fleet to lie in the Channel.

Artifices to cover the deſign.

The Prince continued ſtill to cover his deſign, and to look towards *Colen*. He ordered a review of his Army, and an encampment for two months at *Nimeguen*. A train of artillery was alſo ordered. By theſe orders the Officers ſaw a neceſſity of furniſhing themſelves for ſo long a time. The main point remained, how money ſhould be found for ſo chargeable an expedition. The *French* Embaſſador had his eye upon this; and reckoned that, whenſoever any thing relating to it ſhould be moved, it would be then eaſy to raiſe an oppoſition, or at leaſt to create a delay. But *Fagel*'s great foreſight did prevent this. In the *July* before, it was repreſented to the States, that now by reaſon of the neighbourhood of *Colen*, and the war that was like to riſe there, it was neceſſary to repair their places, both on the *Rhine* and the *Iſſel*, which were in a very bad condition. This was agreed to: And the charge was eſtimated at four millions of Guilders. So the States created a fund for the intereſt of that money, and ordered it to be taken up by a loan. It was all brought in in four days. About the end of *September* a meſſage was delivered to the States from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, by which he undertook to ſend an Army into his country of *Cleve*, and to ſecure the States from all danger on that ſide for this winter.

Upon this, it was propoſed, to lend the Prince the four millions. And this paſſed eaſily in the States, without any oppoſition, to the amazement of all that ſaw it: For it had never been known, that ſo great and ſo dangerous an expedition in ſuch a ſeaſon had been ſo eaſily agreed to, without ſo much as one diſagreeing vote, either at the *Hague*, or in any of the Towns of *Holland*. All people went ſo cordially into it, that it was not neceſſary to employ much time in ſatisfying them, both of the lawfulneſs and of the neceſſity of the undertaking. *Fagel* had ſent for all the eminent Miniſters of the chief Towns of

Holland: And, as he had a vehemence as well as a tenderneſs in ſpeaking, he convinced them evidently, that both their religion and their country were in ſuch imminent danger, that nothing but this expedition could ſave them: They ſaw the perſecution in *France:* And in that they might ſee what was to be expected from that religion: They ſaw the violence with which the King of *England* was driving matters in his country, which if not ſtopped would ſoon prevail. He ſent them thus full of zeal, to diſpoſe the people to a hearty approbation and concurrence in this deſign. The Miniſters in *Holland* are ſo watched over by the States, that they have no more authority when they meet in a body, in a Synod or in a Claſſis, than the States think fit to allow them. But I was never in any place, where I thought the Clergy had generally ſo much credit with the people, as they have there: And they employed it all upon this occaſion very diligently, and to good purpoſe. Thoſe who had no regard to religion, yet ſaw a war began in the Empire by the *French.* And the publication of the alliance between *France* and *England* by the *French* Embaſſador, made them conclude that *England* would join with *France.* They reckoned, they could not ſtand before ſuch an united force, and that therefore it was neceſſary to take *England* out of the hands of a Prince, who was ſuch a firm ally to *France.* All the *Engliſh* that lived in *Holland*, eſpecially the merchants that were ſettled in *Amſterdam*, where the oppoſition was like to be ſtrongeſt, had ſuch poſitive advices of the diſpoſition that the Nation, and even the Army were in; that, as this undertaking was conſidered as the only probable means of their preſervation, it ſeemed ſo well concerted, that little doubt was made of ſucceſs, except what aroſe from the ſeaſon; which was not only far ſpent, but the winds were both ſo contrary and ſo ſtormy for many weeks, that a forcible ſtop ſeemed put to it by the hand of heaven. 1688

Herbert went to ſea with the *Dutch* Fleet: And was ordered to ſtand over to the *Downs*, and ro look on the *Engliſh* Fleet, to try if any would come over, of which ſome hopes were given; or to engage them, while they were then not above eighteen or twenty ſhips ſtrong. But the contrary winds made this not only impracticable, but gave great reaſon to fear that a great part of the Fleet would be either loſt or diſabled. Theſe continued for above a fortnight, and gave us at the *Hague* a melancholy proſpect. *Herbert* alſo found, that the Fleet was neither ſo ſtrong, nor ſo well manned, as he had expected. The *Dutch* put to ſea.

All

1688 All the *Engliſh*, that were ſcattered about the Provinces, or in *Germany*, came to the *Hague*. Among theſe there was one *Wildman*, who, from being an agitator in *Cromwell*'s Army, had been a conſtant meddler on all occaſions in every thing that looked like ſedition, and ſeemed inclined to oppoſe every thing that was uppermoſt. He brought his uſual ill humour along with him, having a peculiar talent in poſſeſſing others by a ſort of contagion with jealouſy and diſcontent. To theſe the Prince ordered his declaration to be ſhewed. *Wildman* took great exceptions to it, with which he poſſeſſed many to ſuch a degree, that they began to ſay, they would not engage upon thoſe grounds. *Wildman* had drawn one, in which he had laid down a ſcheme of the government of *England*, and then had ſet forth many particulars in which it had been violated, carrying theſe a great way into King *Charles*'s reign; all which he ſupported by many authorities from law books. He objected to the Prince's inſiſting ſo much on the Diſpenſing Power, and on what had been done to the Biſhops. He ſaid, there was certainly a Diſpenſing Power in the Crown, practiſed for ſome ages: Very few Patents paſſed in which there was not a *non obſtante* to one or more acts of Parliament: This power had been too far ſtretched of late: But the ſtretching of a power that was in the Crown, could not be a juſt ground of war: The King had a right to bring any man to a trial: The Biſhops had a fair trial, and were acquitted, and diſcharged upon it: In all which there was nothing done contrary to law. All this ſeemed myſterious, when a known Republican was become an advocate for Prerogative. His deſign in this was deep and ſpiteful. He ſaw that, as the declaration was drawn, the Church party would come in, and be well received by the Prince: So he, who deſigned to ſeparate the Prince and them at the greateſt diſtance from one another, ſtudied to make the Prince declare againſt thoſe grievances, in which many of them were concerned, and which ſome among them had promoted. The Earl of *Macclesfield*, with the Lord *Mordaunt*, and many others, joined with him in this. But the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, together with *Sidney*, *Ruſſel*, and ſome others, were as poſitive in their opinion, that the Prince ought not to look ſo far back as into King *Charles*'s reign: This would diſguſt many of the Nobility and Gentry, and almoſt all the Clergy: So they thought the declaration was to be ſo conceived, as to draw in the body of the whole Nation: They were all alarmed with the Diſpenſing Power: And it would ſeem very ſtrange to ſee an invaſion, in which this was not ſet out as the main ground of it: Every man could diſtinguiſh between the diſpenſing with a ſpe-

Some factious motions at the *Hague*.

cial

cial act in a particular case, and a total dispensing with laws to secure the Nation and the Religion: The ill designs of the Court, as well as the affections of the Nation, had appeared so evidently in the Bishops trial, that if no notice was taken of it, it would be made use of to possess all people with an opinion of the Prince's ill will to them. *Russel* said, that any reflections made on King *Charles*'s reign would not only carry over all the high Church party, but all the Army, entirely to the King. *Wildman*'s declaration was much objected to. The Prince could not enter into a discussion of the law and government of *England:* That was to be left to the Parliament: The Prince could only set forth the present and publick grievances, as they were transmitted to him by those upon whose invitation he was going over. This was not without some difficulty overcome, by altering some few expressions in the first draught, and leaving out some circumstances. So the declaration was printed over again, with some amendments. 1688

In the beginning of *October* the troops marched from *Nimeguen* were put on board in the *Zuyder* sea, where they lay above ten days before they could get out of the *Texel.* Never was so great a design executed in so short a time. A transport fleet of five hundred vessels was hired in three days time. All things, as soon as they were ordered, were got to be so quickly ready, that we were amazed at the dispatch. It is true, some things were wanting, and some things had been forgot. But when the greatness of the equipage was considered, together with the secrecy with which it was to be conducted till the whole design was to be avowed, it seemed much more strange that so little was wanting, or that so few things had been forgot. *Benthink*, *Dykvelt*, *Herbert*, and *Van Hulst*, were for two months constantly at the *Hague*, giving all necessary orders, with so little noise that nothing broke out all that while. Even in lesser matters favourable circumstances concurred to cover the design. *Benthink* used to be constantly with the Prince, being the person that was most entirely trusted and constantly employed by him: So that his absence from him, being so extraordinary a thing, might have given some umbrage. But all the summer his Lady was so very ill, that she was looked on every day as one that could not live three days to an end: So that this was a very just excuse for his attendance at the *Hague.* The Army was shipped.

I waited on the Princess a few days before we left the *Hague.* She seemed to have a great load on her spirits, but to have no scruple as to the lawfulness of the design. After much other discourse, I said, that if we got safe to *England*, I made no great doubt of our success in all other things. I only begged her The Princess's sense of things.

1688 pardon to tell her, that if there ſhould happen to be at any time any disjointing between the Prince and her, that would ruin all. She anſwered me, that I needed fear no ſuch thing: If any perſon ſhould attempt that, ſhe would treat them ſo, as to diſcourage all others from venturing on it for the future. She was very ſolemn and ſerious, and prayed God earneſtly to bleſs and direct us.

The Prince took leave of the States.

On the ſixteenth of *October O. S.* the wind that had ſtood ſo long in the Weſt, came into the Eaſt. So orders were ſent to all to haſte to *Helvoet-Sluys*. That morning the Prince went into the aſſembly of the States General, to take leave of them. He ſaid to them, he was extream ſenſible of the kindneſs they had all ſhewed him upon many occaſions: He took God to witneſs, he had ſerved them faithfully, ever ſince they had truſted him with the government, and that he had never any end before his eyes but the good of the country: He had purſued it always: And if at any time he erred in his judgment, yet his heart was ever ſet on procuring their ſafety and proſperity. He took God to witneſs, he went to *England* with no other intentions, but thoſe he had ſet out in his declaration: He did not know how God might diſpoſe of him: To his providence he committed himſelf: Whatſoever might become of him, he committed to them the care of their country, and recommended the Princeſs to them in a moſt particular manner: He aſſured them, ſhe loved their country perfectly, and equally with her own: He hoped, that whatever might happen to him, they would ſtill protect her, and uſe her as ſhe well deſerved: And ſo he took leave. It was a ſad, but a kind parting. Some of every Province offered at an anſwer to what the Prince had ſaid: But they all melted into tears and paſſion: So that their ſpeeches were much broken, very ſhort, and extream tender. Only the Prince himſelf continued firm in his uſual gravity and phlegm. When he came to *Helvoet-Sluys*, the tranſport fleet had conſumed ſo much of their proviſions, that three days of the good wind were loſt, before all were ſupplied anew.

We ſailed out of the *Maes*.

At laſt, on the nineteenth of *October*, the Prince went aboard, and the whole Fleet ſailed out that night. But the next day the wind turned into the North, and ſettled in the North-Weſt. At night a great ſtorm roſe. We wrought againſt it all that night, and the next day. But it was in vain to ſtruggle any longer. And ſo vaſt a Fleet run no ſmall hazard, being obliged to keep together, and yet not to come too near one another. On the twenty firſt in the afternoon the ſignal was given to go in again: And on the twenty ſecond the far greater part got ſafe into port. Many ſhips were at firſt wanting, and were believ-

ed to be loſt. But after a few days all came in. There was not one ſhip loſt; nor ſo much as any one man, except one that was blown from the ſhrouds into the ſea. Some ſhips were ſo ſhattered, that as ſoon as they came in, and all was taken out of them, they immediately ſunk down. Only five hundred horſes died for want of air. Men are upon ſuch occaſions apt to flatter themſelves upon the points of providence. In *France* and *England*, as it was believed that our loſs was much greater than it proved to be, ſo they triumphed not a little, as if God had fought againſt us, and defeated the whole deſign. We on our part, who found our ſelves delivered out of ſo great a ſtorm and ſo vaſt a danger, looked on it as a mark of God's great care of us, who, tho' he had not changed the courſe of the winds and ſeas in our favour, yet had preſerved us while we were in ſuch apparent danger, beyond what could have been imagined. The States were not at all diſcouraged with this hard beginning, but gave the neceſſary orders for ſupplying us with every thing that we needed. The Princeſs behaved herſelf at the *Hague* ſuitably to what was expected from her. She ordered prayers four times a day, and aſſiſted at them with great devotion. She ſpoke to no body of affairs, but was calm and ſilent. The States ordered ſome of their body to give her an account of all their proceedings. She indeed anſwered little: But in that little ſhe gave them cauſe often to admire her judgment. 1688 But were forced back.

In *England* the Court ſaw now, that it was in vain to diſſemble or diſguiſe their fears any more. Great conſultations were held there. The Earl of *Melfort*, and all the Papiſts, propoſed the ſeizing on all ſuſpected perſons, and the ſending them to *Portſmouth*. The Earl of *Sunderland* oppoſed this vehemently. He ſaid, it would not be poſſible to ſeize on many at the ſame time: And the ſeizing on a few would alarm all the reſt: It would drive them in to the Prince, and furniſh them with a pretence for it: He propoſed rather, that the King would do ſuch popular things, as might give ſome content, and lay that fermentation with which the Nation was then, as it were, diſtracted. This was at that time complied with: But all the Popiſh party continued upon this to charge Lord *Sunderland*, as one that was in the King's counſels only to betray them; that had before diverted the offer of aſſiſtance from *France*, and now the ſecuring thoſe who were the moſt likely to join and aſſiſt the Prince. By their importunities the King was at laſt ſo prevailed on, that he turned him out of all his places: And Lord *Preſton* was made Secretary of State. The Fleet was now put out, and was ſo ſtrong, that, if they had met the *Dutch* Fleet, probably they would have been too hard for them, eſpecially conſidering Conſultations in *England*.

1688 ſidering the great tranſport fleet that they were to cover. All the forces that were in *Scotland* were ordered into *England:* And that Kingdom was left in the hands of their Militia. Several Regiments came likewiſe from *Ireland.* So that the King's Army was then about thirty thouſand ſtrong. But, in order to lay the heat that was raiſed in the Nation, the King ſent for the Biſhops; and ſet out the injuſtice of this unnatural invaſion that the Prince was deſigning: He aſſured them of his affections to the Church of *England*; and proteſted, he had never intended to carry things further than to an equal liberty of conſcience: He deſired, they would declare their abhorrence of this invaſion, and that they would offer him their advice, what was fit for him to do. They declined the point of abhorrence, and adviſed the preſent ſummoning a Parliament; and that in the mean while the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion might be broken, the proceedings againſt the Biſhop of *London* and *Magdalen* College might be reverſed, and that the law might be again put in its channel. This they delivered with great gravity, and with a courage that recommended them to the whole Nation. There was an order ſent them from the King afterwards, requiring them to compoſe an office for the preſent occaſion. The prayers were ſo well drawn, that even thoſe who wiſhed for the Prince might have joined in them. The Church party did now ſhew their approbation of the Prince's expedition in ſuch terms, that many were ſurprized at it, both then, and ſince that time. They ſpoke openly in favour of it. They expreſſed their grief to ſee the wind ſo croſs. They wiſhed for an Eaſt wind, which on that occaſion was called the Proteſtant wind. They ſpoke with great ſcorn of all that the Court was then doing to regain the hearts of the Nation. And indeed the proceedings of the Court that way were ſo cold, and ſo forced, that few were like to be deceived by them, but thoſe who had a mind to be deceived. The writs for a Parliament were often ordered to be made ready for the Seal, and were as often ſtopt. Some were ſealed, and given out: But they were quickly called in again. The old Charters were ordered to be reſtored again. *Jefferies* himſelf carried back the Charter of the City of *London*, and put on the appearances of joy and heartineſs when he gave it to them. All men ſaw thro' that affectation: For he had raiſed himſelf chiefly upon the adviſing, or promoting, that matter of the ſurrender, and the forfeiture of the Charters. An order was alſo ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to put the Preſident of *Magdalen* College again in poſſeſſion. Yet, that order not being executed when the news was brought that the Prince and his Fleet were blown back, it was countermanded; which plainly

ſhewed

ſhewed what it was that drove the Court into ſo much compli- 1688
ance, and how long it was like to laſt.

The matter of the greateſt concern, and that could not be dropt, but was to be ſupported, was the birth of the Prince of *Wales*. And therefore the Court thought it neceſſary, now in an after game, to offer ſome ſatisfaction in that point. So a great meeting was called, not only of all the Privy Counſellors and Judges, but of all the Nobility then in Town. To theſe the King complained of the great injury that was done both him and the Queen by the Prince of *Orange*, who accuſed them of ſo black an impoſture: He ſaid, he believed there were few Princes then alive, who had been born in the preſence of more witneſſes than were at his ſon's birth: He had therefore called them together, that they might hear the proof of that matter. It was firſt proved, that the Queen was delivered abed, while many were in the room; and that they ſaw the child ſoon after he was taken from the Queen by the midwife. But in this the midwife was the ſingle witneſs; for none of the Ladies had felt the child in the Queen's belly. The Counteſs of *Sunderland* did indeed depoſe, that the Queen called to her to give her her hand, that ſhe might feel how the child lay, to which ſhe added, *which I did*; but did not ſay, whether ſhe felt the child, or not: And ſhe told the Ducheſs of *Hamilton*, from whom I had it, that when ſhe put her hand into the bed, the Queen held it, and let it go no lower than her breaſts. So that really ſhe felt nothing. And this depoſition, brought to make a ſhew, was an evidence againſt the matter, rather than for it; and was a violent preſumption of an impoſture, and of an artifice to cover it. Many Ladies depoſed, that they had often ſeen the marks of milk on the Queen's linen, near her breaſts. Two or three depoſed, that they ſaw it running out at the nipple. All theſe depoſed, that they ſaw milk before the pretended delivery. But none of them depoſed concerning milk after the delivery, tho' nature ſends it then in greater abundance: And the Queen had it always in ſuch a plenty, that ſome weeks paſſed after her delivery, before ſhe was quite freed from it. The Ladies did not name the time in which they ſaw the milk, except one, who named the month of *May*. But, if the particulars mentioned before, that happen'd on *Eaſter Monday*, are reflected on, and if it appears probable by theſe that the Queen miſcarried at that time; then all that the Ladies mentioned of milk in her breaſts, particularly ſhe that fixed it to the month of *May*, might have followed upon that miſcarriage, and be no proof concerning the late birth. Mrs. *Pierce*, the landreſs, depoſed that ſhe took linen from the Queen's body

Proofs brought for the birth of the Prince of *Wales*.

1688 once, which carried the marks of a delivery. But ſhe ſpoke only to one time. That was a main circumſtance. And, if it had been true, it muſt have been often done, and was capable of a more copious proof, ſince there is occaſion for ſuch things to be often looked on, and well conſidered. The Lady *Wentworth* was the ſingle witneſs that depoſed, that ſhe had felt the child move in the Queen's belly. She was a Bed-chamber woman, as well as a ſingle witneſs: And ſhe fixed it on no time. If it was very early, ſhe might have been miſtaken: Or if it was before *Eaſter Monday*, it might be true, and yet have no relation to this birth. This was the ſubſtance of this evidence, which was ordered to be enrolled and printed. But, when it was publiſhed, it had a quite contrary effect to what the Court expected from it. The preſumption of law before this was all in favour of the birth, ſince the parents owned the child: So that the proof lay on the other ſide, and ought to be offered by thoſe who called it in queſtion. But, now that this proof was brought, which was ſo apparently defective, it did not leſſen but increaſe the jealouſy with which the Nation was poſſeſſed: For all people concluded, that, if the thing had been true, it muſt have been eaſy to have brought a much more copious proof than was now publiſhed to the world. It was much obſerved, that Princeſs *Anne* was not preſent. She indeed excuſed herſelf. She thought ſhe was breeding: And all motion was forbidden her. None believed that to be the true reaſon; for it was thought, that the going from one apartment of the Court to another could not hurt her. So it was looked on as a colour that ſhewed ſhe did not believe the thing, and that therefore ſhe would not by her being preſent ſeem to give any credit to it.

This was the ſtate of affairs in *England*, while we lay at *Helvoet-Sluys*, where we continued till the firſt of *November*. Here *Wildman* created a new diſturbance. He plainly had a ſhew of courage, but was, at leaſt then, a coward. He poſſeſſed ſome of the *Engliſh* with an opinion, that the deſign was now irrecoverably loſt. This was entertained by many, who were willing to hearken to any propoſition that ſet danger at a diſtance from themſelves. They were ſtill magnifying the *Engliſh* Fleet, and undervaluing the *Dutch*. They went ſo far in this, that they propoſed to the Prince, that *Herbert* ſhould be ordered to go over to the coaſt of *England*, and either fight the *Engliſh* Fleet, or force them in: And in that caſe the Tranſport Fleet might venture over; which otherwiſe they thought could not be ſafely done. This ſome urged with ſuch earneſtneſs, that nothing but the Prince's authority, and *Schomberg*'s credit,

credit, could have withſtood it. The Prince told them, the ſeaſon was now ſo far ſpent, that the loſing of more time was the loſing the whole deſign: Fleets might lie long in view of one another, before it could be poſſible for them to come to an engagement, tho' both ſides equally deſired it; but much longer, if any one of them avoided it: It was not poſſible to keep the Army, eſpecially the horſe, long at ſea: And it was no eaſy matter to take them all out, and to ſhip them again: After the wind had ſtood ſo long in the Weſt, there was reaſon to hope it would turn to the Eaſt: And when that ſhould come, no time was to be loſt: For it would ſometimes blow ſo freſh in a few days as to freeze up the river; ſo that it would not be poſſible to get out all the winter long. With theſe things he rather ſilenced than quieted them. All this while the men of war were ſtill riding at ſea, it being a continued ſtorm for ſome weeks. The Prince ſent out ſeveral advice boats with orders to them to come in. But they could not come up to them. On the twenty ſeventh of *October* there was for ſix hours together a moſt dreadful ſtorm: So that there were few among us, that did not conclude, that the beſt part of the Fleet, and by conſequence that the whole deſign, was loſt. Many, that have paſt for Heroes, yet ſhewed then the agonies of fear in their looks, and whole deportment. The Prince ſtill retained his uſual calmneſs, and the ſame tranquillity of ſpirit, that I had obſerved in him in his happieſt days. On the twenty eighth it calmed a little, and our Fleet came all in, to our great joy. The rudder of one third rate was broken: And that was all the hurt that the ſtorm had done. At laſt the much longed for Eaſt wind came. And ſo hard a thing it was to ſet ſo vaſt a body in motion, that two days of this wind were loſt before all could be quite ready. 1688

On the firſt of *November O. S.* we ſailed out with the evening tide; but made little way that night, that ſo our Fleet might come out, and move in order. We tried next day till noon, if it was poſſible to ſail Northward: But the wind was ſo ſtrong, and full in the Eaſt, that we could not move that way. About noon the ſignal was given to ſteer Weſtward. This wind not only diverted us from that unhappy courſe, but it kept the *Engliſh* Fleet in the river: So that it was not poſſible for them to come out, tho' they were come down as far as to the Gunfleet. By this means we had the ſea open to us, with a fair wind, and a ſafe navigation. On the third we paſt between *Dover* and *Calais*, and before night came in ſight of the iſle of of *Wight*. The next day being the day in which the Prince was both born and married, he fancied, if he could land that day, it would look auſpicious to the Army, and animate the ſoldiers. We ſailed out more happily a ſecond time.

1688 ſoldiers. But we all, who conſidered, that the day following, being Gunpowder Treaſon day, our landing that day might have a good effect on the minds of the *Engliſh* Nation, were better pleaſed to ſee that we could land no ſooner. *Torbay* was thought the beſt place for our great Fleet to lie in: And it was reſolved to land the Army, where it could be beſt done near it; reckoning, that being at ſuch a diſtance from *London*, we could provide our ſelves with horſes, and put every thing in order before the King could march his Army towards us, and that we ſhould lie ſome time at *Exeter* for the refreſhing our men. I was in the ſhip, with the Prince's other domeſticks, that went in the van of the whole Fleet. At noon on the fourth *Ruſſel* came on board us with the beſt of all the *Engliſh* pilots that they had brought over. He gave him the ſteering of the ſhip; and ordered him to be ſure to ſail ſo, that next morning we ſhould be ſhort of *Dartmouth:* For it was intended that ſome of the ſhips ſhould land there, and that the reſt ſhould ſail into *Torbay*. The pilot thought, he could not be miſtaken in meaſuring our courſe; and believed that he certainly kept within orders, till the morning ſhewed us we were paſt *Torbay* and *Dartmouth*. The wind, tho' it had abated much of its firſt violence, yet was ſtill full in the Eaſt: So now it ſeemed neceſſary for us to ſail on to *Plymouth*, which muſt have engaged us in a long and tedious campaign in winter, thro' a very ill Country. Nor were we ſure to be received at *Plymouth*. The Earl of *Bath*, who was Governor, had ſent by *Ruſſel* a promiſe to the Prince to come and join him: Yet it was not likely, that he would be ſo forward as to receive us at our firſt coming. The delays he made afterwards, pretending that he was managing the garriſon, whereas he was indeed ſtaying till he ſaw how the matter was like to be decided, ſhewed us how fatal it had proved, if we had been forced to ſail on to *Plymouth*. But while *Ruſſel* was in no ſmall diſorder, after he ſaw the pilot's error, (upon which he bid me go to my prayers, for all was loſt,) and as he was ordering the boat to be cleared to go aboard the Prince, on a ſudden to all our wonder it calmed a little. And then the wind turned into the South: And a ſoft and happy gale of wind carried in the whole Fleet in four hours time into *Torbay*. Immediately as many landed as conveniently could. As ſoon as the Prince and Marſhal *Schomberg* got to ſhore, they were furniſhed with ſuch horſes as the village of *Broxholme* could afford; and rode up to view the grounds which they found as convenient as could be imagined for the foot in that ſeaſon. It was not a cold night: Otherwiſe the ſoldiers, who had been kept warm aboard, might have ſuffered much by it. As ſoon

We landed at *Torbay*.

as I landed, I made what haſte I could to the place where the Prince was; who took me heartily by the hand, and aſked me, if I would not now believe predeſtination. I told him, I would never forget that providence of God, which had appeared ſo ſignally on this occaſion: He was cheerfuller than ordinary. Yet he returned ſoon to his uſual gravity. The Prince ſent for all the fiſhermen of the place; and aſked them, which was the propereſt place for landing his horſe, which all apprehended would be a tedious buſineſs, and might hold ſome days. But next morning he was ſhewed a place, a quarter of a mile below the village, where the ſhips could be brought very near the land, againſt a good ſhore, and the horſes would not be put to ſwim above twenty yards. This proved to be ſo happy for our landing, tho' we came to it by meer accident, that, if we had ordered the whole Iſland round to be ſounded, we could not have found a properer place for it. There was a dead calm all that morning: And in three hour's time all our horſe were landed, with as much baggage as was neceſſary till we got to *Exeter*. The artillery and heavy baggage were left aboard, and ordered to *Topſham* the ſea-port to *Exeter*. All that belonged to us was ſo ſoon and ſo happily landed, that by the next day at noon we were in full march, and marched four miles that night. We had from thence twenty miles to *Exeter:* And we reſolved to make haſte thither. But, as we were now happily landed, and marching, we ſaw new and unthought of characters of a favourable providence of God watching over us. We had no ſooner got thus diſengaged from our Fleet, than a new and great ſtorm blew from the Weſt; from which our Fleet, being covered by the land, could receive no prejudice: But the King's Fleet had got out as the wind calmed, and in purſuit of us was come as far as the iſle of *Wight*, when this contrary wind turned upon them. They tried what they could to purſue us: But they were ſo ſhattered by ſome days of this ſtorm, that they were forced to go into *Portſmouth*, and were no more fit for ſervice that year. This was a greater happineſs than we were then aware of: For the Lord *Dartmouth* aſſured me ſome time after, that, whatever ſtories we had heard and believed, either of Officers or ſeamen, he was confident they would all have fought very heartily. But now, by the immediate hand of heaven, we were maſters of the ſea without a blow. I never found a diſpoſition to ſuperſtition in my temper: I was rather inclined to be philoſophical upon all occaſions. Yet I muſt confeſs, that this ſtrange ordering of the winds and ſeaſons, juſt to change as our affairs required it, could not but make deep impreſſions on me, as well as on all that obſerved it. Thoſe famous verſes

1688

1688 of *Claudian* ſeemed to be more applicable to the Prince, than to him they were made on:

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti!
Heaven's favourite, for whom the ſkies do fight,
And all the winds conſpire to guide thee right!

The Prince made haſte to *Exeter*, where he ſtaid ten days, both for refreſhing his troops, and for giving the Country time to ſhew their affections. Both the Clergy and Magiſtrates of *Exeter* were very fearful, and very backward. The Biſhop and the Dean ran away. And the Clergy ſtood off, tho' they were ſent for, and very gently ſpoke to by the Prince. The truth was, the doctrines of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance had been carried ſo far, and preached ſo much, that Clergymen either could not all on the ſudden get out of that entanglement, into which they had by long thinking and ſpeaking all one way involved themſelves, or they were aſhamed to make ſo quick a turn. Yet care was taken to protect them and their houſes every where: So that no ſort of violence nor rudeneſs was offered to any of them. The Prince gave me full authority to do this: And I took ſo particular a care of it, that we heard of no complaints. The Army was kept under ſuch an exact diſcipline, that every thing was paid for where it was demanded; tho' the ſoldiers were contented with ſuch moderate entertainment, that the people generally aſked but little for what they did eat. We ſtaid a week at *Exeter*, before any of the Gentlemen of the country about came in to the Prince. Every day ſome perſons of condition came from other parts. The firſt were the Lord *Colcheſter* the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of *Rivers*, and the Lord *Wharton*, Mr. *Ruſſel* the Lord *Ruſſel*'s brother, and the Earl of *Abington*.

The King's Army began to come over to the Prince.

The King came down to *Salisbury*, and ſent his troops twenty miles further. Of theſe, three Regiments of horſe and dragoons were drawn on by their Officers, the Lord *Cornbury* and Coll. *Langſton*, on deſign to come over to the Prince. Advice was ſent to the Prince of this. But becauſe theſe Officers were not ſure of their ſubalterns, the Prince ordered a body of his men to advance, and aſſiſt them in caſe any reſiſtance was made. They were within twenty miles of *Exeter*, and within two miles of the body that the Prince had ſent to join them, when a whiſper ran about among them that they were betrayed. Lord *Cornbury* had not the preſence of mind that ſo critical a thing required. So they fell in confuſion, and many rode back. Yet

one Regiment came over in a body, and with them about a hundred of the other two. This gave us great courage; and shewed us, that we had not been deceived in what was told us of the inclinations of the King's Army. Yet, on the other hand, those who studied to support the King's spirit by flatteries told him, that in this he saw that he might trust his Army, since these who intended to carry over those Regiments, were forced to manage it with so much artifice, and durst not discover their design either to Officers or soldiers; and that, as soon as they perceived it, the greater part of them had turned back. The King wanted support: For his spirits sunk extreamly. His blood was in such fermentation, that he was bleeding much at the nose, which returned oft upon him every day. He sent many spies over to us. They all took his money, and came and joined themselves to the Prince, none of them returning to him. So that he had no intelligence brought him of what the Prince was doing, but what common reports brought him, which magnified our numbers, and made him think we were coming near him, while we were still at *Exeter*. He heard that the City of *London* was very unquiet. News were brought him, that the Earls of *Devonshire* and *Danby*, and the Lord *Lumley*, were drawing great bodies together, and that both *York* and *Newcastle* had declared for the Prince. The Lord *Delamere* had raised a Regiment in *Cheshire*. And the body of the Nation did every where discover their inclinations for the Prince so evidently, that the King saw he had nothing to trust to, but his Army. And the ill disposition among them was so apparent, that he reckoned he could not depend on them. So that he lost both heart and head at once. But that which gave him the last and most confounding stroke was, that the Lord *Churchill* and the Duke of *Grafton* left him, and came and joined the Prince at *Axminster*, twenty miles on that side of *Exeter*. After this he could not know on whom he could depend. The Duke of *Grafton* was one of King *Charles*'s sons by the Duchess of *Cleveland*. He had been some time at sea, and was a gallant but rough man. He had more spirit than any one of the King's sons. He made an answer to the King about this time, that was much talked of. The King took notice of somewhat in his behaviour that looked factious: And he said, he was sure he could not pretend to act upon principles of conscience; for he had been so ill bred, that as he knew little of religion so he regarded it less. But he answered the King, that, tho' he had little conscience, yet he was of a party that had conscience. Soon after that, Prince *George*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Drumlanerick* the Duke of *Queensbury*'s eldest son, left him, and came over

1688

to

1688 to the Prince, and joined him, when he was come as far as the Earl of *Briſtol*'s houſe at *Sherburn*. When the news came to *London*, the Princeſs was ſo ſtruck with the apprehenſions of the King's diſpleaſure, and of the ill effects that it might have, that ſhe ſaid to the Lady *Churchill*, that ſhe could not bear the thoughts of it, and would leap out at window rather than venture on it. The Biſhop of *London* was then lodged very ſecretly in *Suffolk* ſtreet. So the Lady *Churchill*, who knew where he was, went to him, and concerted with him the method of the Princeſs's withdrawing from the Court. The Princeſs went ſooner to bed than ordinary. And about midnight ſhe went down a backſtairs from her cloſet, attended only by the Lady *Churchill*, in ſuch haſte that they carried nothing with them. They were waited for by the Biſhop of *London*, who carried them to the Earl of *Dorſet*'s, whoſe Lady furniſhed them with every thing. And ſo they went Northward, as far as *Northampton*; where that Earl attended on them with all reſpect, and quickly brought a body of horſe to ſerve for a guard to the Princeſs. And in a little while a ſmall Army was formed about her, who choſe to be commanded by the Biſhop of *London*; of which he too eaſily accepted.

Theſe things put the King in an unexpreſſible confuſion. He ſaw himſelf now forſaken, not only by thoſe whom he had truſted and favoured moſt, but even by his own children. And the Army was in ſuch diſtraction, that there was not any one body that ſeemed entirely united and firm to him. A fooliſh ballad was made at that time, treating the Papiſts, and chiefly the *Iriſh*, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a burden, ſaid to be *Iriſh* words, *lero lero lilibulero*, that made an impreſſion on the Army, that cannot be well imagined by thoſe who ſaw it not. The whole Army, and at laſt all people both in city and country, were ſinging it perpetually. And perhaps never had ſo ſlight a thing ſo great an effect.

An Aſſociation among thoſe who came to the Prince.

While the Prince ſtaid at *Exeter*, the rabble of the people came in to him in great numbers. So that he could have raiſed many Regiments of foot, if there had been any occaſion for them. But what he underſtood of the temper the King's Army was in, made him judge it was not neceſſary to arm greater numbers. After he had ſtaid eight days at *Exeter*, *Seimour* came in with ſeveral other Gentlemen of quality and eſtate. As ſoon as he had been with the Prince, he ſent to ſeek for me. When I came to him, he aſked me, why we had not an Aſſociation ſigned by all that came to us, ſince, till we had that done, we were as a rope of ſand: Men might leave us when they pleaſed, and we had them under no tie: Whereas, if they ſigned an Aſſo-

ciation, they would reckon themſelves hound to ſtick to us. I anſwered, it was hecauſe we had not a man of his authority and credit to offer and ſupport ſuch an advice. I went from him to the Prince, who approved of the motion; as did alſo the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and all that were with us. So I was ordered to draw it. It was, in few words, an engagement to ſtick together in purſuing the ends of the Prince's declaration; and that, if any attempt ſhould be made on his perſon, it ſhould he revenged on all by whom or from whom any ſuch attempt ſhould be made. This was agreed to hy all ahout the Prince. So it was engroſſed in parchment, and ſigned by all thoſe that came in to him. The Prince put *Devonſhire* and *Exeter* under *Seimour*'s government, who was Recorder of *Exeter*. And he advanced with his Army, leaving a ſmall garriſon there with his heavy artillery under Coll. *Gibſon*, whom he made Deputy Governor as to the military part. 1688

At *Crookhorn*, Dr. *Finch*, ſon to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, then made Warden of All-Souls College in *Oxford*, was ſent to the Prince from ſome of the Heads of Colleges; aſſuring him, that they wonld declare for him, and inviting him to come thither, telling him, that their plate ſhonld be at his ſervice, if he needed it. This was a ſudden turn from thoſe principles that they had carried ſo high a few years hefore. The Prince had deſigned to have ſecured *Briſtol* and *Gloceſter*, and ſo to have gone to *Oxford*, the whole Weſt heing then in his hands, if there had been any appearance of a ſtand to he made againſt him by the King and his Army; for, the King heing ſo much ſuperior to to him in horſe, it was not adviſable to march thro' the great plains of *Dorſetſhire* and *Wiltſhire*. But the King's precipitated retnrn to *London* pnt an end to this precaution. The Earl of *Bath* had prevailed with the garriſon of *Plymouth:* And they declared for the Prince. So now all hehind him was ſafe. When he came to *Sherburn*, all *Dorſetſhire* came in a body, and joined him. He reſolved to make all the haſte he could to *London*, where things were in a high fermentation. The Heads in *Oxford* ſent to him.

A hold man ventured to draw and puhliſh another declaration in the Prince's name. It was penned with great ſpirit: And it had as great an effect. It ſet forth the deſperate deſigns of the Papiſts, and the extream danger the Nation was in hy their means, and required all perſons immediately to fall on ſuch Papiſts as were in any employments, and to turn them out, and to ſecure all ſtrong places, and to do every thing elſe that was in their power to execute the laws, and to hring all things again into their proper channels. This ſet all men at work: For no doubt was made, that it was truly the Prince's declaration. Great diſorders in *London*.

1688 But he knew nothing of it. And it was never known, who was the author of ſo bold a thing. No perſon ever claimed the merit of it: For, tho' it had an amazing effect, yet, it ſeems, he that contrived it apprehended, that the Prince would not be well pleaſed with the author of ſuch an impoſture in his Name. The King was under ſuch a conſternation, that he neither knew what to reſolve on, nor whom to truſt. This pretended declaration put the City in ſuch a flame, that it was carried to the Lord Mayor, and he was required to execute it. The prentices got together, and were falling upon all Maſs houſes, and committing many irregular things. Yet their fury was ſo well governed, and ſo little reſiſted that no other miſchief was done: No blood was ſhed.

A treaty begun with the Prince.

The King now ſent for all the Lords in Town, that were known to be firm Proteſtants. And, upon ſpeaking to ſome of them in private, they adviſed him to call a general meeting of all the Privy Counſellors, and Peers, to aſk their advice, what was fit to be done. All agreed in one opinion, that it was fit to ſend Commiſſioners to the Prince to treat with him. This went much againſt the King's own inclinations: Yet the dejection he was in, and the deſperate ſtate of his affairs, forced him to conſent to it. So the Marquis of *Halliſax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, were ordered to go to the Prince, and to aſk him, what it was that he demanded. The Earl of *Clarendon* reflected the moſt on the King's former conduct of any in that aſſembly, not without ſome indecent and inſolent words, which were generally condemned. He expected, as was ſaid, to be one of the Commiſſioners: And, upon his not being named, he came and met the Prince near *Salisbury*. Yet he ſuggeſted ſo many peeviſh and peculiar things, when he came, that ſome ſuſpected, all this was but colluſion, and that he was ſent to raiſe a faction among thoſe that were about the Prince. The Lords ſent to the Prince to know where they ſhould wait on him: And he named *Hungerford*. When they came thither, and had delivered their meſſage, the Prince called all the Peers and others of chief note about him, and adviſed with them what anſwer ſhould be made. A day was taken to conſider of an anſwer. The Marquis of *Halliſax* ſent for me. But the Prince ſaid, tho' he would ſuſpect nothing from our meeting, others might. So I did not ſpeak with him in private, but in the hearing of others. Yet he took occaſion to aſk me, ſo as no body obſerved it, if we had a mind to have the King in our hands. I ſaid, by no means; for we would not hurt his perſon. He aſked next, what if he had a mind to go away. I ſaid, nothing was ſo much to be wiſhed for. This I told the Prince. And he approved of both my

anſwers. The Prince ordered the Earls of *Oxford*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Clarendon* to treat with the Lords the King had ſent. And they delivered the Prince's anſwer to them on *Sunday* the eighth of *December*. 1688

He deſired a Parliament might be preſently called, that no men ſhould continue in any employment, who were not qualified by law, and had not taken the Teſts, that the Tower of *London* might be put in the keeping of the City; that the Fleet, and all the ſtrong places of the Kingdom, might be put in the hands of Proteſtants; that a proportion of the revenue might be ſet off for the pay of the Prince's Army; and that during the ſitting of the Parliament, the Armies of both ſides might not come within twenty miles of *London*; but, that the Prince might come on to *London*, and have the ſame number of his guards about him, that the King kept about his perſon. The Lords ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied with this anſwer. They ſent it up by an expreſs, and went back next day to *London*.

The King left the Kingdom.

But now ſtrange counſels were ſuggeſted to the King and Queen. The Prieſts, and all the violent Papiſts, ſaw a treaty was now opened. They knew, that they muſt be the ſacrifice. The whole deſign of Popery muſt be given up, without any hope of being able in an age to think of bringing it on again. Severe laws would be made againſt them. And all thoſe who intended to ſtick to the King, and to preſerve him, would go into thoſe laws with a particular zeal: So that they, and their hopes, muſt be now given up, and ſacrificed for ever. They infuſed all this into the Queen. They ſaid, ſhe would certainly be impeached: And witneſſes would be ſet up againſt her, and her ſon: The King's Mother had been impeached in the long Parliament: And ſhe was to look for nothing but violence. So the Queen took up a ſudden reſolution of going to *France* with the child. The midwife, together with all who were aſſiſting at the birth, were alſo carried over, or ſo diſpoſed of, that it could never be learned what became of them afterwards. The Queen prevailed with the King, not only to conſent to this, but to promiſe to go quickly after her. He was only to ſtay a day or two after her, in hope that the ſhadow of authority that was ſtill left in him might keep things ſo quiet, that ſhe might have an undiſturbed paſſage. So ſhe went to *Portſmouth*. And from thence, in a man of war, ſhe went over to *France*, the King reſolving to follow her in diſguiſe. Care was alſo taken to ſend all the Prieſts away. The King ſtaid long enough to get the Prince's anſwer. And when he had read it, he ſaid, he did not expect ſo good terms. He ordered the Lord Chancellor to come to him next morning. But he

1688 he had called ſecretly for the Great Seal. And the next morning, being the tenth of *December*, about three in the morning he went away in diſguiſe with Sir *Edward Hales*, whoſe ſervant he ſeemed to be. They paſt the river, and flung the Great Seal into it; which was ſome months after found by a fiſherman near *Fox-Hall*. The King went down to a miſerable fiſher boat, that *Hales* had provided for carrying them over to *France*.

He is much cenſured.

Thus a great King, who had a good Army and a ſtrong Fleet, did chooſe rather to abandon all, than either to expoſe himſelf to any danger with that part of the Army that was ſtill firm to him, or to ſtay and ſee the iſſue of a Parliament. Some put this mean and unaccountable reſolution on a want of courage. Others thought it was the effect of an ill conſcience, and of ſome black thing under which he could not now ſupport himſelf. And they who cenſured it the moſt moderately, ſaid, that it ſhewed, that his Prieſts had more regard to themſelves than to him; and that he conſidered their intereſt more than his own; and that he choſe rather to wander abroad with them, and to try what he could do by a *French* force to ſubdue his people, than to ſtay at home, and be ſhut up within the bounds of law, and be brought under an incapacity of doing more miſchief; which they ſaw was neceſſary to quiet thoſe fears and jealouſies, for which his bad government had given ſo much occaſion. It ſeemed very unaccountable, ſince he was reſolved to go, that he did not chooſe rather to go in one of his Yatchs or Fregats, than to expoſe himſelf in ſo dangerous and ignominious a manner. It was not poſſible to put a good conſtruction on any part of the diſhonourable ſcene which he then acted.

With this his reign ended: For this was a plain deſerting his people, and the expoſing the Nation to the pillage of an Army, which he had ordered the Earl of *Feverſham* to diſband. And the doing this without paying them, was the letting ſo many armed men looſe upon the Nation; who might have done much miſchief, if the execution of thoſe orders that he left behind him had not been ſtopped. I ſhall continue the recital of all that paſt in this *Interregnum*, till the Throne, which he now left empty, was filled.

But is brought back.

He was not got far, when ſome fiſhermen of *Feverſham*, who were watching for ſuch Prieſts, and other delinquents, as they fancied were making their eſcape, came up to him. And they, knowing Sir *Edward Hales*, took both the King and him, and brought them to *Feverſham*. The King told them who he was. And that flying about brought a vaſt croud together, to

look on that aſtoniſhing inſtance of the uncertainty of all worldly greatneſs; when he who had ruled three Kingdoms, and might have been the arbiter of all *Europe*, was now in ſuch mean hands, and ſo low an equipage. The people of the town were extremely diſordered with this unlooked for accident: And, tho' for a while they kept him as a priſoner, yet they quickly changed that into as much reſpect as they could poſſibly pay him. Here was an accident that ſeemed of no great conſequence. Yet all the ſtrugglings which that party have made ever ſince that time to this day, which from him were called afterwards the Jacobites, did riſe out of this: For, if he had got clear away, by all that could be judged, he would not have had a party left: All would have agreed, that here was a deſertion, and that therefore the Nation was free, and at liberty to ſecure it ſelf. But what followed upon this gave them a colour to ſay, that he was forced away, and driven out. Till now, he ſcarce had a party, but among the Papiſts. But from this incident a party grew up, that has been long very active for his intereſts. As ſoon as it was known at *London* that the King was gone, the prentices and the rabble, who had been a little quieted when they ſaw a treaty on foot between the King and the Prince, now broke out again upon all ſuſpected houſes, where they believed there was either Prieſts or Papiſts. They made great havock of many places, not ſparing the houſes of Embaſſadors. But none were killed, no houſes burnt, nor were any robberies committed. Never was ſo much fury ſeen under ſo much management. *Jefferies*, finding the King was gone, ſaw what reaſon he had to look to himſelf: And, apprehending that he was now expoſed to the rage of the people, whom he had provoked with ſo particular a brutality, he had diſguiſed himſelf to make his eſcape. But he fell into the hands of ſome who knew him. He was inſulted by them with as much ſcorn and rudeneſs as they could invent. And, after many hours toſſing him about, he was carried to the Lord Mayor; whom they charged to commit him to the Tower, which the Lord *Lucas* had then ſeized, and in it had declared for the Prince. The Lord Mayor was ſo ſtruck with the terror of this rude populace, and with the diſgrace of a man who had made all people tremble before him, that he fell into fits upon it, of which he died ſoon after. 1688

To prevent the further growth of ſuch diſorders, he called a meeting of the Privy Counſellors and Peers, who met at *Guild-Hall*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was there. They gave a ſtrict charge for keeping the peace; and agreed to ſend an invitation to the Prince, deſiring him to come and take

The Prince is deſired to come and take the government into his hands.

1688 the government of the Nation into his hands, till a Parliament ſhould meet to bring all matters to a juſt and full ſettlement. This they all ſigned; and ſent it to the Prince by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Viſcount of *Weymouth*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Culpepper*. The Prince went on from *Hungerford* to *Newbury*, and from thence to *Abington*, reſolving to have gone to *Oxford* to receive the compliments of the Univerſity, and to meet the Princeſs *Anne* who was coming thither. At *Abington* he was ſurprized with the news of the ſtrange cataſtrophe of affairs now at *London*, the King's deſertion, and the diſorders which the City and neighbourhood of *London* were falling into. One came from *London*, and brought him the news, which he knew not well how to believe, till he had an expreſs ſent him from the Lords, who had been with him from the King. Upon this the Prince ſaw, how neceſſary it was to make all poſſible haſte to *London*. So he ſent to *Oxford*, to excuſe his not coming thither, and to offer the Aſſociation to them, which was ſigned by almoſt all the Heads, and the chief men of the Univerſity; even by thoſe, who, being diſappointed in the preferments they aſpired to, became afterwards his moſt implacable enemies.

Hitherto the expedition had been proſperous, beyond all that could have been expected. There had been but two ſmall engagements, during this unſeaſonable campaign. One was at *Winkington* in *Dorſetſhire*, where an advanced party of the Prince's met one of the King's that was thrice their number: Yet they drove them before them into a much greater body, where they were overpowered with numbers. Some were killed of both ſides. But there were more priſoners taken of the Prince's men. Yet, tho' the loſs was of his ſide, the courage that his men ſhewed in ſo a great an inequality as to number, made us reckon that we gained more than we loſt on that occaſion. Another action happen'd at *Reading*, where the King had a conſiderable body, who, as ſome of the Prince's men advanced, fell into a great diſorder, and ran away. One of the Prince's Officers was ſhot. He was a Papiſt: And the Prince in conſideraration of his religion was willing to leave him behind him in *Holland:* But he very earneſtly begged he might come over with his company: And he was the only Officer that was killed in the whole expedition.

Different advice given to the Prince concerning the King's perſon.

Upon the news of the King's deſertion, it was propoſed that the Prince ſhould go on with all poſſible haſte to *London*. But that was not adviſable. For the King's Army lay ſo ſcattered thro' the road all the way to *London*, that it was not fit for him to advance faſter, than as his troops marched before him: Otherwiſe,

Otherwiſe, any reſolute Officer might have ſeized or killed him. Tho', if it had not been for that danger, a great deal of miſchief, that followed, would have been prevented by his ſpeedy advance: For now began that turn, to which all the difficulties, that did afterwards diſorder our affairs, may be juſtly imputed. Two Gentlemen of *Kent* came to *Windſor* the morning after the Prince came thither. They were addreſſed to me. And they told me of the accident at *Feverſham*, and deſired to know the Prince's pleaſure upon it. I was affected with this diſmal reverſe of the fortune of a great Prince, more than I think fit to expreſs. I went immediately to *Benthink*, and waked him, and got him to go in to the Prince, and let him know what had happen'd, that ſome order might be preſently given for the ſecurity of the King's perſon, and for taking him out of the hands of a rude multitude, who ſaid, they would obey no orders but ſuch as came from the Prince. The Prince ordered *Zuyleſtein* to go immediately to *Feverſham*, and to ſee the King ſafe, and at full liberty to go whitherſoever he pleaſed. But, as ſoon as the news of the King's being at *Feverſham* came to *London*, all the indignation that people had formerly conceived againſt him was turned to pity and compaſſion. The Privy Council met upon it. Some moved, that he ſhould be ſent for. Others ſaid, he was King, and might ſend for his guards and coaches, as he pleaſed: But it became not them to ſend for him. It was left to his General, the Earl of *Feverſham*, to do what he thought beſt. So he went for him with his coaches and guards. And, as he came back thro' the City, he was welcomed with expreſſions of joy by great numbers: So ſlight and unſtable a thing is a multitude, and ſo ſoon altered. At his coming to *Whitehall*, he had a great Court about him. Even the Papiſts crept out of their lurking holes, and appeared at Court with much aſſurance. The King himſelf began to take heart. And both at *Feverſham*, and now at *Whitehall*, he talked in his ordinary high ſtrain, juſtifying all he had done: Only he ſpoke a little doubtfully of the buſineſs of *Magdalen* College. But when he came to reflect on the ſtate of his affairs, he ſaw it was ſo broken, that nothing was now left to deliberate upon. So he ſent the Earl of *Feverſham* to *Windſor*, without demanding any paſſport: And ordered him to deſire the Prince to come to St. *James*'s, to conſult with him of the beſt way for ſettling the Nation. 1688

When the news of what had paſt at *London* came to *Windſor*, the Prince thought the Privy Council had not uſed him well, who, after they had ſent to him to take the government upon him, had made this ſtep without conſulting him. Now

1688 the ſcene was altered, and new counſels were to be taken. The Prince heard the opinions, not only of thoſe who had come along with him, but of ſuch of the Nobility as were now come to him, among whom the Marquis of *Halliſax* was one. All agreed, that it was not convenient that the King ſhould ſtay at *Whitehall*. Neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the City, could have been ſafe, if they had been both near one another. Tumults would probably have ariſen out of it. The guards, and the officious flatterers, of the two Courts, would have been unquiet neighbours. It was thought neceſſary to ſtick to the point of the King's deſerting his people, and not to give up that, by entring upon any treaty with him. And ſince the Earl of *Feverſham*, who had commanded the Army againſt the Prince, was come without a paſſport, he was for ſome days put in arreſt.

It was a tender point how to diſpoſe of the King's perſon. Some propoſed rougher methods: The keeping him a priſoner, at leaſt till the Nation was ſettled, and till *Ireland* was ſecured. It was thought, his being kept in cuſtody, would be ſuch a tie on all his party, as would oblige them to ſubmit, and be quiet. *Ireland* was in great danger. And his reſtraint might oblige the Earl of *Tirconnell* to deliver up the government, and to diſarm the Papiſts, which would preſerve that Kingdom, and the Proteſtants in it. But, becauſe it might raiſe too much compaſſion, and perhaps ſome diſorder, if the King ſhould be kept in reſtraint within the Kingdom, therefore the ſending him to *Breda* was propoſed. The Earl of *Clarendon* preſſed this vehemently, on the account of the *Iriſh* Proteſtants, as the King himſelf told me: For thoſe that gave their opinions in this matter did it ſecretly, and in confidence to the Prince. The Prince ſaid, he could not deny, but that this might be good and wiſe advice: But it was that to which he could not hearken: He was ſo far ſatisfied with the grounds of this expedition, that he could act againſt the King in a fair and open war: But for his perſon, now that he had him in his power, he could not put ſuch a hardſhip on him, as to make him a priſoner: And he knew the Princeſs's temper ſo well, that he was ſure ſhe would never bear it: Nor did he know what diſputes it might raiſe, or what effect it might have upon the Parliament that was to be called: He was firmly reſolved never to ſuffer any thing to be done againſt his perſon: He ſaw it was neceſſary to ſend him out of *London:* And he would order a guard to attend upon him, who ſhould only defend and protect his perſon, but not reſtrain him in any ſort.

A reſolution was taken of ſending the Lords *Halliſax*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Delamere*, to *London*, who were firſt to order the *Engliſh* guards that were about the Court to be drawn off, and ſent to quarters out of town: And, when that was done, the Count of *Solms* with the *Dutch* guards was to come and take all the poſts about the Court. This was obeyed without any reſiſtance or diſorder, but not without much murmuring. It was midnight before all was ſettled. And then theſe Lords ſent to the Earl of *Middleton*, to deſire him to let the King know, that they had a meſſage to deliver to him from the Prince. He went in to the King; and ſent them word from him, that they might come with it immediately. They came, and found him abed. They told him, the neceſſity of affairs required, that the Prince ſhould come preſently to *London:* And he thought, it would conduce to the ſafety of the King's perſon, and the quiet of the town, that he ſhould retire to ſome houſe out of town: And they propoſed *Ham*. The King ſeemed much dejected; and aſked, if it muſt be done immediately. They told him, he might take his reſt firſt: And they added, that he ſhould be attended by a guard, who ſhould only guard his perſon, but ſhould give him no ſort of diſturbance. Having ſaid this they withdrew. The Earl of *Middleton* came quickly after them, and aſked them, if it would not do as well, if the King ſhould go to *Rocheſter*; for ſince the Prince was not pleaſed with his coming up from *Kent*, it might be perhaps acceptable to him, if he ſhould go thither again. It was very viſible, that this was propoſed in order to a ſecond eſcape. 1688

They promiſed to ſend word immediately to the Prince of *Orange*, who lay that night at *Sion*, within eight miles of *London*. He very readily conſented to it. And the King went next day to *Rocheſter*, having ordered all that which is called the moving Wardrobe to be ſent before him, the Count of *Solms* ordering every thing to be done, as the King deſired. A guard went with him that left him at full liberty, and paid him rather more reſpect than his own guards had done of late. Moſt of that body, as it happen'd, were Papiſts. So when he went to Maſs, they went in, and aſſiſted very reverently. And, when they were aſked, how they could ſerve in an expedition that was intended to deſtroy their own religion, one of them anſwered, his ſoul was God's, but his ſword was the Prince of *Orange*'s. The King was ſo much delighted with this anſwer, that he repeated it to all that came about him. On the ſame day the Prince came to St. *James*'s. It happen'd to be a very rainy day. And yet great numbers came to ſee him. But, after they had ſtood long in the wet, he diſappointed them: The Prince came to *London*, and the King went to *Rocheſter*.

1688 For he, who neither loved ſhews nor ſhoutings, went thro' the park. And even this trifle helped to ſet peoples ſpirits on edge.

The Revolution was thus brought about, with the univerſal applauſe of the whole Nation: Only theſe laſt ſteps began to raiſe a fermentation. It was ſaid, here was an unnatural thing, to waken the King out of his ſleep, in his own Palace, and to order him to go out of it, when he was ready to ſubmit to every thing. Some ſaid, he was now a priſoner, and remembred the ſaying of King *Charles* the firſt, that the priſons and the graves of Princes lay not far diſtant from one another: The perſon of the King was now ſtruck at, as well as his government: And this ſpecious undertaking would now appear to be only a diſguiſed and deſigned uſurpation. Theſe things began to work on great numbers. And the poſting the *Dutch* guards, where the *Engliſh* guards had been, gave a general diſguſt to the whole *Engliſh* Army. They indeed hated the *Dutch* beſides, on the account of the good order and ſtrict diſcipline they were kept under; which made them to be as much beloved by the Nation, as they were hated by the ſoldiery. The Nation had never known ſuch an inoffenſive march of an Army. And the peace and order of the ſuburbs, and the freedom of markets in and about *London*, was ſo carefully maintained, that in no time fewer diſorders had been committed, than were heard of this winter.

None of the Papiſts or Jacobites were inſulted in any ſort. The Prince had ordered me, as we came along, to take care of the Papiſts, and to ſecure them from all violence. When he came to *London*, he renewed theſe orders, which I executed with ſo much zeal and care, that I ſaw all the complaints that were brought me fully redreſſed. When we came to *London* I procured paſſports for all that deſired to go beyond ſea. Two of the Popiſh Biſhops were put in *Newgate*. I went thither in the Prince's name. I told them, the Prince would not take upon him yet to give orders about priſoners: As ſoon as he did that, they ſhould feel the effects of it. But in the mean while I ordered them to be well uſed, and to be taken care of, and that their friends might be admitted to come to them. So truly did I purſue the principle of moderation, even towards thoſe from whom nothing of that ſort was to be expected.

The Prince was welcomed by all ſorts of people.

Now that the Prince was come, all the bodies about the town came to welcome him. The Biſhops came the next day. Only the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, tho' he had once agreed to it, yet would not come. The Clergy of *London* came next. The City, and a great many other bodies, came likewiſe, and expreſſed a great deal of joy for the deliverance wrought for

them by the Prince's means. Old Serjeant *Maynard* came with the men of the law. He was then near ninety, and yet he said the livelieſt thing that was heard of on that occaſion. The Prince took notice of his great age, and ſaid, that he had outlived all the men of the law of his time: He anſwered, he had like to have out-lived the law it ſelf, if his Highneſs had not come over. 1688

Conſultations about the ſettlement of the Nation.

The firſt thing to be done after the compliments were over, was to conſider how the Nation was to be ſettled. The lawyers were generally of opinion, that the Prince ought to declare himſelf King, as *Henry* the ſeventh had done. This, they ſaid, would put an end to all diſputes, which might otherwiſe grow very perplexing and tedious: And, they ſaid, he might call a Parliament which would be a legal aſſembly, if ſummoned by the King in fact, tho' his title was not yet recognized. This was plainly contrary to his declaration, by which the ſettlement of the Nation was referred to a Parliament: Such a ſtep would make all that the Prince had hitherto done paſs for an aſpiring ambition, only to raiſe himſelf: And it would diſguſt thoſe who had been hitherto the beſt affected to his deſigns; and make them leſs concerned in the quarrel, if, inſtead of ſtaying till the Nation ſhould offer him the Crown, he would aſſume it as a conqueſt. Theſe reaſons determined the Prince againſt that propoſition. He called all the Peers, and the members of the three laſt Parliaments, that were in town, together with ſome of the Citizens of *London*. When theſe met, it was told them, that, in the preſent diſtraction, the Prince deſired their advice about the beſt methods of ſettling the Nation. It was agreed in both theſe Houſes, ſuch as they were, to make an addreſs to the Prince, deſiring him to take the adminiſtration of the government into his hands in the interim. The next propoſition paſt not ſo unanimouſly: For, it being moved that the Prince ſhould be likewiſe deſired to write miſſive letters to the ſame effect, and for the ſame perſons to whom writs were iſſued out for calling a Parliament, that ſo there might be an aſſembly of men in the form of a Parliament, tho' without writs under the Great Seal, ſuch as that was that had called home King *Charles* the ſecond. To this the Earl of *Nottingham* objected, that ſuch a Convention of the States could be no legal aſſembly, unleſs ſummoned by the King's writ. Therefore he moved, that an addreſs might be made to the King, to order the writs to be iſſued out. Few were of his mind. The matter was carried the other way: And orders were given for thoſe letters to be ſent round the Nation.

The

1688 The King went over into *France*.

The King continued a week at *Rocheſter*. And both he himſelf, and every body elſe, ſaw that he was at full liberty, and that the guard about him put him under no ſort of reſtraint. Many that were zealous for his intereſts went to him, and preſſed him to ſtay, and to ſee the iſſue of things: A party would appear for him: Good terms would be got for him: And things would be brought to a reaſonable agreement. He was much diſtracted between his own inclinations, and the importunities of his friends. The Queen, hearing what had happen'd, writ a moſt vehement letter to him, preſſing his coming over, remembring him of his promiſe, which ſhe charged on him in a very earneſt, if not in an imperions ſtrain. This letter was intercepted. I had an account of it from one that read it. The Prince ordered it to be conveyed to the King: And that determined him. So he gave ſecret orders to prepare a veſſel for him; and drew a paper, which he left on his table, reproaching the Nation for their forſaking him. He declared, that tho' he was going to ſeek for foreign aid to reſtore him to his Throne, yet he would not make uſe of it to overthrow either the religion eſtabliſhed, or the laws of the land. And ſo he left *Rocheſter* very ſecretly, on the laſt day of this memorable year, and got ſafe over to *France*.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

Bnt, before I enter into the next year, I will give ſome account of the affairs of *Scotland*. There was no force left there, but a very ſmall one, ſcarce able to defend the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, of which the Duke of *Gordon* was Governor. He was a Papiſt; but had neither the ſpirit, nor the courage, which ſuch a poſt required at that time. As ſoon as the news came to *Scotland* of the King's deſertion, the rabble got together there, as they had done in *London*. They broke into all Popiſh Chapels, and into the Church of Holy Rood Houſe, which had been adorned at a great charge to be a Royal Chapel, particularly for the order of St. *Andrew* and the *Thiſtle*, which the King had reſolved to ſet up in *Scotland* in imitation of the order of the Garter in *England*. They defaced it quite, and ſeized on ſome that were thonght great delinquents, in particnlar on the Earl of *Perth*, who had diſguiſed himſelf, and had got aboard a ſmall veſſel: But he was ſeized on, and pnt in priſon. The whole Kingdom, except only the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, declared for the Prince, and received his declaration for that Kingdom with great joy. This was done in the North very unanimouſly, by the Epiſcopal, as well as by the Preſbyterian party. But in the Weſtern Counties, the Preſbyterians, who had ſuffered much in a courſe of many years, thought that the time was now come, not only to procure themſelves eaſe

and liberty, but to revenge themſelves upon others. They ge- 1688
nerally broke in upon the Epiſcopal Clergy with great inſo-
lence and much cruelty. They carried them about the pariſhes in a mock proceſſion: They tore their gowns, and drove them from their Churches and houſes. Nor did they treat thoſe of them, who had appeared very zealouſly againſt Popery, with any diſtinction. The Biſhops of that Kingdom had writ a very indecent letter to the King, upon the news of the Prince's being blown back by the ſtorm, full of injurious expreſſions towards the Prince, expreſſing their abhorrence of his deſign: And, in concluſion, they wiſhed that the King might have the necks of his enemies. This was ſent up as a pattern to the *Engliſh* Biſhops, and was printed in the *Gazette*. But they did not think fit to copy after it in *England*. The Epiſcopal party in *Scotland* ſaw themſelves under a great cloud: So they reſolved all to adhere to the Earl of *Dundee*, who had ſerved ſome years in *Holland*, and was both an able Officer, and a man of good parts, and of ſome very valuable vertues: But, as he was proud and ambitious, ſo he had taken up a moſt violent hatred of the whole Preſbyterian party, and had executed all the ſevereſt orders againſt them with great rigour; even to the ſhooting many on the highway, that refuſed the oath required of them. The Preſbyterians looked on him, as their moſt implacable enemy: And the Epiſcopal party truſted moſt entirely to him. Upon the Prince's coming to *London*, the Duke of *Hamilton* called a meeting of all the men of Quality of the *Scottiſh* Nation then in town: And theſe made an addreſs to the Prince with relation to *Scotland*, almoſt in the ſame terms in which the *Engliſh* addreſs was conceived. And now the adminiſtration of the government of the whole iſle of *Britain* was put in the Prince's hands.

The proſpect from *Ireland* was more dreadful. *Tyrconnell* gave out new commiſſions for levying thirty thouſand men. And reports were ſpread about that Iſland, that a general maſſacre of the Proteſtants was fixed to be in *November*. Upon which the Proteſtants began to run together for their common defence, both in *Munſter* and in *Ulſter*. They had no great ſtrength in *Munſter*. They had been diſarmed, and had no ſtore of ammunition for the few arms that were left them. So they deſpaired of being able to defend themſelves, and came over to *England* in great numbers, and full of diſmal apprehenſions for thoſe they had left behind them. They moved earneſtly, that a ſpeedy aſſiſtance might be ſent to them. In *Ulſter* the Proteſtants had more ſtrength: But they wanted a head. The Lords of *Grenard* and *Mountjoy*, who were the chief military men among The affairs of *Ireland*.

1688 them, in whom they confided moſt, kept ſtill ſuch meaſures with *Tyrconnell*, that they would not take the conduct of them. Two towns, that had both very little defence about them, and a very ſmall ſtore of proviſions within them, were by the raſhneſs or boldneſs of ſome brave young men ſecured: So that they refuſed to receive a Popiſh garriſon, or to ſubmit to *Tyrconnell*'s orders. Theſe were *London-Derry*, and *Iniſkilling*. Both of them were advantageouſly ſituated. *Tyrconnell* ſent troops into the North to reduce the country. Upon which great numbers fled into thoſe places, and brought in proviſions to them. And ſo they reſolved to defend themſelves, with a firmneſs of courage that cannot be enough admired: For when they were abandoned, both by the Gentry and the military men, thoſe two ſmall unfurniſhed and unfortified places, reſolved to ſtand to their own defence, and at all perils to ſtay till ſupplies ſhould come to them from *England*. I will not enlarge more upon the affairs of that Kingdom; both becauſe I had no occaſion to be well informed about them, and becauſe Dr. *King*, now Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, wrote a copious hiſtory of the government of *Ireland* during this reign, which is ſo well received, and ſo univerſally acknowledged to be as truly as it is finely written, that I refer my reader to the account of thoſe matters, which is fully and faithfully given by that learned and zealous Prelate.

1689 And now I enter upon the year 1689. In which the two firſt things to be conſidered, before the Convention could be brought together, were, the ſettling the *Engliſh* Army, and the affairs of *Ireland*. As for the Army, ſome of the bodies, thoſe chiefly that were full of Papiſts, and of men ill affected, were to be broken. And, in order to that, a loan was ſet on foot in the City, for raiſing the money that was to pay their arrears at their diſbanding, and for carrying on the pay of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Armies till the Convention ſhould meet, and ſettle the Nation. This was the great diſtinction of thoſe who were well affected to the Prince: For, whereas thoſe who were ill affected to him refuſed to join in the loan, pretending there was no certainty of their being repayed; the others did not doubt but the Convention would pay all that was advanced in ſo great an exigence, and ſo they ſubſcribed liberally, as the occaſion required.

As for the affairs of *Ireland*, there was a great variety of opinions among them. Some thought, that *Ireland* would certainly follow the fate of *England*. This was managed by an artifice of *Tyrconnell*'s, who, what by deceiving, what by threatning the eminenteſt Proteſtants in *Dublin*, got them to write

over to *London*, and give assurances that he would deliver up *Ireland*, if he might have good terms for himself, and for the *Irish*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was much depended on by the Protestants of *Ireland*, who made all their applications to the Prince by him. Those, who were employed by *Tyrconnell* to deceive the Prince, made their applications by Sir *William Temple*, who had a long and well established credit with him. They said, *Tyrconnell* would never lay down the government of *Ireland*, unless he was sure that the Earl of *Clarendon* was not to succeed: He knew his peevishness and spite, and that he would take severe revenges for what he thought had been done to himself, if he had them in his power: And therefore he would not treat, till he was assured of that. Upon this the Prince did avoid the speaking to the Earl of *Clarendon* of those matters. And then he, who had possessed himself in his expectation of that post, seeing the Prince thus shut him out of the hopes of it, became a most violent opposer of the new settlement. He reconciled himself to King *James:* And has been ever since one of the hottest promoters of his interest of any in the Nation. *Temple* entred into a management with *Tyrconnell*'s agents, who, it is very probable, if things had not taken a great turn in *England*, would have come to a composition. Others thought, that the leaving *Ireland* in that dangerous state, might be a mean to bring the Convention to a more speedy settlement of *England*; and that therefore the Prince ought not to make too much haste to relieve *Ireland*. This advice was generally believed to be given by the Marquis of *Hallifax:* And it was like him. The Prince did not seem to apprehend enough the consequences of the revolt of *Ireland*; and was much blamed for his slowness in not preventing it in time. 1689

The Prince in treaty with the Earl of *Tyrconnell*.

The truth was, he did not know whom to trust. A general discontent, next to mutiny, began to spread it self thro' the whole *English* Army. The turn, that they were now making from him, was almost as quick as that which they had made to him. He could not trust them. Probably, if he had sent any of them over, they would have joined with *Tyrconnell*. Nor could he well send over any of his *Dutch* troops. It was to them that he chiefly trusted, for maintaining the quiet of *England*. Probably the *English* Army would have become more insolent, if the *Dutch* force had been considerably diminished. And the King's magazins were so exhausted, that till new stores were provided, there was very little ammunition to spare. The raising new troops was a work of time. There was no ship of war in those seas, to secure the transport. And to

1689 to ſend a ſmall company of Officers with ſome ammunition, which was all that could be done on the ſudden, ſeemed to be an expoſing them to the enemy. Theſe conſiderations made him more eaſy to entertain a propoſition that was made to him, as was believed, by the *Temples*; (for Sir *William* had both a brother and a ſon that made then a conſiderable figure;) which was, to ſend over Lieutenant General *Hamilton*, one of the Officers that belonged to *Ireland*. He was a Papiſt, but was believed to be a man of honour: And he had certainly great credit with the Earl of *Tyrconnell*. He had ſerved in *France* with great reputation, and had a great intereſt in all the *Iriſh*, and was now in the Prince's hands; and had been together with a body of *Iriſh* ſoldiers, whom the Prince kept for ſome time as priſoners in the iſle of *Wight*; whom he gave afterwards to the Emperor, tho', as they paſſed thro' *Germany*, they deſerted in great numbers, and got into *France*. *Hamilton* was a ſort of priſoner of war. So he undertook to go over to *Ireland*, and to prevail with the Earl of *Tyrconnell* to deliver up the government; and promiſed, that he would either bring him to it, or that he would come back, and give an account of his negotiation. This ſtep had a very ill effect: For before *Hamilton* came to *Dublin*, the Earl of *Tyrconnell* was in ſuch deſpair, looking on all as loſt, that he ſeemed to be very near a full reſolution of entring on a treaty, to get the beſt terms that he could. But *Hamilton*'s coming changed him quite. He repreſented to him, that things were turning faſt in *England* in favour of the King: So that, if he ſtood firm, all would come round again. He ſaw, that he muſt ſtudy to manage this ſo dextrouſly, as to gain as much time as he could, that ſo the Prince might not make too much haſte, before a Fleet and ſupplies might come from *France*. So ſeveral letters were writ over by the ſame management, giving aſſurances that the Earl of *Tyrconnell* was fully reſolved to treat and ſubmit. And, to carry this further, two Commiſſioners were ſent from the Council-board to *France*. The one was a zealous Proteſtant, the other was a Papiſt. Their inſtructions were, to repreſent to the King the neceſſity of *Ireland*'s ſubmitting to *England*. The Earl of *Tyrconnell* pretended, that in honour he could do no leſs than diſengage himſelf to his maſter, before he laid down the government. Yet he ſeemed reſolved not to ſtay for an anſwer, or a conſent; but, that, as ſoon as this meſſage was delivered, he would ſubmit upon good conditions: And for theſe, he knew, he would have all that he aſked. With this management he gained his point, which was much time. And he now fancied, that the honour of reſtoring the King would belong chiefly to himſelf. Thus *Hamilton*,

by

by breaking his own faith, ſecured the Earl of *Tyrconnell* to the King: And this gave the beginning to the war of *Ireland*. *Mountjoy*, the Proteſtant Lord that was ſent to *France*, inſtead of being heard to deliver his meſſage, was clapt up in the *Baſtille*; which, ſince he was ſent in the name of a Kingdom, was thought a very diſhonourable thing, and contrary to the law of Nations. Thoſe who had adviſed the ſending over *Hamilton* were now much out of countenance: And the Earl of *Clarendon* was a loud declaimer againſt it. It was believed, that it had a terrible effect on Sir *William Temple*'s ſon, who had raiſed in the Prince a high opinion of *Hamilton*'s honour. Soon after that, he, who had no other viſible cauſe of melancholy, beſides this, went in a boat on the *Thames*, near the Bridge, where the river runs moſt impetuouſly, and leaped into the river, and was drowned. 1689

The ſitting of the Convention was now very near. And all men were forming their ſchemes, and fortifying their party all they could. The elections were managed fairly all *England* over. The Prince did in no ſort interpoſe in any recommendation, directly or indirectly. Three parties were formed about the town. The one was for calling back the King, and treating with him for ſuch ſecurities to religion and the laws, as might put them out of the danger for the future of a Diſpenſing or Arbitrary Power. Theſe were all of the high Church party, who had carried the point of Snbmiſſion and Non-reſiſtance ſo far, that they thonght nothing leſs than this could conſiſt with their duty and their oaths. When it was objected to them, that, according to thoſe notions that they had been poſſeſſed with, they ought to be for calling the King back without conditions: When he came, they might indeed offer him their petitions, which he might grant or reject as he pleaſed: But that the offering him conditions, before he was recalled, was contrary to their former doctrine of unconditioned allegiance. They were at ſuch a ſtand upon this objection, that it was plain, they ſpoke of conditions, either in compliance with the humour of the Nation; or that, with relation to their particular intereſt, nature was ſo ſtrong in them, that it was too hard for their doctrine. The Convention met.

When this notion was toſſed and talked of about the town, ſo few went into it, that the party which ſupported it went over to the ſcheme of a ſecond party; which was, that King *James* had by his ill adminiſtration of the government brought himſelf into an incapacity of holding the exerciſe of the ſovereign authority any more in his own hand: But, as in the caſe of lunaticks, the right ſtill remained in him: Only the guardian- Some are for a Prince Regent.

1689 ſhip, or the exerciſe, of it was to be lodged with a Prince Regent: So that the right of ſovereignty ſhould be owned to remain ſtill in the King, and that the exerciſe of it ſhould be veſted in the Prince of *Orange* as Prince Regent. A third party was for ſetting King *James* quite aſide, and for ſetting the Prince on the Throne.

When the Convention was opened on the twenty fourth of *January*, the Archbiſhop came not to take his place among them. He reſolved neither to act for nor againſt the King's intereſt; which, conſidering his high poſt, was thought very unbecoming. For if he thought, as by his behaviour afterwards it ſeems he did, that the Nation was running into treaſon, rebellion, and perjury, it was a ſtrange thing to ſee one, who was at the head of the Church, ſit ſilent all the while that this was in debate; and not once ſo much as declare his opinion by ſpeaking, voting, or proteſting, not to mention the other Eccleſiaſtical methods that certainly became his character. But he was a poor ſpirited, and fearful man; and acted a very mean part in all this great tranſaction. The Biſhop's Bench was very full, as were alſo the Benches of the Temporal Lords. The Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, and *Rocheſter*, were the men that managed the debates in favour of a Regent, in oppoſition to thoſe who were for ſetting up another King.

They thought, this would ſave the Nation, and yet ſecure the honour of the Church of *England*, and the ſacredneſs of the Crown. It was urged, that if, upon any pretence whatſoever, the Nation might throw off their King, then the Crown muſt become precarious, and the power of judging the King muſt be in the people. This muſt end in a Commonwealth. A great deal was brought from both the laws and hiſtory of *England*, to prove, that not only the perſon, but the authority of the King was ſacred. The law had indeed provided a remedy of a Regency for the infancy of our Kings. So, if a King ſhould fall into ſuch errors in his conduct, as ſhewed that he was as little capable of holding the government as an infant was, then the Eſtates of the Kingdom might, upon this parity of the caſe, ſeek to the remedy provided for an infant, and lodge the power with a Regent. But the right was to remain, and to go on in a lineal ſucceſſion: For, if that was once put ever ſo little out of its order, the Crown would in a little time become elective; which might rend the Nation in pieces by a diverſity of elections, and by the different factions that would adhere to the perſon whom they had elected. They did not deny, but that great objections lay againſt the methods that they propoſed. But affairs were brought into ſo deſperate a ſtate by King *James*'s conduct,

conduct, that it was not poſſible to propoſe a remedy, that might not be juſtly excepted to. But they thought, their expedient would take in the greateſt, as well as the beſt, part of the Nation: Whereas all other expedients gratified a Republican party, compoſed of the Diſſenters, and of men of no religion, who hoped now to ſee the Church ruined, and the government ſet upon ſuch a bottom, as that we ſhould have only a titular King; who, as he had his power from the people, ſo ſhould be accountable to them for the exerciſe of it, and ſhould forfeit it at their pleaſure. The much greater part of the Houſe of Lords was for this, and ſtuck long to it: And ſo was about a third part of the Houſe of Commons. The greateſt part of the Clergy declared themſelves for it. 1689

But of thoſe who agreed in this expedient, it was viſible there were two different parties. Some intended to bring King *James* back; and went into this, as the moſt probable way for laying the Nation aſleep, and for overcoming the preſent averſion that all people had to him. That being once done, they reckoned it would be no hard thing, with the help of ſome time, to compaſs the other. Others ſeemed to mean more ſincerely. They ſaid, they could not vote or argue but according to their own principles, as long as the matter was yet entire: But they owned that they had taken up another principle, both from the law and from the hiſtory of *England*; which was, that they would obey and pay allegiance to the King for the time being: They thought a King thus *de facto* had a right to their obedience, and that they were bound to adhere to him, and to defend him, even in oppoſition to him with whom they thought the right did ſtill remain. The Earl of *Nottingham* was the perſon that owned this doctrine the moſt during theſe debates. He ſaid to my ſelf, that tho' he could not argue nor vote, but according to the ſcheme and principles he had, concerning our laws and conſtitution, yet he ſhould not be ſorry to ſee his ſide out voted; and that, tho' he could not agree to the making a King as things ſtood, yet if he found one made, he would be more faithful to him, than thoſe that made him could be according to their own principles.

Others are for another King.

The third party was made up of thoſe, who thought that there was an original contract between the Kings and the people of *England*; by which the Kings were bound to defend their people, and to govern them according to law, in lieu of which the people were bound to obey and ſerve the King. The proof of this appeared in the ancient forms of Coronations ſtill obſerved: By which the people were aſked, if they would have that perſon before them to be their King: And, upon their ſhouts of

1689 of conſent, the Coronation was gone about. But, before the King was crowned, he was aſked, if he would not defend and protect his people, and govern them according to law: And, upon his promiſing and ſwearing this, he was crowned: And then homage was done him. And, tho' of late the Coronation has been conſidered rather as a ſolemn inſtalment, than that which gave the King his authority, ſo that it was become a maxim in law that the King never died, and that the new King was crowned in the right of his ſucceſſion, yet theſe forms, that were ſtill continued, ſhewed what the government was originally. Many things were brought to ſupport this from the *Britiſh* and *Saxon* times. It was urged, that *William* the Conqueror was received upon his promiſing to keep the laws of *Edward* the Confeſſor, which was plainly the original contract between him and the Nation. This was often renewed by his ſucceſſors. *Edward* the ſecond, and *Richard* the ſecond, were depoſed for breaking theſe laws: And theſe depoſitions were ſtill good in law, ſince they were not reverſed, nor was the right of depoſing them ever renounced or diſowned. Many things were alledged, from what had paſt dnring the Barons wars, for confirming all this. Upon which I will add one particular circumſtance, that the original of King *John*'s *Magna Charta*, with his Great Seal to it, was then given to me by a Gentleman that found it among his Father's papers, but did not know how he came by it: And it is ſtill in my hands. It was ſaid in this argument, what did all the limitations of the Regal Power ſignify, if upon a King's breaking thro' them all, the people had not a right to maintain their laws, and to preſerve their conſtitution? It was indeed confeſſed, that this might have ill conſequences, and might be carried too far. Bnt the denying this right in any caſe whatſoever, did plainly deſtroy all liberty, and eſtabliſh tyranny. The preſent alteration propoſed would be no precedent, but to the like caſe. And it was fit that a precedent ſhould be made for ſuch occaſions; if thoſe of *Edward* the ſecond, and *Richard* the ſecond, were not acknowledged to be good ones. It was ſaid, that, if King *James* had only broken ſome laws, and done ſome illegal acts, it might be juſtly urged, that it was not reaſonable on account of theſe to carry ſeverities too far. But he had broken thro' the laws in many publick and avowed inſtances: He had ſet up an open treaty with *Rome:* He had ſhaken the whole ſettlement of *Ireland*; and had put that Iſland, and the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants that were there, in the power of the *Iriſh:* The Diſpenſing Power took away not only thoſe laws to which it was applied, but all other laws whatſoever by the precedent it had ſet, and

by the conſequences that followed upon it: By the Eccleſiaſti- 1689
cal Commiſſion he had invaded the liberty of the Church, and ſubjected the Clergy to meer will and pleaſure: And all was concluded by his deſerting his people, and flying to a foreign power, rather than ſtay and ſubmit to the determinations of a free Parliament. Upon all which it was inferred, that he had abdicated the government, and had left the Throne vacant: Which therefore ought now to be filled, that ſo the Nation might be preſerved, and the Regal government continued in it.

As to the propoſition for a Prince Regent, it was argued, And againſt a Regency.
that this was as much againſt Monarchy, or rather more, than what they moved for. If a King's ill government did give the people a right in any caſe to take his power from him, and to lodge it with another, owning that the right to it remained ſtill with him, this might have every whit as bad conſequences, as the other ſeemed to have: For recourſe might be had to this violent remedy too often, and too raſhly. By this propoſition of a Regent, here were to be upon the matter two Kings at the ſame time: One with the title, and another with the power of a King. This was both more illegal, and more unſafe, than the method they propoſed. The law of *England* had ſettled the point of the ſubjects ſecurity in obeying the King in poſſeſſion, in the ſtatute made by *Henry* the ſeventh. So every man knew he was ſafe under a King, and ſo would act with zeal and courage. But all ſuch as ſhould act under a Prince Regent, created by this Convention, were upon a bottom that had not the neceſſary forms of law for it. All that was done by them would be thought null and void in law: So that no man could be ſafe that acted under it. If the oaths to King *James* were thought to be ſtill binding, the ſubjects were by theſe not only bound to maintain his title to the Crown, but all his prerogatives and powers. And therefore it ſeemed abſurd to continue a government in his name, and to take oaths ſtill to him, when yet all the power was taken out of his hands. This would be an odious thing, both before God and the whole world, and would caſt a reproach on us at preſent, and bring certain ruin for the future on any ſuch mixed and unnatural ſort of government. Therefore, if the oaths were ſtill binding, the Nation was ſtill bound by them, not by halves, but in their whole extent. It was ſaid, that, if the government ſhould be carried on in King *James*'s name, but in other hands, the body of the Nation would conſider him as the perſon that was truly their King. And if any ſhould plot

1689 or act for him, they could not be proceeded againſt for high treaſon, as conſpiring againſt the King's perſon or government; when it would be viſible, that they were only deſigning to preſerve his perſon, and to reſtore him to his government. To proceed againſt any, or to take their lives for ſuch practices, would be to add murder to perjury. And it was not to be ſuppoſed, that Juries would find ſuch men guilty of treaſon. In the weakneſs of infancy, a Prince Regent was in law the ſame perſon with the King, who had not yet a will: And it was to be preſumed, the Prince Regent's will was the King's will. But that could not be applied to the preſent caſe; where the King and the Regent muſt be preſumed to be in a perpetual ſtruggle, the one to recover his power, the other to preſerve his authority. Theſe things ſeemed to be ſo plainly made out in the debate, that it was generally thought that no man could reſiſt ſuch force of argument, but thoſe who intended to bring back King *James*. And it was believed, that thoſe of his party, who were looked on as men of conſcience, had ſecret orders from him to act upon this pretence; ſince otherwiſe they offered to act clearly in contradiction to their own oaths and principles.

But thoſe who were for continuing the government, and only for changing the perſons, were not at all of a mind. Some among them had very different views and ends from the reſt. Theſe intended to take advantage from the preſent conjuncture, to depreſs the Crown, to render it as much precarious and elective as they could, and to raiſe the power of the people upon the ruine of Monarchy. Among thoſe ſome went ſo far as to ſay, that the whole government was diſſolved. But this appeared a bold and dangerous aſſertion: For that might have been carried ſo far, as to infer from it, that all men's properties, honours, rights, and franchiſes, were diſſolved. Therefore it was thought ſafer to ſay, that King *James* had diſſolved the tie that was between him and the Nation. Others avoided going into new ſpeculations, or ſchemes of government. They thought it was enough to ſay, that in extream caſes all obligations did ceaſe; and that in our preſent circumſtances the extremity of affairs, by reaſon of the late ill government, and by King *James*'s flying over to the enemy of the Nation, rather than ſubmit to reaſonable terms, had put the people of *England* on the neceſſity of ſecuring themſelves upon a legal bottom. It was ſaid, that tho' the vow of marriage was made for term of life, and without conditions expreſſed, yet a breach in the tie it ſelf ſets the innocent party at liber-

ty. So a King, who had his power both given him and defined by the law, and was bound to govern by law, when he set himself to break all laws, and in conclusion deserted his people, did, by so doing, set them at liberty to put themselves in a legal and safe state. There was no need of fearing ill consequences from this. Houses were pulled down or blown up in a fire: And yet men found themselves safe in their houses. In extream dangers the common sense of mankind would justify extream remedies; tho' there was no special provision that directed to them, or allowed of them. Therefore, they said, a Nation's securing it self against a King, who was subverting the government, did not expose Monarchy, nor raise a popular authority, as some did tragically represent the matter. 1689

There were also great disputes about the original contract: Some denying there was any such thing, and asking where it was kept, and how it could be come at. To this others answered, that it was implied in a legal government: Tho' in a long tract of time, and in dark ages, there was not such an explicit proof of it to be found. Yet many hints from lawbooks and histories were brought to shew, that the Nation had always submitted, and obeyed in consideration of their laws, which were still stipulated to them.

There were also many debates on the word *abdicate:* For the Commons came soon to a resolution, that King *James*, by breaking the original contract, and by withdrawing himself, had abdicated the government; and that the Throne was thereby become vacant. They sent this vote to the Lords, and prayed their concurrence. Upon which many debates and conferences arose. At last it came to a free conference, in which, according to the sense of the whole Nation, the Commons had clearly the advantage on their side. The Lords had some more colour for opposing the word *abdicate*, since that was often taken in a sense that imported the full purpose and consent of him that abdicated; which could not be pretended in this case. But there were good authorities brought, by which it appeared, that when a person did a thing upon which his leaving any office ought to follow, he was said to abdicate. But this was a critical dispute: And it scarce became the greatness of that assembly, or the importance of the matter.

It was a more important debate, whether, supposing King *James* had abdicated, the Throne could be declared vacant. It was urged, that, by the law, the King did never die; but that with the last breath of the dying King the Regal authority went to the next heir. So it was said, that, supposing King *James* had

1689 had abdicated, the Throne was (*ipſo facto*) filled in that inſtant by the next heir. This ſeemed to be proved by the heirs of the King being ſworn to in the oath of allegiance; which oath was not only made perſonally to the King, but likewiſe to his heirs and ſucceſſors. Thoſe who inſiſted on the Abdication ſaid, that, if the King diſſolved the tie between him and his ſubjects to himſelf, he diſſolved their tie likewiſe to his poſterity. An heir was one that came in the room of a perſon that was dead; it being a maxim that no man can be the heir of a living man. If therefore the King had fallen from his own right, as no heir of his could pretend to any inheritance from him, as long as he was alive, ſo they could ſucceed to nothing, but to that which was veſted in him at the time of his death. And, as in the caſe of attainder every right that a man was diveſted of before his death was, as it were, annihilated in him; and by conſequence could not paſs to his heirs by his death, not being then in himſelf: So, if a King did ſet his people free from any tie to himſelf, they muſt be ſuppoſed to be put in a ſtate, in which they might ſecure themſelves; and therefore could not be bound to receive one, who they had reaſon to believe would ſtudy to diſſolve and revenge all they had done. If the principle of ſelf preſervation did juſtify a Nation in ſecuring it ſelf from a violent invaſion, and a total ſubverſion, then it muſt have its full ſcope, to give a real, and not a ſeeming and fraudulent, ſecurity. They did acknowledge, that upon the grounds of natural equity, and for ſecuring the Nation in after times, it was fit to go as near the lineal ſucceſſion as might be: Yet they could not yield that point, that they were ſtrictly bound to it.

Some mov'd to examine the birth of the Prince of *Wales*.

It was propoſed, that the birth of the pretended Prince might be examined into. Some preſſed this, not ſo much from an opinion that they were bound to aſſert his right, if it ſhould appear that he was born of the Queen, as becauſe they thought it would juſtify the Nation, and more particularly the Prince and the two Princeſſes, if an impoſture in that matter could have been proved. And it would have gone far to ſatisfy many of the weaker ſort, as to all the proceeding againſt King *James*. Upon which I was ordered to gather together all the preſumptive proofs that were formerly mentioned, which were all ready to have been made out. It is true, theſe did not amount to a full and legal proof: Yet they ſeemed to be ſuch violent preſumptions, that, when they were all laid together, they were more convincing than plain and downright evidence: For that was liable to the ſuſpicion of ſubornation:

Whereas

Whereas the other ſeemed to carry on them very convincing characters of truth and certainty. But, when this matter was in private debated, ſome obſerved, that, as King *James* by going about to prove the truth of the birth, and yet doing it ſo defectively, had really made it more ſuſpicious than it was before; ſo, if there was no clear and poſitive proof made of an impoſture, the pretending to examine into it, and then the not being able to make it out beyond the poſſibility of contradiction, would really give more credit to the thing, than it then had, and, inſtead of weakning it, would ſtrengthen the pretenſion of his birth. 1689

When this debate was propoſed in the Houſe of Lords, it was rejected with indignation. He was now ſent out of *England* to be bred up in *France*, an enemy both to the Nation, and to the eſtabliſhed religion: It was impoſſible for the people of *England* to know, whether he was the ſame perſon that had been carried over, or not: If he ſhould die, another might be put in his room, in ſuch a manner that the Nation could not be aſſured concerning him: The *Engliſh* Nation ought not to ſend into another country for witneſſes to prove that he was their Prince; much leſs receive one upon the teſtimony of ſuch, as were not only aliens, but ought to be preſumed enemies: It was alſo known, that all the perſons, who had been the confidents in that matter, were conveyed away: So it was impoſſible to come at them, by whoſe means only the truth of that birth could be found out. But while theſe things were fairly debated by ſome, there were others who had deeper and darker deſigns in this matter. But it was rejected.

They thought, it would be a good ſecurity for the Nation, to have a dormant title to the Crown lie as it were neglected, to oblige our Princes to govern well, while they would apprehend the danger of a revolt to a pretender ſtill in their eye. *Wildman* thought, it was a deep piece of policy to let this lie in the dark, and undecided. Nor did they think it an ill precedent, that they ſhould ſo neglect the right of ſucceſſion, as not ſo much as to enquire into this matter. Upon all theſe conſiderations no further enquiry was made into it. It is true, this put a plauſible objection in the mouth of all King *James*'s party: Here, they ſaid, an infant was condemned, and denied his right, without either proof or enquiry. This ſtill takes with many in the preſent age. And, that it may not take more in the next, I have uſed more than ordinary care to gather together all the particulars that were then laid before me as to that matter.

1689 The next thing in debate was, who ſhould fill the Throne. The Marquis of *Hallifax* intended, by his zeal for the Prince's intereſt, to atone for his backwardneſs in not coming early into it: And, that he might get before Lord *Danby*, who was in great credit with the Prince, he moved, that the Crown ſhould be given to the Prince, and to the two Princeſſes after him. Many of the Republican party approved of this: For by it they gained another point: The people in this caſe would plainly elect a King, without any critical regard to the order of ſucceſſion. How far the Prince himſelf entertained this, I cannot tell. But I ſaw it made a great impreſſion on *Benthink*. He ſpoke of it to me, as aſking my opinion about it, but ſo, that I plainly ſaw what was his own: For he gave me all the arguments that were offered for it; as that it was moſt natural that the ſovereign power ſhould be only in one perſon; that a man's wife ought only to be his wife; that it was a ſuitable return to the Prince for what he had done for the Nation; that a divided ſovereignty was liable to great inconveniencies; and, tho' there was leſs to be apprehended from the Princeſs of any thing of that kind than from any woman alive, yet all mortals were frail, and might at ſome time or other of their lives be wrought on.

Some were for making the Prince King.

To all this I anſwered, with ſome vehemence, that this was a very ill return for the ſteps the Princeſs had made to the Prince three years ago: It would be thought both unjuſt and ungrateful: It would meet with great oppoſition, and give a general ill impreſſion of the Prince, as inſatiable and jealous in his ambition: There was an ill humour already ſpreading it ſelf thro' the Nation, and thro' the Clergy: It was not neceſſary to encreaſe this; which ſuch a ſtep, as was now propoſed, would do out of meaſure: It would engage the one ſex generally againſt the Prince: And in time they might feel the effects of that very ſenſibly: And, for my own part, I ſhould think my ſelf bound to oppoſe it all I could, conſidering what had paſſed in *Holland* on that head. We talked over the whole thing for many hours, till it was pretty far in the morning. I ſaw he was well inſtructed in the argument: And he himſelf was poſſeſſed with it. So next morning I came to him, and deſired my *Congè*. I would oppoſe nothing in which the Prince ſeemed to be concerned, as long as I was his ſervant. And therefore I deſired to be diſengaged, that I might be free to oppoſe this propoſition with all the ſtrength and credit I had. He anſwered me, that I might deſire that when I ſaw a ſtep made: But till then he wiſhed me to ſtay where I was. I heard no

more of this; in which the Marquis of *Hallifax* was ſingle among the Peers: For I did not find there was any one of them of his mind; unleſs it was the Lord *Culpepper*, who was a vicious and corrupt man, but made a figure in the debates that were now in the Houſe of Lords, and died about the end of them. Some moved, that the Princeſs of *Orange* might be put in the Throne; and that it might be left to her, to give the Prince ſuch a ſhare either of dignity or power as ſhe ſhould propoſe, when ſhe was declared Queen. The agents of Princeſs *Anne* began to go about, and to oppoſe any propoſition for the Prince to her prejudice. But ſhe thought fit to diſown them. Dr. *Doughty*, one of her Chaplains, ſpoke to me in her room on the ſubject. But ſhe ſaid to my ſelf, that ſhe knew nothing of it. 1689

The propoſition, in which all that were for the filling the Throne agreed at laſt, was, that both the Prince and Princeſs ſhould be made conjunct Sovereigns. But, for the preventing of any diſtractions, that the adminiſtration ſhould be ſingly in the Prince. The Princeſs continued all the while in *Holland*, being ſhut in there, during the Eaſt winds, by the freezing of the rivers, and by contrary winds after the thaw came. So that ſhe came not to *England* till all the debates were over. The Prince's enemies gave it out, that ſhe was kept there by order, on deſign that ſhe might not come over to *England* to claim her right. So parties began to be formed, ſome for the Prince, and others for the Princeſs. Upon this the Earl of *Danby* ſent one over to the Princeſs, and gave her an account of the preſent ſtate of that debate: And deſired to know her own ſenſe of the matter; for, if ſhe deſired it, he did not doubt but he ſhould be able to carry it for ſetting her alone on the Throne. She made him a very ſharp anſwer: She ſaid, ſhe was the Prince's wife, and would never be other, than what ſhe ſhould be in conjunction with him, and under him; and that ſhe would take it extream unkindly, if any, under a pretence of their care of her, would ſet up a divided intereſt between her and the Prince. And, not content with this, ſhe ſent both Lord *Danby*'s letter, and her anſwer, to the Prince. Her ſending it thus to him was the moſt effectual diſcouragement poſſible to any attempt for the future to create a miſunderſtanding or jealouſy between them. The Prince bore this with his uſual phlegm: For he did not expoſtulate with the Earl of *Danby* upon it, but continued ſtill to employ and to truſt him. And afterwards he advanced him, firſt to be a Marquis, and then to be a Duke.

During

1689 During all theſe debates, and the great heat with which they were managed, the Prince's own behaviour was very myſterious. He ſtaid at St. *James's:* He went little abroad: Acceſs to him was not very eaſy. He heard all that was ſaid to him: But ſeldom made any anſwers. He did not affect to be affable, or popular: Nor would he take any pains to gain any one perſon over to his party. He ſaid, he came over, being invited, to ſave the Nation: He had now brought together a free and true repreſentative of the Kingdom: He left it therefore to them to do what they thought beſt for the good of the Kingdom: And, when things were once ſettled, he ſhould be well ſatisfied to go back to *Holland* again. Thoſe who did not know him well, and who imagined that a Crown had charms which human nature was not ſtrong enough to reſiſt, looked on all this as an affectation, and as a diſguiſed threatning, which imported, that he would leave the Nation to periſh, unleſs his method of ſettling it was followed. After a reſervedneſs, that had continued ſo cloſe for ſeveral weeks, that no body could certainly tell what he deſired, he called for the Marquis of *Halifax*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Danby*, and ſome others, to explain himſelf more diſtinctly to them.

The Prince declared his mind after long ſilence.

He told them, he had been till then ſilent, becauſe he would not ſay or do any thing that might ſeem in any ſort to take from any perſon the full freedom of deliberating and voting in matters of ſuch importance: He was reſolved neither to court nor threaten any one: And therefore he had declined to give out his own thoughts: Some were for putting the government in the hands of a Regent: He would ſay nothing againſt it, if it was thought the beſt mean for ſettling their affairs: Only he thought it neceſſary to tell them, that he would not be the Regent: So, if they continued in that deſign, they muſt look out for ſome other perſon to be put in that poſt: He himſelf ſaw what the conſequences of it were like to prove: So he would not accept of it: Others were for putting the Princeſs ſingly on the Throne, and that he ſhould reign by her courteſy: He ſaid, no man could eſteem a woman more than he did the Princeſs: But he was ſo made, that he could not think of holding any thing by apron-ſtrings: Nor could he think it reaſonable to have any ſhare in the government, unleſs it was put in his perſon, and that for term of life: If they did think it fit to ſettle it otherwiſe, he would not oppoſe them in it: But he would go back to *Holland*, and meddle no more in their affairs: He aſſured them, that whatſoever others might think of a Crown, it was no ſuch thing in his eyes, but that he could live very

well, and be well pleaſed without it. In the end he ſaid, that he could not reſolve to accept of a dignity, ſo as to hold it only the life of another: Yet he thought, that the iſſue of Princeſs *Anne* ſhould be preferred, in the ſucceſſion, to any iſſue that he might have by any other wife than the Princeſs. All this he delivered to them in ſo cold and unconcerned a manner, that thoſe, who judged of others by the diſpoſitions that they felt in themſelves, looked on it all as artifice and contrivance. 1689

This was preſently told about, as it was not intended to be kept ſecret. And it helped not a little to bring the debates at *Weſtminſter* to a ſpeedy determination. Some were ſtill in doubt with relation to the Princeſs. In ſome it was conſcience: For they thought the equitable right was in her. Others might be moved by intereſt, ſince, if ſhe ſhould think herſelf wronged, and ill uſed in this matter, ſhe, who was like to outlive the Prince, being ſo much younger and healthier than he was, might have it in her power to take her revenges on all that ſhould concur in ſuch a deſign. Upon this, I, who knew her ſenſe of the matter very perfectly by what had paſſed in *Holland*, as was formerly told, was in a great difficulty. I had promiſed her never to ſpeak of that matter, but by her order. But I preſumed, in ſuch a caſe I was to take orders from the Prince. So I aſked him, what he would order me to do. He ſaid, he would give me no orders in that matter, but left me to do as I pleaſed. I looked on this, as the allowing me to let the Princeſs's reſolution in that be known; by which many, who ſtood formerly in ſuſpence, were fully ſatisfied. Thoſe to whom I gave the account of that matter were indeed amazed at it; and concluded, that the Princeſs was either a very good, or a very weak woman. An indifferency for power and rule ſeemed ſo extraordinary a thing, that it was thought a certain character of an exceſs of goodneſs or ſimplicity. At her coming to *England*, ſhe not only juſtified me, but approved of my publiſhing that matter; and ſpoke particularly of it to her ſiſter Princeſs *Anne*. There were other differences in the form of the ſettlement. The Republican party were at firſt for depoſing King *James* by a formal ſentence, and for giving the Crown to the Prince and Princeſs by as formal an election. But that was over-ruled in the beginning. I have not purſued the relation of the debates according to the order in which they paſſed, which will be found in the journal of both Houſes during the Convention. But, having had a great ſhare my ſelf in the private managing of thoſe debates, particularly with many of the Clergy, and with the men of the moſt ſcrupulous and tender

It was reſolved to put the Prince and Princeſs both in the Throne.

1689 conſciences, I have given a very full account of all the reaſonings on both ſides, as that by which the reader may form and guide his own judgment of the whole affair. Many proteſtations paſt in the Honſe of Lords, in the progreſs of the debate. The party for a Regency was for ſome time moſt prevailing: And then the proteſtations were made by the Lords that were for the new ſettlement. The Honſe was very full: Abont a hnndred and twenty were preſent. And things were ſo near an equality, that it was at laſt carried by a very ſmall majority, of two or three, to agree with the Commons in voting the Abdication, and the Vacancy of the Throne: Againſt which a great proteſtation was made; as alſo againſt the final vote, by which the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were deſired to accept of the Crown, and declared to be King and Queen; which went very hardly. The poor Biſhop of *Durham*, who had abſconded for ſome time, and was waiting for a ſhip to get beyond ſea, fearing publick affronts, and had offered to compound by reſigning his Biſhoprick, was now prevailed on to come, and by voting the new ſettlement to merit at leaſt a pardon for all that he had done: Which, all things conſidered, was thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the reſt of his life and character.

They drew an Inſtrnment about it.

But, before matters were brought to a full concluſion, an ennmeration was made of the chief heads of King *James*'s ill govennment. And in oppoſition to theſe, the rights and liberties of the people of *England* were ſtated. Some officious people ſtudied to hinder this at that time. They thought they had already loſt three weeks in their debates: And the doing this, with the exactneſs that was neceſſary, would take up more time: Or it wonld be done too mnch in a hnrry, for matters of ſo nice a nature. And therefore it was moved, that this ſhould be done more at leiſure after the ſettlement. But that was not hearkned to. It was therefore thonght neceſſary to frame this Inſtrnment ſo, that it ſhould be like a new *Magna Charta*. In the ſtating theſe grievances and rights, the Diſpenſing Power came to be diſcuſſed. And then the power of the Crown to grant a *Non-obſtante* to ſome ſtatutes was objected. Upon opening this, the debate was found to be ſo intricate, that it was let fall at that time only for diſpatch. But afterwards an act paſt condemning it ſingly. And the power of granting a *Non-obſtante* was for the future taken away. Yet King *James*'s party took great advantage from this; and ſaid, that, tho' the main clamonr of the Nation was againſt the Diſpenſing Power, yet when the Convention brought things to a ſettlement, that did not

not appear to be ſo clear a point as had been pretended: And it was not ſo much as mentioned in this Inſtrument of government: So that, by the confeſſion of his enemies, it appeared to be no unlawful power: Nor was it declared contrary to the liberties of the people of *England*. Whereas, its not being mentioned then was only upon the oppoſition that was made, that ſo more time might not be loſt, nor thisInſtrument be clogged with diſputable points. 1689

The laſt debate was, concerning the oaths that ſhould be taken to the King and Queen. Many arguments were taken during the debate from the oaths in the form in which the allegiance was ſworn to the Crown, to ſhew that in a new ſettlement theſe could not be taken. And to this it was always anſwered, that care ſhould be taken, when other things were ſettled, to adjuſt theſe oaths, ſo that they ſhould agree to the new ſettlement. In the oaths, as they were formerly conceived, a previous title ſeemed to be aſſerted, when the King was ſworn to, *as rightful and lawful King*. It was therefore ſaid, that theſe words could not be ſaid of a King who had not a precedent right, but was ſet up by the Nation. So it was moved, that the oaths ſhould be reduced to the ancient ſimplicity, of ſwearing to bear faith and true allegiance to the King and Qneen. This was agreed to. And npon this began the notion of a King *de facto*, but not *de jure*. It was ſaid, that according to the common law, as well as the ſtatute in King *Henry* the ſeventh's reign, the ſubjects might ſecnrely obey any King that was in poſſeſſion, whether his title was good, or not. This ſeemed to be a doctrine neceſſary for the peace and quiet of mankind, that ſo the ſubjects may be ſafe in every Government, that bringeth them under a ſuperior force, and that will cruſh them, if they do not give a ſecurity for the protection that they enjoy under it. The Lawyers had been always of that opinion, that the people were not bound to examine the titles of their Princes, but were to ſubmit to him that was in poſſeſſion. It was therefore judged juſt and reaſonable, in the beginning of a new government, to make the oaths as general and comprehenſive as might be: For it was thought, that thoſe who once took the oaths to the government, wonld be after that faithful and true to it. This tenderneſs, which was ſhewed at this time to a ſort of people that had ſhewed very little tenderneſs to men of weak or ill informed conſciences, was afterwards much abuſed by a new explanation, or rather a groſs equivocation, as to the ſignification of the words in which the oath was conceived. The true meaning of the words, and the expreſs ſenſe of the impoſers was, that, whether men were ſatisfied or

The Oaths were altered.

1689 not with the putting the King and Queen on the Throne, yet, now they were on it, they would be true to them, and defend them. But the ſenſe that many put on them was, that they were only to obey them as uſurpers, during their uſurpation, and that therefore, as long as they continued in quiet poſſeſſion, they were bound to bear them, and to ſubmit to them: But that it was ſtill lawful for them to aſſiſt King *James*, if he ſhould come to recover his Crown, and that they might act and talk all they could, or durſt, in his favour, as being ſtill their King *de jure*. This was contrary to the plain meaning of the words; *faith, and true allegiance*; and was contrary to the expreſs declaration in the act that enjoined them. Yet it became too viſible, that many in the Nation, and particularly among the Clergy, took the oath in this ſenſe, to the great reproach of their profeſſion. The prevarication of too many in ſo ſacred a matter contributed not a little to fortify the growing Atheiſm of the preſent age. The truth was, the greateſt part of the Clergy had entangled themſelves ſo far with thoſe ſtrange conceits of the divine right of Monarchy, and the unlawfulneſs of reſiſtance in any caſe: And they had ſo engaged themſelves, by aſſerting theſe things ſo often and ſo publickly, that they did not know how to diſengage themſelves in honour or conſcience.

The ill ſenſe that was put on the new oath.

A notion was ſtarted, which by its agreement with their other principles had a great effect among them, and brought off the greateſt number of thoſe who came in honeſtly to the new government. This was chiefly managed by Dr. *Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, now tranſlated to *Worceſter*. It was laid thus: The Prince had a juſt cauſe of making war on the King. In that moſt of them agreed. In a juſt war, in which an appeal is made to God, ſucceſs is conſidered as the deciſion of heaven. So the Prince's ſucceſs againſt King *James* gave him the right of conqueſt over him. And by it all his rights were transferred to the Prince. His ſucceſs was indeed no conqueſt of the Nation; which had neither wronged him, nor reſiſted him. So that, with relation to the people of *England*, the Prince was no conqueror, but a preſerver, and a deliverer, well received, and gratefully acknowledged. Yet with relation to King *James*, and all the right that was before veſted in him, he was, as they thought, a conqueror. By this notion they explained thoſe paſſages of Scripture that ſpeak of God's diſpoſing of Kingdoms, and of pulling down one and ſetting up another; and alſo our Saviour's arguing from the inſcription on the coin, that they ought to render to *Cæſar* the things that were *Cæſar's*; and St. *Paul*'s charging the *Romans* to obey the powers that then were,

who were the Emperors that were originally the invaders of publick liberty which they had ſubdued, and had forced the people and Senate of *Rome* by ſubſequent acts to confirm an authority that was ſo ill begun. This might have been made uſe of more juſtly, if the Prince had aſſumed the Kingſhip to himſelf, upon King *James*'s withdrawing; but did not ſeem to belong to the preſent caſe. Yet this had the moſt univerſal effect on the far greater part of the Clergy. 1689

And now I have ſtated all the moſt material parts of theſe debates, with the fulneſs that I thought became one of the moſt important tranſactions that is in our whole Hiſtory, and by much the moſt important of our time.

All things were now made ready for filling the Throne. And the very night before it was to be done the Princeſs arriv'd ſafely. It had been given out, that ſhe was not well pleaſed with the late tranſaction, both with relation to her father and to the preſent ſettlement. Upon which the Prince wrote to her, that it was neceſſary ſhe ſhould appear at firſt ſo chearful, that no body might be diſcouraged by her looks, or be led to apprehend that ſhe was uneaſy by reaſon of what had been done. This made her put on a great air of gaiety when ſhe came to *Whitehall*, and, as may be imagined, had great crouds of all ſorts coming to wait on her. I confeſs, I was one of thoſe that cenſured this in my thoughts. I thought a little more ſeriouſneſs had done as well, when ſhe came into her father's Palace, and was to be ſet on his Throne next day. I had never ſeen the leaſt indecency in any part of her deportment before: Which made this appear to me ſo extraordinary, that ſome days after I took the liberty to aſk her, how it came that what ſhe ſaw in ſo ſad a revolution, as to her father's perſon, made not a greater impreſſion on her. She took this freedom with her uſual goodneſs. And ſhe aſſured me, ſhe felt the ſenſe of it very lively upon her thoughts. But ſhe told me, that the letters which had been writ to her had obliged her to put on a chearfulneſs, in which ſhe might perhaps go too far, becauſe ſhe was obeying directions, and acting a part which was not very natural to her. This was on the 12th of *February*, being *Shrove-Tueſday*. The thirteenth was the day ſet for the two Houſes to come with the offer of the Crown. So here ends the *Interregnum*. The Princeſs came to *England*.

And thus I have given the fulleſt and moſt particular account that I could gather of all that paſs'd during this weak, unactive, violent, and ſuperſtitious reign; in which all regard to the affairs of *Europe* ſeem'd to be laid aſide, and nothing was thought on but the ſpitefull humours of a revengeful *Italian* Lady, and the ill laid,

1689 and worſe managed, projects of ſome hot meddling Prieſts, whoſe learning and politicks were of a piece, the one expoſing them to contempt, and the other to ruin; involving in it a Prince, who, if it had not been for his being delivered up to ſuch counſels, might have made a better figure in hiſtory. But they managed both themſelves and him ſo ill, that a reign, whoſe riſe was bright and proſperous, was ſoon ſet in darkneſs and diſgrace. But I break off here, leſt I ſhould ſeem to aggravate misfortunes, and load the unfortunate too much.

F I N I S.

A

TABLE of the *CONTENTS*

Of the foregoing

HISTORY.

BOOK I.

A ſummary Recapitulation of the ſtate of affairs in *Scotland*, both in Church and State, from the beginning of the Troubles to the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. 1660.

THE diſtractions during King James's *minority* Page 6
The practices of the Houſe of Guiſe ibid.
King James *in the intereſt of* England 7
A cenſure of Spotſwood's *hiſtory* 8
King James *ſtudies to gain the Papiſts* ibid.
And to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England ibid.
That King's errors in Government 9
He ſets up Epiſcopacy in Scotland ibid.
With a deſign to carry matters further 10
Errors of the Biſhops ibid.
Prince Henry *was believed to be poyſoned* Page 10
The Gunpowder plot 11
King James *was afraid of the Jeſuites* ibid.
The Elector Palatine's *marriage* 12
The affairs of Bohemia 13
The diſorders in Holland ibid.
Some paſſages of the religion of ſome Princes 14
King James *parted with the cautionary towns* 15
King James *broke the greatneſs of the Crown* ibid.
Other errors in his Reign 16

His death Page 17
The Puritans gain'd ground ibid.
Gowry's *conſpiracy* 18
King Charles *at firſt a friend to the Puritans* 19
He deſigned to recover the Tythes and Church lands in Scotland *to the Crown* 20
He was crowned in Scotland 21
Balmerinoch's *trial* 22
He was condemned 25
But pardoned ibid.
A Liturgy prepared 26
The feebleneſs of the Government ibid.
Saville's *forgery prevailed on the* Scots 27
The characters of the chief of the Covenanters 28
The Scots *came into* England ibid.
Great diſcontents in England 29
The ill ſtate of the King's affairs 30
An account of the Earl of Strafford's *being given up by the King* 31
The new model of the Preſbytery in Scotland 33
The chief Miniſters of the Party 34
Their ſtudies and other methods ibid.
Their great ſeverity 35
Conditions offered to the Scots 36
Montroſe's *undertakings* ibid.
Good advices given to the King 38
But not followed 39
Antrim's *correſpondence with the King and Queen* 40
The original of the Iriſh *maſſacre* 41
Cromwell *argues with the* Scots *concerning the King's death* 42
The oppoſition of the general Aſſembly to the Parliament ibid.
The Miniſters made an inſurrection 43
The treaty in the Iſle of Wight 44
Cromwell's *diſſimulation* 45
The men chiefly engaged in the taking the King's life 46
The King's behaviour 47
The affair of Rochelle 48
A deſign of making the Spaniſh Netherlands *a Commonwealth* ibid.
The ill effects of violent Counſels 49
The account of Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ 50
The Scots *treat with King* Charles II. 51
Montroſe's *offers* 52
And death ibid.
The defeat at Dunbar 54
Diſputes about the admitting all perſons to ſerve their country 55
Great hardſhips put on the King 56
Scotland *was ſubdued by* Monk 58
A body ſtood out in the Highlands ibid.
Sir Robert Murray's *character* 59
Meſſages ſent to the King 60
The ſtate of Scotland *during the Uſurpation* 61
Diſputes among the Covenanters ibid
Methods taken on both ſides 62
Some of Cromwell's *maxims* 65
His deſign for the Kingſhip 67
Cromwell's *engagement with* France 71
The King turn'd Papiſt 73
Cromwell's *deſign on the* Weſt Indies 74
His zeal for the Proteſtant religion 76
A great deſign for the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion 77
Some paſſages in Cromwell's *life* ibid.
His moderation in Government 79
His publick ſpirit 80
All the world was afraid of him 81
The ruin of his family 82
Great diſorders followed 83
All turn to the King's ſide 85
Care taken to manage the army 86
A new Parliament 88
They call home the King without a treaty 89

BOOK II.

Of the firſt twelve years of the Reign of King *Charles* II. from the year 1660. to the year 1673. 91

1660.

MANY *went over to the* Hague *and drunkenneſs* 92
The Nation was overrun with vice ibid.
The King's character 93
Clarendon's *character* 94
Ormond's *character* 95
Southampton's *character* ibid.
Shaftſbury's *character* 96
Angleſey's *character* 97
Hollis's *character* ibid.
Manchester's *character* 98
Roberts's *character* ibid.
Clarges's *character* ibid.
Morrice's *character* 99
Nicolas's *character* ibid.
Arlington's *character* ibid.
Buckingham's *character* 100
Briſtol's *character* ibid.
Lauderdale's *character* 101
Crawford's *character* 102
Rothes's *character* ibid.
Tweedale's *character* ibid.
Duke Hamilton's *character* 103
Kincairdin's *character* ibid.
The general character of the old cavaliers 104
Primeroſe's *character* ibid.
Fletcher's *character* ibid.
Advices offer'd in Scottiſh *affairs* 105
For a general indemnity ibid.
Argile *ſent to the Tower* 106
The Citadels of Scotland *demoliſhed* 107
Diſputes concerning Epiſcopacy ibid.
A Miniſtry ſettled in Scotland 110
A Council propoſed to ſit at Court for Scottiſh *affairs.* ibid.

The Committee of Eſtates meet in Scotland Page 112
A Parliament in Scotland 113
1661
The Lords of the Articles 114
The Acts paſt in this Seſſion 116
An Act reſcinding all Parliaments held ſince the year 1633 117
It was not liked by the King 119
The Preſbyterians in great diſorder ibid.
Argile's attainder 122
And execution 125
The execution of Guthry a Miniſter 126
Some others were proceeded againſt 127
Middleton gave an account of all that had paſſ'd in Parliament to the King 128
It was reſolv'd to ſet up Epiſcopacy in Scotland 130
Men ſought to be Biſhops 132
Biſhop Leightoun's character 134
The Scotiſh Biſhops conſecrated 139
1662.
The meetings of the Presbyteries forbidden 141
The new Biſhops came down to Scotland 142
They were brought into Parliament 143
Scruples about the Oath of Supremacy 144
Debates about an act of indemnity 146
It was deſired that ſome might be incapacitated 147
Lorn condemned 149
Some incapacitated by ballot 150
The King was diſpleaſed with this 151
Great Pains taken to excuſe Middleton 152
The Preſbyterian Miniſters ſilenced ibid.
A general character of them 156
Prejudices infus'd againſt Epiſcopacy 158
1660.
The affairs of England 159
Clarendon's juſt and moderate notions ibid.
Venner's fury 160
The trial and execution of the Regicides 162
1661.
Vane's character 163
And execution 164
The King gave himſelf up to his pleaſures ibid.
The act of indemnity maintained 165
1662.
The King's marriage 166
An alliance propoſed from France 167
The Duke of York's marriage 168
The Duke's character ibid.
The Ducheſs's character 170
The Duke of Gloceſter's character ibid.
The proſpect of the Royal Family much changed 171
Schomberg went thro' England to Portugal 172
Dunkirk ſold to the French ibid.
Tangier a part of the Queen's portion 173
The manner of the King's marriage 174
The King lived in an avow'd courſe of leudneſs ibid.
1660.
The Settlement of Ireland 175
The Biſhops who had then the greateſt credit 176
Debates concerning the uniting with the Preſbyterians 178
A treaty in the Savoy 179
1661.
The terms of conformity made harder 182
The Act of Uniformity 183
The great fines then raiſed on the Church eſtates ill applied 186
Diviues call'd Latitudinarians ibid
Hobbs's Leviathan 187
A character of ſome Divines 189
The way of preaching which then prevailed 191
1662.
The Act of Uniformity executed with rigor ibid.
The Royal Society 192
Conſultations among the Papiſts 193
A Declaration for toleration 194
Deſigned for the Papiſts ibid.
1663.
Briſtol's deſigns 196
He accuſed Clarendon in the Houſe of Lords ibid.
A plot diſcovered 198
The deſign of a war with the States ibid.
The affairs of Scotland 200
Middleton was accuſed by Lauderdale ibid.
And turned out of all 202
Warriſton's execution 203
An act againſt Conventicles 204
The conſtitution of a national Synod ibid.
An act offering an army to the King 205
1664.
Sharp drove very violently 206
Lauderdale gave way to it ibid.
Burnet Archbiſhop of Glaſcow ibid.
A view of the ſtate of affairs in Holland and France 207
Sharp aſpired to be Chancellor of Scotland 208
Rothes had the whole power of Scotland put in his hands 209
1665.
Illegal and ſevere proceedings in Scotland 210
Turner executed the Laws in a military way 211
Sharp ſtudies to bring Middleton into buſineſs again 213
More forces raiſed in Scotland 214
1666.
Some eminent Clergymen offended at theſe proceedings 215
Some of the grievances of the Clergy laid before the Biſhops 217
1664.
Affairs in England 218
The Dutch war ibid.
1665.
The Plague broke out at the ſame time ibid.
The victory at ſea not followed ibid.
An account of the affairs in Holland 220
The Parliament at Oxford 224

The designs of the Commonwealth party 226
The Duke of York's *jealousy* 227
His amours ibid.

1666.

The Fleet almost quite lost, and happily saved by Prince Rupert 229
The fire of London ibid.
It was charged on the Papists 230
A strong presumption of it 231
Disorders in Scotland 233
A rebellion in the West 234
The defeat given the rebels at Pentland-*hill* 235
Severe proceedings against the prisoners 236

1667.

The King is more gentle than the Bishops 237
A change of counsel, and more moderation in the Government 239
The Dutch *fleet came into the* Frith 241
And went to Chatham, *and burnt our fleet* 242
A great change in Lauderdale's *temper* 244
Scotland *was very well governed* 246
Great complaints made of the Clergy 247
Affairs in England 248
Clarendon's *disgrace* ibid.
Southampton's *death* 249
The Irish *fought the protection of* France 250
The Duke of Richmond's *marriage* 251
Bridgman *made Lord Keeper* 253
The French *King's pretensions to* Flanders ibid.
Clarendon's *integrity* 254
He was impeached in the House of Commons ibid.
The King desired he would go beyond sea 256
He was banished by act of Parliament ibid.
The character of his two sons 257
The King was much offended with the Bishops 258

1668.

A treaty for a comprehension of the Presbyterians 259
The City of London *rebuilt* 260
Designs for putting away the Queen ibid.
A divorce enacted for adultery 262
A great dissolution of morals in Court ibid.
Many libels writ by the best wits of that time 264
Sir William Coventry's *character* 265
The Government of Ireland *changed* 266
The Committee of Brook-house 267
Halifax's *character* ibid.

1669.

Many Parliament men gained by the Court 268
Coventry's *nose was cut* 270
A new prosecution of Conventicles ibid.
The King went commonly to the House of Lords 271
The Prince of Orange *came to the King* 273
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
A treaty for an accommodation with the Presbyterians in Scotland ibid.
An indulgence proposed 276
An attempt to murder Sharp 277
Sharp *proposed the indulging some ministers that did not conform* 278
Propositions for the Union of the two Kingdoms 279
The King gave orders for the indulgence 281
This complained of as against law 283
A Parliament in Scotland 284
The Supremacy carried very high ibid.
An act for the County-militia 285
Burnet *turned out, and* Leightoun *made Archbishop of* Glascow 286
The State I found things in at Glascow 287
A Committee of Council sent round the West 288

1670.

Instructions for an accommodation 289
Leighton's *advice to his Clergy* ibid.
A conference between Leightoun *and some Presbyterians* 290
New severities against Conventicles 292
The Presbyterians resolved to reject the offers made them 293
Some conferences upon that Subject 295
At last they refused to accept of the concessions 296
Censures past upon this whole matter 297

1671.

The memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton *was writ by me at that time* 298
A further indulgence proposed 299
Foreign affairs 300
An alliance with France *set on foot* ibid.
The Duchess of Orleans *came to* Dover 301
Soon after was poysoned ibid.
Some of her intrigues ibid.
The treaty with France *negotiated* 303
Lockhart *sent to* France 304
Pretended reasons for the Dutch *war* 305

1672.

The shutting up of the Exchequer 306
The attempt on the Dutch Smyrna *fleet* 307
A Declaration for toleration ibid.
The Presbyterians gave the King thanks for the Toleration 308
The Duchess of York *died* 309
The first Crisis of the Protestant Religion 310
The second Crisis 311
The third Crisis ibid.
The Spanish *fleet came not, as at first intended* 313
The fourth Crisis 314
Differences between Maurice, *Prince of* Orange, *and* Barneveld 315
Prince Henry Frederick's *wife government* 317
His son's heat ibid.
The errors of De Wit's *government* 319
The Prince of Orange *made General* 320
The fifth Crisis 321
The French *success* ibid.
But followed by an ill management 322
The Dutch *in great extremities* 323
Embassadors sent to England 324
The tragical end of De Wit 325
The Prince of Orange *made* Stadtholder 326

The

The Engliſh *Embaſſadors were wholly in the intereſt of* France 327
The character of Fagel ibid.
Prince Waldeck 328
Dyckvelt ibid.
And Halewyn ibid.
The Prince ſtudied to correct the errors he fell into at firſt Page 329
Van Beuning's *character* 330
Errors committed by the town of Amſterdam ibid.
The Prince animates the States to continue the war 331
The French *King goes back to* Paris 332
The Dutch *ſaved by ſome extraordinary providence* 333
Oſſory *intended to ſurpriſe* Helvoetſluys 334
An army from Utrecht *came on the ice to* Holland 335
Driven back by a ſudden thaw ibid.
Painevine's *ſentence* 336
A French *miſtreſs made Ducheſs of* Portſmouth 337
The affairs of Scotland 338
Lauderdale's *great inſolence* ibid.
He expected addreſſes for a Toleration 339
Deſigns from Holland *to raiſe a rebellion in* Scotland 340
A further indulgence 341
Leightoun *reſolved to retire, and to leave his See* ibid.

BOOK III.

Of the reſt of King *Charles* II.'s Reign, from the year 1673 to the year 1685, in which he died.

1673.

Great jealouſies of the King 344
Schomberg *brought to command the army* 345
The Court was much divided 346
A ſeſſion of Parliament ibid.
The Declaration was voted illegal ibid.
A bill for a new teſt 347
The prudence of the Diſſenters ibid.
Debates in the Houſe of Lords 348
The variety of opinions in the King's Council 349
The French *adviſe the King to yield to the Parliament* ibid.
The King went into that ſuddenly ibid.
Clifford *diſgraced* 350
Oſborn *made Lord Treaſurer* ibid.
A great ſupply was given 351
The Duke laid down all his commiſſions 352
The Duke treats for a ſecond marriage ibid.
A treaty opened at Cologn 353
Lord Sunderland's *character* 354
The treaty broke off ibid.
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
Lauderdale's *deſigns* 355
The King liked my memoirs 356
And ſhewed me great favour ibid.
My converſation with the Duke 357
I carried Dr. Stillingfleet *to him* 358
The Duke's marriage oppoſed by the Commons 360
A Parliament in Scotland 362
A party formed againſt Lauderdale 363
He offers to redreſs grievances in Council 364

1674.

A diſpute raiſed about the Lords of the Articles ibid.
The proceedings in the Parliament of England ibid.
Finch's *character* 365
A peace concluded with the States 366
The King became the mediator of the peace 367
The Ducheſs's character 368
Coleman's *character* ibid.
The affairs of Scotland 369
The Parliament was prorogued ibid.
Dalrimple's *character* ibid.
The Clergy was much provoked ibid.
A great diſtraction in Scotland 370
Lauderdale's *proceedings there* 371
I was diſgraced ibid.
The Miniſters turn to the Church party 373
Correſpondence with Holland *diſcovered* 374
Jealouſies of the Prince of Orange 375
Drummond *was ordered to priſon* ibid.
The battel of Seneff 376
Arlington *went to* Holland 377
Temple *ſent Embaſſador to* Holland ibid.

1675.

Affairs in England 378
I was examined by the Houſe of Commons 379
Sir Harbottle Grimſtone's *character* 380
Danby *attacked, but in vain* 382
Seimour's *character* ibid.
Debates concerning a teſt 383
A diſpute about appeals and privileges 385
The Seſſion broke upon it ibid.
A Seſſion of Parliament 386
The characters of ſome Parliament men 387

1676.

A long interval between the Seſſions of Parliament 389
An account of ſome paſſages of Lockhart's *courage in* France 390
Management in France 391
The character of ſome Biſhops 392
The projects of the Papiſts 393
Coleman's *intrigues* 394
A conference between Coleman *and ſome Divines* 395
I undertook to write the hiſtory of our Reformation 396
The Earl of Eſſex's *character* ibid.

His

His employment in Denmark 397
And his government of Ireland ibid.
The affairs of Scotland. 399
1677.
A queſtion raiſed in England *about the legality of a Prorogation* 401
The Lords that moved it ſent to the Tower 402
Proceedings in Parliament 403
Affairs in Flanders ibid.
The French *King declined a battel when offered by the Prince of* Orange 404
Cambray *and* St. Omer *taken* 406
The Houſe of Commons preſſed the King to engage in the war ibid.
Danby *declared againſt* France 407
The Prince of Orange *came into* England 408
He married the Duke's daughter 410
1678.
Supplies given towards the war 412
The French *take* Ghent ibid.
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
Mitchell's *trial* 413
And condemnation 415
The Adminiſtration there grew very violent and illegal 417
An army of Highlanders ſent to the Weſt upon free quarter 418
Many of the Nobility came up to complain to the King 419
But the King would not ſee them ibid.
A Convention of Eſtates gives money, and juſtifies the adminiſtration 421
Affairs in England ibid.
The Houſe of Commons grew jealous of the Court ibid.
Affairs abroad 422
The Popiſh plot 424
Oates's *character* ibid.
His diſcovery 426
Coleman *and his papers ſeized* ibid.
Coleman's *letters confirm it* 427
Godfrey *is murdered* 428
His body was found 429
Oates *made a new diſcovery* 430
Bedlow's *evidence* 431
Other proofs that ſeemed to ſupport the diſcovery 432
Carſtairs's *practices* 433
Staley's *trial* ibid.
The Queen was charged as in the plot 435
A law paſs'd for the teſt to be taken by both Houſes ibid.
With a proviſo for the Duke 436
Coleman's *trial* ibid.
And execution 437
The King's thoughts of this whole matter ibid.
Danby's *letters to* Mountague *are brought out* 439
And he was impeached of high treaſon 441
The Parliament was prorogued 442
The trial of F. Ireland *and ſome others* 443
Dugdale's *evidence* 444
Prance *diſcovers* Godfrey's *murder* 445
Some condemned for it, who died denying it 446
Scroggs *was then Lord Chief Juſtice* 448
Jennifon's *evidence* ibid.
Practices with the witneſſes diſcovered 449
Reflections upon the whole evidence 451
1679.
A new Parliament ibid.
The Duke ſent beyond ſea 452
Danby *pardoned by the King, but proſecuted by the Houſe of Commons* 453
A new Council 454
Debates concerning the Excluſion 455
Arguments uſed for and againſt the Excluſion 457
Danby's *proſecution* 460
A great heat raiſed againſt the Clergy 461
The occaſions that fomented that heat ibid.
Arguments for and againſt the Biſhops voting in the preliminaries, in trials of treaſon 462
Stillingfleet *wrote on this point* 463
The trial of five Jeſuites 464
Langhorn's *trial* 465
And death 466
Wakeman's *trial* 467
He was acquitted 468
Debates about diſſolving the Parliament ibid.
The affairs of Scotland 469
The Archbiſhop of St. Andrews *is murder'd* 470
A rebellion in Scotland 471
Monmouth *ſent down to ſuppreſs it* 472
They were ſoon broken 473
The King taken ill, and the Duke comes to Court 474
The many falſe ſtories ſpread to raiſe jealouſy ibid.
A pretended plot diſcovered, call'd the Mealtub *plot* 475
Great Jealouſies of the King 476
Monmouth's *diſgrace* 477
Petitions for a Parliament ibid.
Great diſcontents on all ſides 478
Godolphin's *character* ibid.
1680.
An alliance projected againſt France 479
The election of the Sheriffs of London ibid.
The bill of Excluſion taken up again 481
Paſs'd by the Commons 482
But rejected by the Lords ibid.
The Houſe of Commons proceeded againſt ſome with ſeverity 484
An aſſociation propoſed 485
Expedients offered in the Houſe of Lords 486
Ducheſs of Portſmouth's *conduct in this matter little underſtood* ibid.
Stafford's *trial* 488
He was condemned 492
He ſent for me, and employed me to do him ſervice ibid.
His execution 494
1681.
Motions in favour of the Nonconformiſts ibid.

The Parliament was dissolved 495
A new expedient of a Prince Regent 496
Fitzharris *was taken* 497
The Parliament of Oxford *was soon dissolved* 498
A great change in affairs 499
The King's Declaration 500
Addresses to the King from all parts of England ibid.
Fitzharris's *trial* 501
Plunket *an* Irish *Bishop condemned and executed* 502
Practices on Fitzharris *at his death* 504
A Protestant plot ibid.
Colledge *condemned and died upon it* 505
Shaftsbury *sent to the Tower* 506
Practices upon witnesses ibid.
I was then offered preferment 507
Halifax *carried me to the King* 508
Shaftsbury *was acquitted by the Grand Jury* ibid.

1682.

Turbervill's *death* 509
The affairs of Scotland 510
A Parliament in Scotland 512
Several accusations of perjury stifled by the Duke 514
A test enacted in Parliament 515
Objections made to the test 518
Many turn'd out for not taking it 519
Argile's *explanation* ibid.
He was committed upon it 520
Argile *is tried and condemned* 521
He made his escape 522
The Duke comes to Court 523
A new Ministry in Scotland ibid.
They proceeded with great severity 524
Affairs in England. 527
All Charters of Towns were surrendred to the King ibid.
The dispute concerning the Sheriffs of London 528
Carried by the Court 530
Changes in the Ministry, and quarrels among them 531
The arguments for and against the Charter of London 533
Judgment given in the matter 535
Some other severe Judgments ibid.

1683.

All people possessed with great fears 536
Monmouth *and* Russel *at* Shepherd's 537
Monmouth *and some others meet often together* 538
They treat with some of the Scotish *Nation* 539
Other conspirators meet at the same time on designs of assassinating the King 542
A plot is discovered 544
A forged story laid by Rumsey *and* West ibid.
Russel *and some others were put in prison upon it* 547
Monmouth *and others escaped* 549
Howard's *confession* 551
The Earl of Essex *was sent to the Tower* 552
The Lord Russel's *trial* 553
He was condemned 556
His preparation for death 557
The trial and execution of Walcot *and others* 558
Russel's *execution* 560
Russel's *last speech* 561
Prince George *of* Denmark *married the Princess* Anne 562
The siege of Vienna 563
The Author went to the Court of France 564
Characters of some he knew there ibid.
Affairs in England 567
Jefferies *and other Judges preferred* ibid.

1684.

The calling a Parliament proposed, but rejected 568
Suspicions of Essex's *being murdered* 569
Sidney's *trial* 570
His execution and last paper 573
Monmouth *came in, and was pardoned* ibid.
But soon after disgraced 575
Hambden's *trial* 576
Halloway's *execution* ibid.
Armstrong's *death* 577
Great Severity in Scotland 580
A breach in the Ministry there 581
The Duke governed all affairs 582
The cruelty of the Duke, and of his Ministers, in torturing 583
Procedings against Baillie 585
And his execution 587
Leightoun's *death* 588
The promotion of some Bishops 589
Danby *and the Popish Lords bail'd* 591
Some removes made at Court 592
The bombarding of Genoa ibid
Tangier *abandoned* 593
Affairs beyond sea 594
The hardships the Author met with 595
Trials for treason of Roswell *and* Haies 597
Strange Practices, and very unbecoming a King 600
Papists employed in Ireland 601
Suspicions of the King's declaring himself a Papist 603

1685.

A new scheme of Government 604
The King's sickness 606
He receiv'd the Sacraments from a Popish Priest 607
His death 609
His character 611

BOOK IV.

Of the Reign of King *James* the Second 617

A Reign happily begun, but inglorious all over ibid.
The King's first education 618
He learned war under Turenne 619

He was Admiral of England 619
He was proclaimed King 620
His first speech ibid.
He'll received ibid.
Addresses made to him ibid.
The Earl of Rochester made Lord Treasurer 621
The Earl of Sunderland in favour ibid.
Customs and Excise levied against Law ibid.
The King's coldness to those who had been for the Exclusion 622
He seem'd to be on equal terms with the French King 623
The King's course of life 624
The Prince of Orange sent away the Duke of Monmouth ibid.
Some in England began to move for him 625
Strange practices in elections of Parliament men ibid.
Evil prospect from an ill Parliament 626
The Prince of Orange submits in every thing to the King 627
The King was crown'd 628
I went out of England ibid.
Argile designed to invade Scotland 629
The Duke of Monmouth forc'd upon an ill-timed invasion 630
These designs were carried with secrecy 631
Argile landed in Scotland ibid.
But was defeated, and taken 632
Argile's execution ibid.
Rumbold at his death denied the Rye Plot 633
A Parliament in Scotland 634
Granted all that the King desired 636
Oates convicted of perjury 637
And cruelly whipt ibid.
Dangerfield kill'd ibid.
A Parliament in England 638
Grants the revenue for life ibid.
And trusts to the King's promise ibid.
The Parliament was violent 639
The Lords were more cautious 640
The Duke of Monmouth landed at Lime ibid.
An Act of attainder passed against him 641
A rabble came and joined him ibid.
Lord Grey's cowardice 642
The Earl of Feversham commanded the King's army 643
The Duke of Monmouth defeated 644
And taken ibid.
Soon after executed 645
He died with great calmness 646
Lord Grey pardoned ibid.
The King was lifted up with his successes 647
But it had an ill effect on his affairs ibid.
Great cruelties committed by his soldiers ibid.
And much greater by Jefferies 648
With which the King was well pleased ibid.
The execution of two women ibid.
The behaviour of those who suffered 650
The Nation was much changed by this management 651
Great disputes for and against the Tests 652
Some change their religion ibid.
The Duke of Queensborough disgraced 653
The King declared against the Tests 654
Proceedings in Ireland ibid.
The persecution in France 655
A fatal year to the Protestant religion ibid.
Rouvigny's behaviour 656
He came over to England 657
Dragoons sent to live on discretion upon the Protestants 658
Many of them yielded thro' fear 659
Great cruelty every where ibid.
I went into Italy 660
And was well received at Rome 661
Cardinal Howard's freedom with me ibid.
Cruelties in Orange 663
Another Session of Parliament ibid.
The King's speech against the Test 664
Jefferies made Lord Chancellor 665
The House of Commons address the King for observing the Law 666
The King was much offended with it ibid.
The Parliament was prorogued 667
The Lord de la Meer tried and acquitted 668
1686.
A trial upon the Act for the Test 669
Many Judges turned out ibid.
Herbert, Chief Justice, gives judgment for the King's dispensing power ibid.
Admiral Herbert's firmness ibid.
Father Petre, a Jesuite, in high favour 672
The King declared for a toleration ibid.
The Clergy managed the points of controversy with great zeal and success 673
The persons who were chiefly engaged in this 674
Dr. Sharp in trouble ibid.
The Bishop of London required to suspend him 675
Which he could not obey ibid.
An Ecclesiastical Commission set up ibid.
The Bishop of London brought before it 676
And was suspended by it 677
Affairs in Scotland 678
A tumult at Edenburgh ibid.
A Parliament held there 679
Which refused to comply with the King's desire 680
A zeal appeared there against Popery 681
Affairs in Ireland ibid.
The King made his Mistress Countess of Dorchester 682
Attempts made on many to change their religion 683
Particularly on the Earl of Rochester 684
He was turned out 685
Designs talked of against Holland ibid.
I staid some time at Geneva 686
The state and temper I observed among the Reformed 687
I was invited by the Prince of Orange to come to the Hague 688
A character of the Prince and Princess of Orange 689
I was much trusted by them 691
The Prince's sense of our affairs ibid.

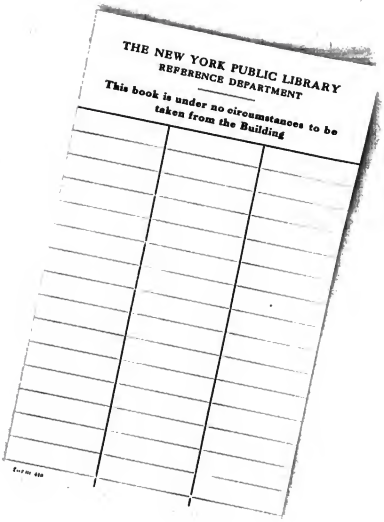
The Princeſs's reſolution with reſpect to the Prince 692
Pen *ſent over to treat with the Prince* 693
Some Biſhops died in England 694
Cartwright *and* Parker *promoted* 695
The King's letter refuſed in Cambridge 697
The Vice Chancellor turn'd out by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners 698
An attempt to impoſe a Popiſh Preſident on Magdalen *College* 699
They diſobey, and are cenſured for it 700
1687.
And were all turned out ibid.
The Diſſenters were much courted by the King 701
Debates and reſolutions among them 702
The army encamped at Hounſlow-Heath 703
An Embaſſador ſent to Rome ibid.
He managed every thing unhappily 704
Pope Innocent's *character* 705
Diſputes about the Franchiſes 706
Queen Chriſtina's *character of ſome Popes* 707
D' Albeville *ſent Envoy to* Holland ibid.
I was upon the King's preſſing inſtances forbid to ſee the Prince and Princeſs of Orange 708
Dykvelt *ſent to* England ibid.
The negotiations between the King and the Prince 709
A letter writ by the Jeſuites of Liege, *that diſcovers the King's deſigns* 711
Dykvelt's *conduct in* England 712
A Proclamation of indulgence ſent to Scotland ibid.
Which was much cenſured 713
A Declaration for toleration in England 714
Addreſſes made upon it ibid.
The King's indignation againſt the Church party 715
The Parliament was diſſolved 716
The reception of the Pope's Nuntio ibid.
The King made a progreſs thro' many parts of England 717
A change in the Magiſtracy in London, *and over* England 718
Queſtions put about elections of Parliament 719
The King wrote to the Princeſs of Orange *about religion* 720
Which ſhe anſwered 722
Reflections on theſe letters 725
A proſecution ſet on againſt me 726
Albeville's *memorial to the States* 728
The States's anſwer to what related to me 729
Other deſigns againſt me 730
Penſioner Fagel's *letter* 731
Father Petre *made a Privy Counſellor* 733
The confidence of the Jeſuites ibid.
The Penſioner's letter was printed 734
The King aſked the regiments of his ſubjects in the States ſervice ibid.
Which was refuſed, but the officers had leave to go 735
A new Declaration for toleration 736
Which the Clergy were ordered to read ibid.
To which they would not give obedience 738
The Archbiſhop and ſix Biſhops petition the King ibid.
The King ordered the Biſhops to be proſecuted for it 741
They were ſent to the Tower ibid.
But ſoon after diſcharged 742
They were tried ibid.
And acquitted 743
To the great joy of the Town and Nation 744
The Clergy was next deſigned againſt ibid.
The effect this had every where 745
Ruſſel *preſſed the Prince* 746
The Prince's anſwer ibid.
The Elector of Brandenburgh's *death* ibid.
The Queen gave out that ſhe was with child 748
The Queen's reckoning changed 751
The Queen ſaid to be in labour ibid.
And delivered of a ſon 752
Great grounds of jealouſy appeared ibid.
The child, as was believed, died, and another was put in his room 753
The Prince and Princeſs of Orange *ſent to congratulate* 754
The Prince deſigns an expedition to England. ibid.
Sunderland *adviſed more moderate proceedings* 755
And he turned Papiſt 756
The Prince of Orange *treats with ſome of the Princes of the Empire* 757
The affairs of Colen 758
Herbert *came over to* Holland 762
The advices from England ibid.
The Lord Mordaunt's *character* ibid.
The Earl of Shrewſbury's *character* ibid.
Ruſſel's *character* 763
Sidney's *character* ibid.
Many engaged in the deſign 764
Lord Churchill's *character* 765
The Court of France *gave the alarm* 766
Recruits from Ireland *refuſed* 767
Offers made by the French ibid.
Not entertain'd at that time 768
The French *own an alliance with the King* ibid.
The ſtrange conduct of France 769
A manifeſto of war againſt the Empire 770
Reflections made upon it 771
Another againſt the Pope 772
Cenſures that paſt upon it 773
Marſhal Schomberg *ſent to* Cleve 774
The Dutch *fleet at ſea* ibid.
The Prince of Orange's *Declaration* 775
I was deſired to go with the Prince 776
Advices from England ibid.
Artifices to cover the deſign 778
The Dutch *put to ſea* 779
Some factious motions at the Hague 780
The army was ſhipped 781
The Princeſs's ſenſe of things ibid.
The Prince took leave of the States 782
We ſailed out of the Maes ibid.
But were forced back 783
Conſultations in England ibid.

Proofs

Proofs brought for the birth of the Prince of Wales 785
We ſailed out more happily a ſecond time 787
We landed at Torbay 788
The King's army began to come over to the Prince 790
An Aſſociation among thoſe who came to the Prince 792
The Heads in Oxford *ſent to him* 793
Great diſorders in London ibid.
A treaty begun with the Prince 794
The King left the Kingdom 795
He is much cenſured 796
But is brought back ibid.
The Prince is deſired to come and take the government into his Hands 797
Different advice given to the Prince concerning the King's perſon 798
The Prince came to London, *and the King went to* Rocheſter 801
The Prince was welcomed by all ſorts of people 802
Conſultations about the ſettlement of the Nation 803
The King went over to France 804
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
The affairs of Ireland 805

1689.

The Prince in treaty with the Earl of Tyrconnel 807
The Convention met 809
Some are for a Prince Regent ibid.
Others are for another King 811
And againſt a Regency 813
Some moved to examine the birth of the Prince of Wales 816
But it was rejected 817
Some were for making the Prince King 818
The Prince declared his mind after long ſilence 820
It was reſolved to put the Prince and Princeſs both in the Throne 821
They drew an inſtrument about it 822
The Oaths were altered 823
The ill Senſe that was put on the new Oath 824
The Princeſs came to England 825
The Concluſion 826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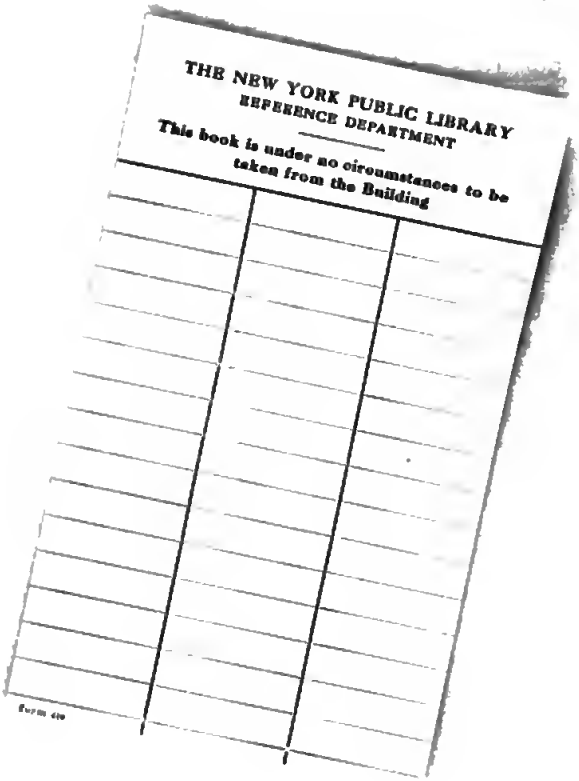
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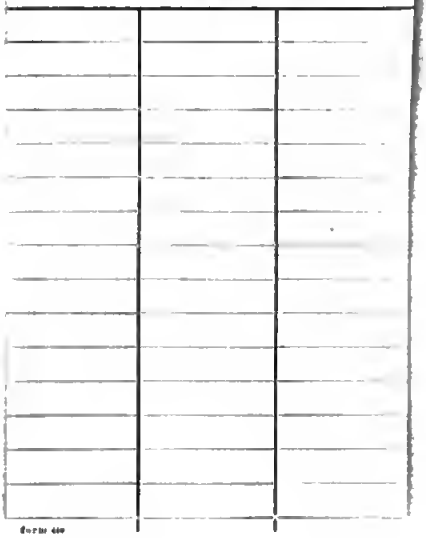

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